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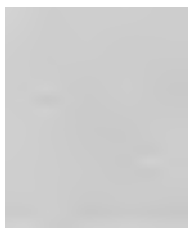




C. H. Hawes

Univ. Coll. Camb

16 Nov. 1897





THE  
HISTORY OF INDIA



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THE  
HISTORY OF INDIA

*The Hindu and Mahometan Periods*

BY THE HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE

*SEVENTH EDITION, WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS*

By E. B. COWELL, M.A.

LATE PRINCIPAL OF SANSKRIT COLLEGE, CALCUTTA

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1889

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*Miss. Wilson H. Hall*

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# ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

FIFTH EDITION.

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**A**LL history has been roughly divided into four portions, as characterised by a greater or less amount of evidence. Lowest of all is the legendary period, where everything is unauthenticated tradition; next is the semi-historical, where, though the main element is still tradition, we have also certain contemporary monuments, which, so far as they go, can be relied on; and last, we come to history, properly so called, where the mass of the materials is authentic and contemporary, but which is lower or higher, as the surviving records come to us only from one side, or (as in modern history) fairly represent every party, and include all kinds of indirect as well as direct evidence.

I need hardly say that the history of ancient India is almost exclusively mythic and legendary,—the ancient Hindûs never possessed any true ‘historical sense.’ Now one merit of the ‘Hindû period’ of Mr. ELPHINSTONE’S History is, that he endeavours to avoid, as far as possible, all legendary details, and to confine himself to those authentic fragments of information,

which can be gathered up from still existing monuments, as those of Asoka, or such indirect native sources as Manu's Institutes, or the accounts of foreign visitors, as the Greeks. His 'Hindu period' almost entirely ignores the gigantic visions of Pauranic mythology: but its four books, though nearly bare of the information which scholars might expect to find, as to the scattered hints which may possibly be extracted from the unhistorical native literature, yet contain a mass of authentic facts, which are just what the general reader requires. Another charm of the book is the spirit of genuine hearty sympathy with and appreciation of the native character which runs through the whole, and the absence of which is one of the main blemishes in Mr. MILL's eloquent work.

The 'Mahometan period' is of a very different character. Here we have authentic contemporary records,—we deal with flesh and blood, not shadows; and Mr. ELPHINSTONE's History, in its clear despatch-like narrative, has always seemed to me to possess, in no small degree, some of those characteristics which we all admire in Mr. GROTE's History of Greece. The author had been so long engaged in Indian politics, that he could at once enter into and unravel all those endless details which render Asiatic history so confused and difficult; \* and I question whether this portion of his History will ever be superseded.

For the 'Hindu period' Mr. ELPHINSTONE availed himself of all the sources then at his command; but the study of Sanskrit is making such continual strides (particularly as regards the Vedas), that we may expect,

\* Compare Hallam's complaint, in his 'Middle Ages,' vol. ii. ch. 6.

before many years, to see light thrown on several points which he omits altogether, or leaves obscure. At present, however, our knowledge is in a transition state,—we can more easily see that a given view is erroneous than substitute a better in its place; and it seems to me that it would be premature, as yet, to rewrite this portion. Ere long the Vaidik literature will have been thoroughly studied and made accessible,—the laws of Manu will have been compared with the older Grihya and other Sūtras, which were probably their original source: and the ‘Hindú period’ will then admit of being treated on a broader plan, and in fuller detail.

ELPHINSTONE’S History is now a standard text-book in the examinations of the Indian Civil Service at home, and the Universities in India, and a new edition was wanted to meet the present demand. As so much advance has been made of late in Oriental studies generally, and so many new sources of information have been opened since the first edition was published in 1839, it has been deemed advisable to add a few notes, especially where new facts could be adduced. I have endeavoured to keep them as few and brief as possible; but at the end of the ‘Hindú period’ I have added a few appendices on some of the more important points omitted by the author,—more especially on the details as to mediæval India supplied by the Chinese Buddhist travellers. Some account of these last seemed required to complete Mr. ELPHINSTONE’S own plan,—viz., to compare the state of the Hindús as described in Manu with their present condition, and to illustrate the changes by ‘a view of the nation, at a





## P R E F A C E.

---

**T**HE appearance of a new History of India requires some words of explanation.

If the ingenious, original, and elaborate work of Mr. MILL left some room for doubt and discussion, the able compositions since published by Mr. MURRAY and Mr. GLEIG may be supposed to have fully satisfied the demands of every reader.

But the excellence of Histories derived from European researches alone does not entirely set aside the utility of similar inquiries conducted under the guidance of impressions received in India; which, as they rise from a separate source, may sometimes lead to different conclusions.

Few are likely to take up this volume unless they are previously interested in the subject, and such persons may not be unwilling to examine it from a fresh point of view: if the result suggests no new opinions, it may at least assist in deciding on those contested by former writers.

---

In the choice of difficulties presented by the expression of Asiatic words in European letters, I have thought it best to follow the system of Sir W. Jones, which is used by all the English Asiatic Societies, as well as by Mr. Colebrooke, Professor Wilson, and various other writers. But as I do not, in general, attempt to express the aspirates, gutturals, or other sounds which are peculiar to Asiatic languages, I have not found it necessary to copy all the minutiae of Sir W. Jones' orthography, or to distinguish particular consonants (as *k* and *c*), which in his system would represent very different sounds.





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ISRA			

# HISTORY OF INDIA

## INTRODUCTION.

INDIA is bounded by the Himálaya mountains, the river Indus, and the sea.

Its length from Cashmír to the Com from the Indus to the mountains east of the Indus is upwards of 1500 British miles; and it is crossed from east to west by a chain of mountains, called those of Vindhya, which extends between the twenty-third and twenty-fifth parallels of latitude, nearly from the desert north-west of Guzerát to the Ganges.

The country to the north of this chain is now called Hindostan, and that to the south of it, the Deckan.<sup>1</sup>

Hindostan is composed of the basin of the Indus, that of the Ganges, the desert towards the Indus, and the high tract recently called Central India.<sup>2</sup>

The upper part of the basin of the Indus (now called the Panjáb) is open and fertile to the east of the Hydaspes, but rugged to the west of that river, and sandy towards the junction of the five rivers. After the Indus forms one stream, it flows

<sup>1</sup> The Mogul emperors fixed the Nerbadda for the limit of their provinces in those two great divisions, but the division of the nations is made by the Vindhya mountains. It is well remarked by Sir W. Jones and Major Rennell, that both banks of rivers in Asia are generally inhabited by the same community. The rule applies to Europe, and is as true of the Rhine or the Po as of the Ganges and the Nile. Rivers are precise and convenient limits for artificial divisions, but they are no great obstacles to communication; and, to form a natural separation between nations, requires the real obstructions of a mountain chain.

<sup>2</sup> ["Hindustán proper, contradistinguished from the southern peninsula and eastern India (*Dakshin* and *Pūrb*), is the same with the Madhya Desa or central region: see Manu, ii. 21." (Colebrooke, *Trans. As. Soc.* i. 133.) Col. Tod (*ibid.*) defines it as lying between the Himálaya and Nerbadda, N. and S.; its eastern limit a line in the meridian of the source of that river at Amarakantak, passing through Prayág and meeting the great northern chain; on the W., towards the Indus, it comprehends all the tracts within the limits of cultivation.—Ed.]



through a plain between mountains and the desert, of which only the part within reach of its waters is productive. As it approaches the sea, it divides into several branches, and forms a fertile though ill-cultivated delta.

The basin of the Ganges (though many of the streams which water it have their rise in hilly countries, and though the central part is not free from diversity of surface) may be said on the whole to be one vast and fertile plain. This tract was the residence of the people who first figure in the history of India; and it is still the most advanced in civilization of all the divisions of that country.

A chain of hills, known in the neighbourhood by the name of Aravalli, is connected by lower ranges with the western extremity of the Vindhya mountains on the borders of Guzerât, and stretches up to a considerable distance beyond Ajmir, in the direction of Delhi; forming the division between the desert on the west and the central table-land. It would be more correct to say *the foot* of the desert; for the south-eastern portion, including Jodpûr, is a fertile country. Except this tract, all between the Aravalli mountains and the Indus, from the Satlaj or Hysudrus on the north to near the sea on the south, is a waste of sand, in which are oases of different size and fertility, the greatest of which is round Jéssalmîr. The narrow tract of Cach intervenes between the desert and the sea, and makes a sort of bridge from Guzerât to Sind.

Central India is the smallest of these four natural divisions. It is a table-land of uneven surface, from 1500 to 2500 feet above the sea, bounded by the Aravalli mountains on the west, and those of Vindhya on the south; supported on the east by a lower range in Bundelcand, and sloping gradually on the north-east into the basin of the Ganges. It is a diversified but fertile tract.

The Vindhya mountains form the southern limit of Hindostan; beyond them, separated by the deep valley of the *Deccan*, Nerbadda, is a parallel chain called *Apûra* or *Sâtpûra*, which must be crossed before we reach the next natural division in the valley of the Tapti. This small tract is low; but the rest of the *Deccan* is almost entirely occupied by a table-land of triangular form, about the level of that of Central India, supported on all sides by ranges of hills. The two longest ranges, which run towards the south, follow the form of the peninsula, and between them and the sea lies a low narrow tract, forming a sort of belt round the whole coast. The hills which support the table-land are called the *Ghâts*. The range

to the west is the highest and most marked; and the low tract beneath it narrowest and most rugged.

The table-land itself is greatly diversified in surface and fertility. Two parts, however, are strongly distinguished, and the limit between them may be marked by the Warda, from its source in the Injádri range, north-west of Nágpúr, to its junction with the Godáveri, and then by the joint rivers to the sea. All to the north and east of these rivers is a vast forest spotted with villages, and sometimes interrupted by cultivated tracts of considerable extent. To the south-west of the rivers, the country, though varied, is generally open and cultivated.

Guzerát and Bengal are regarded by the natives as neither included in Hindostan nor the Deckan; they differ greatly from each other, but each has a resemblance to the part of Hindostan which adjoins it.

Though the Deckan, properly speaking, includes all to the south of the Vindhya mountains, yet, in modern practice, it is often limited to the part between that chain and the river Kishna.

The superficial extent of India is estimated at 1,287,483 square miles. The population may be taken at 140,000,000; but this is the *present* population; in very early Hindú times it was certainly much less, and in later days probably much greater.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> These estimates cannot pretend to accuracy. Hamilton (*Description of Hindostan*, i. 37) conjectured the number of square miles to be 1,280,000, and the population 134,000,000.

An official Report laid before the Com-

mittee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, October 11, 1831, will (if certain blanks be filled up) make the extent in square miles 1,287,483, and the population 140,722,700. The following are the particulars :—

	Square Miles.	Population.
Bengal Lower provinces . . . . .	153,802	37,500,000
Bengal Upper provinces . . . . .	66,510	32,200,000
Bengal cessions from Berár . . . . .	85,700 (1.)	3,200,000
<b>Total Bengal . . . . .</b>	<b>306,012</b>	<b>72,900,000</b>
Madras . . . . .	141,923	13,500,000
Bombay . . . . .	64,938 (2.)	6,800,000
<b>Total British possessions . . . . .</b>	<b>512,873</b>	<b>93,200,000</b>
Allied States . . . . .	614,610 (3.)	43,022,700
Ranjit Sing possessions in the Panjáb (4.)	60,000	3,500,000
Sind . . . . .	100,000	1,000,000
<b>Total of all India . . . . .</b>	<b>1,287,483</b>	<b>140,722,700</b>

The superficial extent of the British territories and those of the allies is given in the above Report; the former from actual survey, and the latter partly from survey and partly from computation.

The population of the British territories is also from the Report, and is founded on official estimates, except in the following instances, where I computed the numbers.

(1.) The cessions from Berár amount to

The population is very unequally distributed. In one very extensive district of Bengal proper (Bardwān) it was ascertained to be 600 souls to the square mile.<sup>4</sup> In some forest tracts, 10 to the square mile might be an exaggeration.

Though the number of large towns and cities in India is remarkable, none of them are very populous. In their present state of decline, none exceed the population of second-rate cities in Europe. Calcutta, without its suburbs, has only 265,000 inhabitants; and not more than two or three of the others can have above 200,000 fixed population.<sup>5</sup>

A tract, extending from 8° north latitude to 35°, and varying in height from the level of the sea to the summits of <sup>seasons</sup> ~~seasons~~ Himalaya, must naturally include the extremes of heat and cold; but on the general level of India within the great northern chain, the diversity is comparatively inconsiderable.

The characteristic of the climate, compared to that of Europe, is heat. In a great part of the country the sun is scorching for three months in the year;<sup>6</sup> even the wind is hot, the land is brown and parched, dust flies in whirlwinds, all brooks become

near 86,000 square miles; of these, 30,000 on the North-west are comparatively well peopled; and I have allowed them 60 souls to the square mile. The remaining 56,000 are so full of forests, that I have only allowed 25 souls to the square mile.

2.) For one district, under Bombay (the Northern Concan), the extent is given from survey, but without a guess at the population. I have allowed the same rate as that of the adjoining district, the Southern Concan, which is 100 to the square mile. It is probably too much, but the amount is so small as to make the error immaterial.

3.) No estimate is given of the population of the allied states, some parts of which have 300 or 400 souls to the square mile, while others are nearly deserts. On consideration, I allow 70 souls to the square mile, which makes the population 4,622,700.

4.) The area and population of Sind and the *populations* of the Panjab are taken from *Barnard's Tour*, ii. 286, and iii. 227. The *extent* of the Panjab is little more than a guess, which I have hazarded rather than leave the statement incomplete.

The extent of Europe is about 2,293,000 square miles; the population 227,760,000. Comparing it to the Asiatic for 1840, from Waksmaier and Balla. If we deduct the 1,758,700 square miles in Russia, Sweden, and Norway, as proposed by Major Rennell, for the sake of comparison,

we find the rest of Europe containing 1,035,300 square miles, and India 1,294,602, being nearly a third greater than Europe. But Europe, when freed from the northern wastes, has the advantage in population; for, after deducting Russia, Sweden, and Norway, about 60,516,000 souls, Europe has still 167,182,000 souls, and India only 140,000,000. [See App. VI.]

<sup>4</sup> Mr Bayley, *Asiatic Researches*, iii. 549.

<sup>5</sup> For Calcutta see the Report of the House of Commons, October 11, 1831. For Benares, see *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 474, 479, where it is stated that 200,000 constitutes the fixed population of the city and suburbs, and that 100,000 more may come in on the greatest occasions of pilgrimage.

[According to the census of May, 1850 the population of Calcutta was 364,000. *Thenceforward*

Europeans	6,204
Eurasians	4,415
Americans	492
Chinese	447
Asiatics	15,342
Hindus	274,000
Mohammedans	11,000
Others	113,150

but these numbers are by no means trustworthy. — Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> The thermometer often rises above 100° during part of the hottest days. It has been known to reach 120°.

dry, small rivers scarcely keep up a stream, and the largest are reduced to comparatively narrow channels in the midst of vast sandy beds.

In winter, slight frost sometimes takes place for an hour or two about sunrise; but this is only in the parts of the country which lie far north, or are much elevated above the sea. At a low level, if towards the south, the greatest cold in winter is only moderate heat; and on an average of the whole of India, it is not much more than what is marked *temperate* on our thermometers; while the hottest time of the day, even at that period, rises above our *summer heat*. The cold, however, is much greater to the feelings than would be supposed from the thermometer. In the months which approach to neither extreme, the temperature is higher than in the heat of summer in Italy.

The next peculiarity in the climate of India is the periodical rainy season. The rains are brought from the Indian Ocean by a south-west wind (or monsoon, as it is called), which lasts from June to October. They are heaviest near the sea, especially in low countries, unless in situations protected by mountains. The coast of Coromandel, for instance, is sheltered from the south-west monsoon by the Gháts and the table-land, and receives its supply of rain in October and November, when the wind blows from the north-east across the Bay of Bengal. The intenseness of the fall of rain can scarcely be conceived in Europe. Though it is confined to four months, and in them many days of every month, and many hours of every day, are fair, yet the whole fall of rain in India is considerably more than double that which is distributed over the whole twelve months in England.

The variations that have been mentioned divide the year into three seasons: the hot, the rainy, and the cold, or rather temperate, which last is a good deal longer than either the other two.

The fertile soil and rich productions of India have long been proverbial.

Natural productions.

Its forests contain many timber-trees, among which the teak is, for shipbuilding, and most other purposes, at least equal to the oak. The sál is a lofty and useful timber-tree: sandal, ebony, and other rare and beautiful woods are found in different quantities, but often in profusion. Banyan-trees, cotton-trees,<sup>7</sup> sissoo (or blackwood-trees), mangoes, tamarinds, and other ornamental and useful trees are scattered over the

<sup>7</sup> This is not the low shrub which bears common cotton, but a lofty tree covered at one time with flowers of glowing crimson, and at another with pods, in which the

seeds are encased in a substance resembling cotton, but lighter and more silky in its texture.

cultivated country. The *bābul* (*Mimosa Arabica*, or gum-arabic tree) with its sweet-scented yellow flower, grows in profusion, both in the woods and plains, as do two kinds of acacia and various other flowering trees. Mulberries are planted in great numbers, and are the means of furnishing a large supply of silk. The cocoa, palmyra, and other palms are common. The first of these yields a nut filled with a milky fluid, and lined with a thick coating of kernel, which is serviceable as food, and on account of the oil which is manufactured from it to a vast extent. The shell is used for cups and other vessels, some of which are in universal use. The thick husk, in which the nut is enveloped, is composed of fibres, which form a valuable cordage, and make the best sort of cable. The wood, though not capable of being employed in carpenter's work, is peculiarly adapted to pipes for conveying water, beams for broad but light wooden bridges, and other purposes, where length is more required than solidity. The bamboo, being hollow, light, and strong, is almost as generally useful: when entire, the varieties in its size make it equally fit for the lance of the soldier, the pole of his tent, or the mast which sustains the ensign of his chief; for the ordinary staff of the peasant, or for the rafter of his cottage. All scaffolding in India is composed of bamboos, kept together by ropes instead of nails. When split, its long and flexible fibre adapts it to baskets, mats, and innumerable other purposes; and when cut across at the joints, it forms a bottle often used for oil, milk, and spirits.

The wood of the palm is employed in the same manner as that of the cocoastree; its leaves also are used for the thatch, and even for the walls of cottages; while the sap, which it yields on incision, as well as that of the bastard date-tree, supplies a great proportion of the spirituous liquor consumed in India.

The *malim*, or timber-tree, of the size of an oak, which, abundant in all the forests, produces a blue flower, from which also a great deal of spirit is distilled; while it is still in its infancy, thus an article of food among the wild tribes. To return to the palm, some of the beautiful specimens bears a nut, which, mixed with the pith of a date, and heated for the life-day, and the juice called *condong*, is allowed to cool, is used throughout India. Such is the produce of an otherwise fruitless palm.

The coast of Hindoostan presents a totally different vegetation. The species of the forest-trees of Europe and Asia, rhododendrons, and many other magnificent shrubs abound throughout the chain, often on a gigantic scale.

Pepper and cardamums grow in abundance on the western coast, and cinnamon in Ceylon: capsicum, ginger, cum-<sup>Spices, &c.</sup>min, coriander, turmeric, and various other spices are everywhere a common produce of the fields. We are indebted to India for many well-known aromatics, and the wildest hills are covered with a highly scented grass, the essential oil of which is supposed by some to have been the spikenard of the ancients. Many trees supply medicines—as camphor, cassia, fistularis, aloes, etc.; others yield useful resins, gums, and varnishes.

The woods are filled with trees and creepers, bearing flowers of every form and hue; while the oleander, gloriosa superba, and many other beautiful shrubs, grow wild in the open country. The lotus and water-lily float on the surface of the lakes and ponds; and there are many sweet-scented flowers, the perfume of which, though otherwise exquisite, is in general too powerful for Europeans.

Whole plains are covered with cotton, tobacco, and poppies for opium; even roses are grown, in some places, over <sup>Agricultural</sup> fields of great extent, for <sup>produce.</sup>atar and rose-water. Sugar-cane, though still more abundant, requires rich and well-watered spots, and is not spread over the face of the country like the productions just mentioned. Large tracts of land are given up to indigo, and many other more brilliant dyes are among the produce of the fields. Flax, mustard, sesamum, palma Christi, and other plants, yield an ample supply of oil, both for culinary and other purposes.

The principal food of the people of Hindostan is wheat, and in the Deckan jowár and bájra:<sup>8</sup> rice, as a general article of subsistence, is confined to Bengal and part of Behár, with the low country along the sea all round the coast of the Peninsula: in most parts of India it is only used as a luxury.<sup>9</sup> In the southern part of the table-land of the Deckan the body of the people live on a small and poor grain called rági.<sup>10</sup>

Though these grains each afford the principal supply to particular divisions, they are not confined to their own tracts.

<sup>8</sup> Jowár (*Holcus sorghum*). It grows on a reedy stem to the height of 8 or 10 feet, and bears irregularly-shaped clusters of innumerable round grains, about twice as big as mustard seed. It is common all over the Levant, under the name of dúrra (or dourrah); and in Greece, where it is called kálambóki; there is likewise a coarse sort in Italy, called melica rossa, or sorgo rosso.

Bájra (*Holcus spicatus*) resembles a bulrush, the head being covered with a round grain, smaller, sweeter, and more nourishing than that of jowár.

<sup>9</sup> It was probably the circumstance of our early settlements in Bengal and on the coast of Coromandel that led to the common opinion that rice is the general food of India.

<sup>10</sup> *Cynosurus corocanus*.

Bajrá and jowár are almost as much consumed as wheat in Hindostan, and are grown, though in a less degree, in the rice-countries; wheat is not uncommon in the Deekán, and is sown in the rice-countries; rice is more or less raised all over India in favourable situations, as under hills, or where a great command of water is obtained by artificial means.

Barley is little eaten, and oats till lately were unknown; but there are several smaller sorts of grain, such as millet, panicum italicum, and other kinds for which we have no name. Maize is a good deal grown for the straw; and the heads, when young and tender, are roasted and eaten as a delicacy by the villagers; but I doubt if the grain is ever made into bread.

There are many kinds of pulse, of which there is a very great consumption by people of all ranks; and a variety of roots and vegetables,<sup>a</sup> which, with a large addition of the common spices, form the ordinary messes used by the poor to give a relish to their bread. Many fruits are accessible to the poor; especially mangoes, melons, and water-melons, of which the two last are grown in the wide beds of the rivers during the dry weather. Gourds and cucumbers are most abundant. They are sown round the huts of the poor, and trailed over the roofs, so that the whole building is covered with green leaves and large yellow flowers. The mango, which is the best of the Indian fruits, is likewise by much the most common, the tree which bears it being everywhere planted in orchards and singly, and thriving without any further care. Plantains or bananas, guavas, custard-apples, jujubes, and other fruits of tropical climates, are also common.<sup>b</sup> Grapes are plentiful as a garden-fruit, but not planted for wine. Oranges, limes, and citrons are also in general use, and some sorts are excellent. Figs are not quite so general, but are to be had in most places, and in some (as at Púna, in the Deekán) they are perhaps the best in the world. Pineapples are common everywhere, and grow wild in Pegu.

Horses, camels, and working-cattle are fed on pulse.<sup>c</sup> Their

<sup>a</sup> As the vegetable kingdom, the five apple of the east, yam, sweet potatoes can be produced. In the garden, as much as in the field, the sorts which are cultivated are very numerous, and of various kinds.

<sup>b</sup> One of the most remarkable is the large tree which bears the common cotton, which grows to the height of 20 or 30 feet, which produces the weight of 1000 or 2000 lbs. of cotton by the fruit, the leaves of which are used for paper.

<sup>c</sup> Several Chinese fruits have lately been introduced with success, and some for particular uses, of which the peach and strawberry are the only kinds that are completely naturalized. The apples are much cultivated, and peaches, plums, etc. are not far behind them.

<sup>d</sup> In Hindostan it is a sort called *channa*, of which each seed contains a single pea or cow-pea; from the centre of which the natives make *channa*. It is the *Chor*

forage is chiefly wheat-straw ; and that of the jowár and bájra, which, being full of saccharine matter, is very nourishing. Horses get fresh grass dried in the sun ; but it is only in particular places that hay is stacked.

There are in some places three harvests ; in all two. Bájra, jowár, rice, and some other grains are sown at the beginning of the rains and reaped at the end. Wheat, barley, and some other sorts of grain and pulse ripen during the winter, and are cut in spring.

Elephants, rhinoceroses, bears, and wild buffaloes are confined to the forests. Tigers, leopards, panthers, and some *Animals* other wild beasts are found there also, but likewise inhabit patches of underwood, and even of high grain, in the cultivated lands. This is also the case with wild boars, hyenas, wolves, jackals, and game of all descriptions, in the utmost abundance. Lions are only found in particular tracts. Great numbers of many sorts of deer and antelopes are met with in all parts. Monkeys are numerous in the woods, in the cultivated country, and even in towns. Porcupines, ichneumons, a species of armadillo, iguanas, and other lizards, are found in all places ; as are reptiles, noxious or innocent, in abundance.

There are horses in plenty, but they are only used for riding. For every sort of draught (ploughs, carts, guns, native chariots, etc.), and for carriage of all sorts of baggage and merchandise, almost the whole dependence is on oxen. The frequency of rugged passes in some parts, and the annual destruction of the roads by the rains in others, make the use of pack-cattle much greater than that of draught-cattle, and produce those innumerable droves which so often choke up the travellers' way, as they are transporting grain, salt, and other articles of commerce from one province to another.

Camels, which travel faster, and can carry more bulky loads, are much employed by the rich, and are numerous in armies. Elephants are also used, and are indispensable for carrying large tents, heavy carpets, and other articles which cannot be divided. Buffaloes are very numerous, but they are chiefly kept for milk, of which great quantities (in various preparations) are consumed :<sup>15</sup> they are not unfrequently put in carts, are used for ploughing in deep and wet soils, and more rarely for carriage.

*arietinum* of botanists, and exactly the *Cece* of Italy. In the Deccan the pulse used is *cúlti*, a small hard pea, which must be boiled before it is eaten, even by animals.

<sup>15</sup> The commonest of these are clarified butter (*ghí*) and a sort of acid curd (*dahí*), which is called *yourt* in the Levant. Cheese is scarcely known, and butter never used in its natural state.



Sheep are as common as in European countries, and goats more so. Swine are kept by the lowest casts; poultry are comparatively scarce, in small villages at least, from the prejudice of the Hindûs against fowls; but the common fowl is found wild in great numbers, and resembles the bantam kind. The peacock also is common in a wild state. White cranes and egrettes are extremely numerous throughout the year; and grey cranes, wild geese, snipes, ortolans and other birds of passage, come in incredible numbers at their season. Eagles are found in some places, as are various kinds of falcons. Vultures are very common, and kites beyond number. Most English birds are common (except singing-birds); besides parrots, or rather paroquets, and various birds of splendid plumage, for which we have not even names.

Fish is abundant, and is a great article of food in Bengal, and some other countries.

Crocodiles are often seen both in rivers and large ponds.

None of the minerals of India have attracted attention except metals—diamonds and iron. The steel of India was in request with the ancients; \* it is celebrated in the oldest Persian poem, and is still the material of the scimitars of Khorisân and Damascus. The inferior stones—opals, amethysts, garnets, chrysolites, beryls, cornelians, agates, etc., are found in considerable quantities. Most of the pearls in the world, and all the best, are taken up from beds near Ceylon. Rock salt is found in a range of mountains in the Panjâb; and salt is made in large quantities from the water of the Sâmbér Lake in Ajmir, and from that of the sea. Saltpetre is so abundant as to supply many other countries.

The conformation of the countries and the peculiarities of climate and season have great effect on military operations in India. The passes through the chains of hills that interest the country regulate the direction of the roads, and often fix the field of battle. Campaigns are generally suspended during the rains, and resumed at the end of that season, when grain and forage are abundant. The site of encampments is very greatly affected by the supply of water, which must be easy of access to tens of thousands of cattle which accompany every army, chiefly for drinking. The party is often able to force his enemy into action by depriving the water at which he intended to halt. A failure of the periodical rains brings on all the horrors of famine.

\* Strabo, lib. xv. c. 1. The Tâh-Ar-Rûs, Zeyn-el-Ard, and the Hudud-ush-Shan.

## HINDÚS.

## BOOK I.

## STATE OF THE HINDÚS AT THE TIME OF MENU'S CODE.

As the rudest nations are seldom destitute of some account of the transactions of their ancestors, it is a natural subject of surprise that the Hindús should have attained to a high pitch of civilization without any work that at all approaches to the character of a history.<sup>1</sup>

The fragments which remain of the records of their transactions are so mixed with fable, and so distorted by a fictitious and extravagant system of chronology, as to render it hopeless to deduce from them any continued thread of authentic narrative.

No date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander; and no *connected* relation of the national transactions can be attempted until after the Mahometan conquest.<sup>2</sup>

But notwithstanding this remarkable failure in the annals of the early Hindús, there is no want of information regarding their laws, manners, and religion; which it would have been the most useful object of an account of their proceedings to teach; and if we can ascertain their condition at a remote period, and mark the changes that have since taken place, we shall lose very little of the essential part of their history.

A view of the religion of the Hindús is given, and some light is thrown on their attainments in science and philosophy, by the Védas, a collection of ancient hymns and prayers which are supposed to have been reduced to their present form in the fourteenth century before the Christian era; but the first complete picture of the state of society is afforded by the code of laws which bears

<sup>1</sup> The history of Cashmír scarcely forms an exception. Though it refers to earlier writings of the same nature, it was begun more than a century after the Mahometan conquest of Cashmír; even if it were ancient, it is the work of a small sequestered territory on the utmost borders of India, which, by the accounts contained in the history itself, seems to have been long

liable to be affected by foreign manners; and the example seems never to have been followed by the rest of the Hindús.

<sup>2</sup> [It is most important for the reader to bear this sentence in mind, during the whole of the "Hindú period." It is only at those points when other nations came into contact with the Hindús, that we are able to settle any details accurately.—Ed.]

the name of Menu, and which was probably drawn up in the ninth century before Christ.<sup>1</sup>

With that code, every history of the Hindûs must begin. But to gain accurate notions even of the people contemporary with the supposed Menu, we must remember that a code is never the work of a single age, some of the earliest and rudest laws being preserved and incorporated with the improvements of the most enlightened times. To take a familiar example, there are many of the laws in Blackstone the existence of which proves a high state of refinement in the nation; but those relating to witchcraft and the wager of battle afford no corresponding proof of the continuance of barbarism down to the age in which the Commentaries were written.

Even if the whole code referred to one period it would not show the real state of manners. Its injunctions are drawn from the model to which it is wished to raise the community, and its prohibitions from the worst state of crime which it was possible to apprehend. It is to the general spirit of the code, therefore, that we must look for that of the age; and even then we must soften the features before we reach the actual condition of the people. I have adhered to the usual phraseology in speaking of this compilation; but, though early adopted as an unquestionable authority for the law, I should scarcely venture to regard it as a code drawn up for the regulation of a particular state under the sanction of a government. It seems rather to be the work of a learned man, designed to set forth his idea of a perfect commonwealth under Hindû institutions. On this supposition it would show the state of society as correctly as a legal code; since it is evident that it incorporates the existing laws, and any alterations it may have introduced, with a view to bring them up to its preconceived standard of perfection, must still have been drawn from the opinions which prevailed when it was written. These considerations being premised, I shall now give an outline of the information contained in Menu; and, afterwards, a description of the Hindûs as they are to be seen in present times.

The alterations effected during the interval will appear from a comparison of the two pictures; and a view of the nation, at a particular point of the transition, will be afforded from the accounts which have been left to us by the Greeks.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I. \* On the Age of Menu. (This date is quite untenable, as pointed with the code discussed in the notes to App. I. Ed.)  
see that and some other questions are

## CHAPTER I.

### DIVISION AND EMPLOYMENT OF CLASSES.

THE first feature that strikes us in the society described by Menu is the division into four *class* casts (the sacerdotal, the military, the industrious, and the vile). In these we are struck with the prodigious elevation and sanctity of the Bramins, and the studied degradation of the lowest class.

The three first classes, though by no means equal, are admitted into one pale: they all to which peculiar importance is attached; and they appear to form the common basis of government: the laws are framed. The four classes are considered no further than as they contribute to the support of the superior casts.

A Bramin is the chief of all castes; the life of him, through his imprecations, troops, elephants, horses, and regents of worlds, and could give to new gods and new mortals.<sup>4</sup> A Bramin is to be treated with more respect than a king.<sup>5</sup> His life and person are protected by the severest laws in this world,<sup>6</sup> and the most tremendous denunciations for the next.<sup>7</sup> He is exempt from capital punishment, even for the most enormous crimes.<sup>8</sup> His offences against other classes are treated with remarkable lenity,<sup>9</sup> while all offences against him are punished with tenfold severity.<sup>10</sup>

Yet it would seem, at first sight, as if the Bramins, content with gratifying their spiritual pride, had no design to profit by worldly wealth or power. The life prescribed to them is one of laborious study, as well as of austerity and retirement.

The first quarter of a Bramin's life he must spend as a student;<sup>11</sup> during which time he leads a life of abstinence and humiliation. His attention should be unremittingly directed to the Védas, and

<sup>1</sup> The word *class* is adopted here, as being used in Sir W. Jones's translation of Menu; but *cast* is the term used in India, and by the old writers on that country. It is often written *caste* in late books, and has sometimes been mistaken for an Indian word, but it is an English word, found in Johnson's Dictionary, and derived from the Spanish or Portuguese,—*casta*, a breed.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. i. 96, 100, 101. <sup>3</sup> Ch. ix. 313.  
<sup>4</sup> Ch. ix. 315. <sup>5</sup> Ch. ii. 139.  
<sup>6</sup> Ch. ix. 232, and viii. 281—283.  
<sup>7</sup> Ch. xi. 205—208, and iv. 165—169.  
<sup>8</sup> Ch. viii. 380.  
<sup>9</sup> Ch. viii. 276, 378, 379.  
<sup>10</sup> Ch. viii. 272, 283, 325, 377, and xi. 205, 206.  
<sup>11</sup> Ch. ii. 175—210.

should on no account be wasted on worldly studies. He should treat his preceptor with implicit obedience, and with humble respect and attachment, which ought to be extended to his family. He must perform various servile offices for his preceptor, and must labour for himself in bringing logs and other materials for sacrifice, and water for oblations. He must subsist entirely by begging from door to door.<sup>12</sup>

For the second quarter of his life, he lives with his wife and family, and discharges the ordinary duties of a Bramin. These are briefly stated to be, reading and teaching the *Védas*; sacrificing and assisting others to sacrifice; bestowing alms, and accepting gifts.

The most honourable of these employments is teaching.<sup>13</sup> It is remarkable that, unlike other religions, where the dignity of the priesthood is derived from their service at the temples, a Bramin is considered as degraded by performing acts of worship or assisting at sacrifices, as a profession.<sup>14</sup> All Bramins are strongly and repeatedly prohibited from receiving gifts from lowborn, wicked, or unworthy persons.<sup>15</sup> They are not even to take many presents from unexceptionable givers, and are carefully to avoid making it a habit to accept of unnecessary presents.<sup>16</sup> When the regular sources fail, a Bramin may, for a mere subsistence, glean, or beg, or cultivate, or even (in case of extreme necessity) he may trade; but he must in no extremity enter into service; he must not have recourse to popular conversation, must abstain from music, singing, dancing, gaming, and generally from everything inconsistent with gravity and composure.<sup>17</sup>

He should, indeed, refrain from all sensual enjoyments, should avoid all wealth that may impede his reading the *Védas*,<sup>18</sup> and should shun all worldly honour as he would shame person.<sup>19</sup> Yet he is not to subject himself to fasts, or other needless severities.<sup>20</sup> All that is required is, that his life should be decorous, and occupied in the prescribed studies and observances. Even his dress is laid down with minuteness; and he may easily be figured out, as those of Bramins are still, quiet and demure, clean and decent, with hair neatly combed, cap, his passions subdued, his mantle white, and his body pure;<sup>21</sup> with a staff and a copy of the *Védas* in his hands, and bright golden rings in his ears.<sup>22</sup> When he has paid the three debts, by reading the

<sup>12</sup> *Ch. ix. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.*



The interpretation of the laws is expressly confined to the Bramins; and we can perceive, from the code itself, how large a share of the work of legislation was in the hands of that order.

The property of the sacred class is as well protected by the law as its power. Liberality to Bramins is made incumbent on every virtuous man," and is the especial duty of a King.<sup>1</sup> Sacrifices and oblations, and all the ceremonies of religion, involve feasts and presents to the Bramins,<sup>2</sup> and those gifts must always be liberal: "the organs of sense and action, reputation in this life, happiness in the next, life itself, children, and cattle are all destroyed by a sacrifice offered with trifling gifts to the priests." Many penances may be commuted for large fines, which all go to the sacred class.<sup>3</sup> If a Bramin finds a treasure, he keeps it all; if it is found by another person, the King takes it, but must give one half to the Bramins.<sup>4</sup> On failure of heirs, the property of others escheats to the King, but that of Bramins is divided among their class.<sup>5</sup> A learned Bramin is exempt from all taxation, and ought, if in want, to be maintained by the King.<sup>6</sup>

Stealing the gold of Bramins incurs an extraordinary punishment, which is to be inflicted by the King in person, and is likely, in most cases, to be capital.<sup>7</sup> Their property is protected by many other denunciations; and for injuring their cattle, a man is to suffer amputation of half his foot.<sup>8</sup>

The military class, though far from being placed on an equality with the Bramins, is still treated with honour. It is indeed *colatus*; acknowledged that the sacerdotal order cannot prosper without the military, or the military without the sacerdotal; and that the prosperity of both in this world and the next depends on their cordial union.<sup>9</sup>

The military class enjoys, in a less degree, with respect to the *Varshyas*, the same inequality in criminal law that the Bramin possesses in respect to all the other classes.<sup>10</sup> The King belongs to this class, as probably do all his ordinary ministers.<sup>11</sup> The command of armies and of military divisions, in short, the whole military profession, and in strictness all situations of

<sup>1</sup> Ch. vi. 1-4, and iv. 127, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. vi. 35, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. vi. 125, 146, especially 148, 149.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. vi. 10, 41. *Priest* is the word used by Sir W. Jones throughout his translation; but as it has been shown that few Bramins performed the public offices

strongly, and that designation would have been more appropriate.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. vi. 117, 118, 136.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. Ch. ix. 188, 189.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. vi. 13, 101.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. vi. 314, 316, and xi. 101.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. vi. 32. Ch. ix. 322.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. vi. 27, 28. Ch. vi. 34.

command, and their birthright. It is indeed very observable, that even in the code drawn up by themselves, with the exception of interpreting the law, no interference in the executive government is ever allowed to Bramins.

The duties of the military class are stated to be, to defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Védas, and to shun the allurements of sensual gratification.<sup>43</sup>

The rank of Veisya is not high; for where a Bramin is enjoined to show hospitality to strangers, he is directed to *Velayas*. show benevolence, *even to a chant*, and to give him food at the same time with his dome.<sup>44</sup>

Besides largesses, sacrifice, and reading the Védas, the duties of a Veisya are to keep herds of cattle, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate the land.<sup>45</sup>

The practical knowledge required from a Veisya is more general than that of the other classes; for in addition to a knowledge of the means of breeding cattle, and a thorough acquaintance with all commodities and all soils, he must understand the productions and wants of other countries, the wages of servants, the various dialects of men, and whatever else belongs to purchase and sale.<sup>46</sup>

The duty of a Súdra is briefly stated to be to serve the other classes,<sup>47</sup> but it is more particularly explained in different places that his chief duty is to serve the Bramins;<sup>48</sup> and it is specially permitted to him, in case of want of subsistence and inability to procure service from that class, to serve a C'shatriya; or if even that service cannot be obtained, to attend on an opulent Veisya.<sup>49</sup> It is a general rule that, in times of distress, each of the classes may subsist by the occupations allotted to those beneath it, but must never encroach on the employments of those above it. A Súdra has no class beneath him; but, if other employments fail, he may subsist by handicrafts, especially joinery and masonry, painting and writing.<sup>50</sup>

A Súdra may perform sacrifices with the omission of the holy texts;<sup>51</sup> yet it is an offence requiring expiation for a Bramin to assist him in sacrificing.<sup>52</sup> A Bramin must not read the Véda, even to himself, in the presence of a Súdra.<sup>53</sup> To teach him the

<sup>43</sup> Chap. i. 89.

<sup>44</sup> Ch. i. 90.

<sup>45</sup> Ch. i. 91.

<sup>46</sup> Ch. x. 121.

<sup>47</sup> Ch. x. 99, 100. I do not observe in Menu the permission which is stated to be somewhere expressly given to a Súdra to become a trader or a husbandman. (Cole-

<sup>48</sup> Ch. iii. 112.

<sup>49</sup> Ch. ix. 329—332.

<sup>50</sup> Ch. ix. 334.

brooke, *Asiatic Researches*, v. 63.) Their employment in husbandry, however, is now so common, that most people conceive it to be the special business of the cast.

<sup>51</sup> Ch. x. 127, 128.

<sup>52</sup> Ch. x. 109, 110, 111, and xi. 42, 43.

<sup>53</sup> Ch. iv. 99.



law, or to instruct him in the mode of expiating sin, sinks a Bramin into the hell called Asamyrita.

It is even forbidden to give him temporal advice.<sup>3</sup> No offence is more repeatedly or more strongly inveighed against than that of a Bramin receiving a gift from a Sûdra: it cannot even be expiated by penance, until the gift has been restored.<sup>4</sup> A Bramin, starving, may take dry grain from a Sûdra, but must never eat meat cooked by him. A Sûdra is to be fed by the leavings of his master, or by his refuse grain, and clad in his worn-out garments.<sup>5</sup> He must amass no wealth, even if he has the power, lest he become proud, and give pain to Bramins.<sup>6</sup>

If a Sûdra use abusive language to one of a superior class, his tongue is to be slit.<sup>7</sup> If he sit on the same seat with a Bramin, he is to have a gash made on the part offending.<sup>8</sup> If he advise him about his religious duties, hot oil is to be dropped into his mouth and ears.<sup>9</sup>

These are specimens of the laws, equally ludicrous and inhuman, which are made in favour of the other classes against the Sûdras.

The proper name of a Sûdra is directed to be expressive of contempt;<sup>1</sup> and the religious penance for killing him is the same as for killing a cat, a frog, a dog, a lizard, and various other animals.<sup>2</sup>

Yet, though the degraded state of a Sûdra be sufficiently evident, his precise civil condition is by no means so clear. Sûdras are universally termed the *serf* class: and, in one place, it is declared that a Sûdra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude, "for," it is added, "of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested?"<sup>3</sup>

Yet every Sûdra is not necessarily the slave of an individual: for it has been seen that they are allowed to offer their services to whom they please, and even to exercise trades on their own account: there is nothing to lead to a belief that they are the slaves of the state: and, indeed, the exemption of Sûdras from the laws against emigration,<sup>4</sup> shows that a perfect right to their services was deemed to exist anywhere.

Their right to property, which was denied to slaves<sup>5</sup> is admitted in many places:<sup>6</sup> their persons are protected, even

<sup>1</sup> Ch. i. s. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. vi. 10, 127 and ix. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. x. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. viii. 270.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. viii. 281.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. viii. 271.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. vi. 11, 12, 13.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. ii. 24.

<sup>9</sup> For the notion of, ch. ix. 157.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. ii. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. viii. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. viii. 114.

against their master, who can only correct them in a manner fixed by law, and equally applicable to wives, children, pupils, and younger brothers.<sup>67</sup> That there were some Súdra slaves is indisputable; but there is every reason to believe that men of the other classes were also liable to fall into servitude.

The condition of Súdras, therefore, was much better than that of the public slaves under some ancient republics, and, indeed, than that of the villains of the middle ages, or any other servile class with which we are acquainted.<sup>68</sup>

Though the line between the different classes was so strongly marked, the means taken to prevent their mixture do not seem to have been nearly so much attended to as in after times. The law in this respect seems rather dictated by jealousy of the honour of the women of the upper classes than by regard for the purity of descents.

Men of the three first classes are freely indulged in the choice of women from any inferior cast,<sup>69</sup> provided they do not give them the first place in their family.<sup>70</sup> But no marriage is permitted with women of a higher class: criminal intercourse with them is checked by the severest penalties;<sup>71</sup> and their offspring is degraded far below either of its parents.<sup>72</sup> The son of a Bramin, by a woman of the class next below him, takes a station intermediate between his father and mother;<sup>73</sup> and the daughters of such connexions, if they go on marrying Bramins for seven generations, restore their progeny to the original

<sup>67</sup> Ch. viii. 299, 300.

<sup>68</sup> ["The condition of a Súdra in the Hindú system was infinitely preferable to that of the helot, the slave, or the serf of the Greek, the Roman, and the feudal systems. He was independent, his services were optional; they were not agricultural, but domestic and personal, and claimed adequate compensation. He had the power of accumulating wealth, or injunctions against his so doing would have been superfluous. He had the opportunity of rising to rank, for the Puránas record dynasties of Súdra kings; and even Manu notices their existence. He might to a certain extent study and teach religious knowledge ('a believer in Scripture may receive pure knowledge, even from a Súdra.' Manu, ii. 238), and he might perform religious acts. 'As a Súdra, without injuring another man, performs the lawful acts of the twice-born, even thus, without being censured, he gains exaltation in this world, and the next.' Manu, x. 128. See

also 121—131, and Vishnu Purána, p. 292, and note.

"No doubt the Súdra was considered in some degree the property of the Bráhmaṇ, but he had rights and privileges, and freedom, much beyond any other of the servile classes of antiquity." *Mill* (Wilson, note), i. 194.

At Yudhishtira's inauguration, as described in the Mahábhárata, we find that, although the principal guests are Bráhmaṇs and warriors, "the invitations are extended to respectable Vaisyas and to Súdras universally; the agricultural and servile classes thus having their due consideration, even at a ceremonial of a religious as well as of a political tendency." At the actual sacrifice, however, no Súdras were present. See Wilson, *Journ. R. A. S.* vol. vii. p. 138.—Ed.]

<sup>69</sup> Ch. ii. 238—240, and iii. 13.

<sup>70</sup> Ch. iii. 14—19.

<sup>71</sup> Ch. viii. 366, 374—377.

<sup>72</sup> Ch. x. 11—19.      <sup>73</sup> Ch. x. 6.

purity of the sacerdotal class;<sup>2</sup> but the son of a Sûdra by a Bramin woman is a Chandâla, "the lowest of mortals," and *his* intercourse with women of the higher classes produces "a race more foul than their begetter."<sup>3</sup>

The classes do not seem to have associated at their meals even in the time of Menu; and there is a striking contrast between the cordial festivity recommended to Bramins with their own class, and the constrained hospitality with which they are directed to prepare food *after the Bramins* for a military man coming as a guest.<sup>4</sup> But there is no *prohibition* in the code against eating with other classes, or partaking of food cooked by them (which is now the great occasion for loss of cast), except in the case of Sûdras; and even then the offence is expiated by living on water-gruel for seven days.<sup>5</sup>

Loss of cast seems, in general, to have been incurred by crimes, or by omitting the prescribed expiations for offences.

It is remarkable that, in the four classes, no place is assigned to artisans: Sûdras, indeed, are permitted to practise mechanic trades during a scarcity of other employment, but it is *not* said to whom the employment regularly belongs. From some of the allotments mentioned in Chap. X. it would appear that the artisans were supplied, as they are now, from the mixed classes: a circumstance which affords ground for surmise that the division into casts took place while arts were in too simple a state to require separate workmen for each; and also that too many generations had elapsed between that division and the code to allow so important a portion of the employments of the community to be filled by classes formed subsequently to the original distribution of the people.

## CHAPTER II.

### GOVERNMENT.

THE government of the society thus constituted was vested in a king, an absolute monarch. The opening of the chapter on government employs the boldest poetical figures to display the irresistible power, the glory, and almost the divinity of a king.<sup>1</sup>

He was subject, indeed, to no legal control by human autho-

<sup>1</sup> Chap. I. v. 1. — Chap. X. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. II. v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. vi. 133.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. X. 22. — V. 23. — 24. — 25.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. I. v. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Chap. I. v. 12. — Chap. X. 12.

rity; and, <sup>1</sup> ~~th~~ <sup>in one</sup> place,<sup>2</sup> and spoken <sup>as su</sup> ~~it to~~ <sup>in ot</sup>; yet no means are provided for enl <sup>cing th</sup> ~~t~~ and neither the councils nor the milita <sup>r</sup> ~~chiefs a~~ to have possessed any constitutional power but what <sup>tl</sup> ~~r~~ derived from his will. He must, however, have bee <sup>1</sup> ~~subject to the laws promulgated in the name of the Divinity; and the influence of the Bramins, both with him and with his people, would afford a strong support to the injunctions of the code.~~

Like other despots, also, he <sup>e</sup> ~~been kept within some~~ bounds by the fear of mutiny <sup>rev</sup> ~~.~~

The object of the institu <sup>1</sup> ~~of a ki~~ is declared to be, to restrain violence and to pu <sup>evil</sup> ~~.~~

"Punishment wakes when g <sup>ds</sup> ~~asleep.~~"

"If a king were not to punish <sup>g</sup> ~~lty, the stronger would~~ roast the weaker like fish <sup>a s</sup> ~~.~~"

"Ownership would remain <sup>v</sup> ~~i no~~; the lowest would over-set the highest."<sup>3</sup>

The duties of a king are s <sup>1</sup> ~~generally to be, to act in his own domains with justice, chast~~ foreign foes with rigour, behave without duplicity to his friends, and with lenity to Bramins.<sup>4</sup>

He is respectfully to attend to the Bramins, and from them to learn lessons of modesty and composure; from them, also, he is to learn justice, policy, metaphysics, and theology. From the people he is to learn the theory of agriculture, commerce, and other practical arts.<sup>5</sup>

He is to withstand pleasure, restrain his angry passions, and resist sloth.

He is to appoint seven ministers, or rather counsellors (who seem to be of the military class), and to have one learned Bramin distinguished above them all, in whom he is to repose <sup>Administration of the</sup> his full confidence. He is to appoint other officers also, <sup>government.</sup> among whom the most conspicuous is the one called "the ambassador," though he seems rather to be a minister for foreign affairs. This person, like all the others, must be of noble birth; and must be endued with great abilities, sagacity, and penetration. He should be honest, popular, dexterous in business,

<sup>2</sup> Ch. vii. 27—29.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. viii. 336.

<sup>4</sup> In the "Toy Cart," a drama written about the commencement of our era, the king is dethroned, for tyranny, by a cowherd; and in another drama, the "Uttara Rāma Charitra," the great monarch Rāma

is compelled by the clamours of his people to banish his beloved queen.—See WILSON'S *Hindu Theatre*.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. vii. 13—26.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. vii. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. vii. 43.



capital stock; which in time of war or invasion may be increased to one-twelfth, one-fourth, or one-sixth, "according to the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it."<sup>15</sup> This also may be raised, in cases of emergency, even as far as one-fourth; and must always have been the most important item of the public revenue.

On the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meat, honey, perfumes, and several other natural productions and manufactures, one-sixth.<sup>16</sup>

The king is also entitled to 20 per cent. on the profit of all sales.<sup>17</sup> Escheats for want of heirs have been mentioned as being his, and so also is all property to which no owner appears within three years after proclamation.<sup>18</sup> Besides possessing mines of his own, he is entitled to half of all precious minerals in the earth.<sup>19</sup> He appears, likewise, to have a right of pre-emption on some descriptions of goods.<sup>20</sup>

It has been argued that, in addition to the rights which have just been specified, the king was regarded in the code as possessing the absolute property of the land. This opinion is supported by a passage (VIII. 39) where he is said to be "lord paramount of the soil;" and by another, where it is supposed to be directed that an occupier of land shall be responsible to the king if he fails to sow it (VIII. 243).

In reply to this it is urged, that the first quotation is deprived of its force by a similar passage (VII. 7), where the king is said to be "the regent of the waters and the lord of the firmament."

The second is answered by denying its correctness; but even if undisputed, it might only be a provision against the king's losing his share of the produce in consequence of the neglect of the proprietor. A text is also produced in opposition to the king's claim, in which it is stated that "land is the property of him who cut away the wood;" or, in the words of the commentator, "who tilled and cleared it" (IX. 44). But the conclusive argument is, that the king's share being limited, as above, to one-sixth, or at most one-fourth, there must have been another proprietor for the remaining five-sixths or three-fourths, who must obviously have had the greatest interest of the two in the whole property shared.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The words between inverted commas are an addition by the ancient commentator Cullūca. <sup>16</sup> Ch. vii. 127—132.

<sup>17</sup> Ch. viii. 398.

<sup>18</sup> Ch. viii. 30.

<sup>19</sup> Ch. viii. 39.

<sup>20</sup> Ch. viii. 399.

<sup>21</sup> The arguments in favour of individual proprietors are stated in Wilks's *History of Mysore*, i. ch. v., and Appendix, p. 483; and those in favour of the king in Mill's *History of British India*, i. 180.



This rational picture is broken by the mention of many of those precautions which must take from all the enjoyments of an Asiatic monarch. His food is only to be served by trustworthy persons, and is to be accompanied by antidotes against poison. He is to be guarded when he receives his emissaries; even his female attendants are to be searched, for fear of hidden weapons; and, whether at home or abroad, he is to be constantly on his guard against the plots of his enemies.

Foreign policy and war are the subjects of many of the rules for government. These are interesting, from the clear Policy. proofs which they afford of the division of India, even at that early period, into many independent states; and also from the signs which they reveal of a civilized and gentle people. The king is to provide for the safety by vigilance and a state of preparation; but he is to avoid occasions without guile, and never with insincerity. The arts which may be employed against enemies are four: presents, sowing divisions, negotiations, and force of arms: the wise, it is said, prefer the two last.<sup>26</sup>

The king is to regard his nearest neighbours and their allies as hostile, the powers next beyond these natural foes as amicable, and all more remote powers as neutral.<sup>27</sup> It is remarkable that, among the ordinary expedients to be resorted to in difficulties, the protection of a more powerful prince is more than once adverted to.<sup>28</sup>

Yet this protection appears to involve unqualified submission; and on the last occasion on which it is mentioned, the king is advised, if he thinks it an evil, even when in extremities, to persevere alone, although weak, in waging vigorous war without fear.<sup>29</sup>

Vast importance is attached to spies, both in foreign politics and in war. Minute instructions are given regarding the sort of persons to be employed, some of whom are of the same description that are now used in India,—active artful youths, degraded anchorets, distressed husbandmen, decayed merchants, and fictitious penitents.<sup>30</sup>

The rules of war are simple; and, being drawn up by Bramins, they show nothing of the practical ability for which the War. Indians are often distinguished at present.

The plan of a campaign resembles those of the Greek republics

<sup>26</sup> Ch. vii. 103, 104.

<sup>28</sup> Ch. vii. 160.

<sup>27</sup> Ch. vii. 109.

<sup>29</sup> Ch. viii. 175, 176.

<sup>30</sup> Ch. vii. 158.

<sup>31</sup> Ch. vii. 154.



or the early days of Rome; and seems suited to countries of much less extent than those which now exist in India.

The king is to march when the vernal or autumnal crops are on the ground, and is to advance straight to the capital. In another place 100 bowmen in a fort are said to be a match for 10,000 enemies; so far was the art of attack behind that of defence: a siege, therefore, is out of the question; but, if not opposed, the king is to ravage the country, and intrigue with the enemy's chiefs, until he can bring his foe to an action on favourable terms; or, what is still more desirable, bring him to terms by negotiation.

Armies were composed of cavalry and infantry. The great weapon of both was probably the bow, together with the sword and target. Elephants were much employed in war; and chariots seem still to have formed an important branch of the army.

Several different orders of march and battle are briefly given. The king is advised to recruit his forces from the upper parts of Hindostan, where the best men are still found. He is in person to set an example of valour to his troops, and is recommended to encourage them, when drawn up for battle, with short and animated speeches.

Prize property belongs to the individual who took it; but when not captured separately, it is to be distributed among the troops.

The laws of war are honourable and humane. Poisoned and mischievously barbed arrows, and fire arrows, are all prohibited. There are many situations in which it is by no means allowable to destroy the enemy. Among those who must always be spared are unarmed or wounded men, and those who have broken their weapons; and one who asks his life, and one who says, "I am thy captive." Other prohibitions are still more generous: a man on horseback or in a chariot is not to kill one on foot; nor is it allowed to kill one who sits down, fatigued, or who sleeps, or who flees, or who is fighting with another man.

The settlement of conquered countries is conducted on equally liberal principles. Their future security is to be assured to all by protection. Their religion and laws of the country are to be maintained and respected; and as soon as time has been allowed for settlement, that the conquered people are to be trusted, a

<sup>1</sup> *Arthashastra*, lib. vi. c. 12. <sup>2</sup> *Arthashastra*, lib. vi. c. 12. <sup>3</sup> *Arthashastra*, lib. vi. c. 12. <sup>4</sup> *Arthashastra*, lib. vi. c. 12. <sup>5</sup> *Arthashastra*, lib. vi. c. 12. <sup>6</sup> *Arthashastra*, lib. vi. c. 12. <sup>7</sup> *Arthashastra*, lib. vi. c. 12. <sup>8</sup> *Arthashastra*, lib. vi. c. 12. <sup>9</sup> *Arthashastra*, lib. vi. c. 12. <sup>10</sup> *Arthashastra*, lib. vi. c. 12.

prince of the old royal family is to be placed on the throne, and to hold his kingdom as a dependence on the conqueror.<sup>35</sup>

It is remarkable that, although the pay of the king's household servants is settled with some minuteness,<sup>36</sup> not a syllable is said regarding that of the army, or the source from which its support is derived. The practice of modern Hindú nations would lead us to suppose that it was maintained by assignments of land to the chiefs; but, if that practice had existed at the time of the code, it is impossible that so important a body as those chiefs would have formed should not have been alluded to in discussing the internal administration; even if no rules were suggested for regulating their attendance, and for securing some portion of the king's authority over the lands thus alienated. It is possible that the army may have been paid by separate assignments of land to each individual soldier, in the same manner as the local troops of the small states in the south of India (which have been little visited by the Mahometans) are still; and this opinion derives some support from the payment of the civil officers having been provided for by such assignments.<sup>37</sup>

From one passage it would appear that the monarchy descended, undivided, to one son, probably (according to Hindú rule) to him whom his father regarded as most worthy.

## CHAPTER III.

### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

JUSTICE is to be administered by the king in person, assisted by Bramins and other counsellors;<sup>1</sup> or that function may be deputed to one Bramin, aided by three assessors of the same class.<sup>2</sup> There is no exception made for the conduct of criminal trials; but it may be gathered from the general tone of the laws, that the king is expected to take a more active share in this department than in the investigation of civil causes.

From the silence of the code regarding local administration, it may perhaps be inferred that the king's representative fills his place in the courts of justice, at towns remote from the royal residence.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Ch. vii. 201—203.

<sup>36</sup> Ch. vii. 126.

<sup>37</sup> See ch. vii. 119, already referred to.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. viii. 1, 2.      <sup>2</sup> Ch. viii. 9—11.

<sup>3</sup> The early practice of the Hindús recorded in other books leaves this question in some uncertainty; for, in those books, it appears that there were local judges

The king is entitled to 5 per cent. on all debts admitted by the defendant on trial, and to 10 per cent. on all denied and proved.<sup>6</sup> This fee probably went direct to the judges, who would thus be remunerated without infringing the law against Bramins serving for hire.

A king or judge in trying causes is carefully to observe the countenances, gestures, and mode of speech of the parties and witnesses. He is to attend to local usages of districts, the peculiar laws of classes and rules of families, and the customs of traders; when not inconsistent with the above, he is to observe the principles established by former judges.

Neither he nor his officers are to encourage litigation, though they must show no shakness in taking up any suit regularly instituted.

A king is reckoned among the worst of criminals who receives his revenue from his subjects without affording them due protection in return.

The king is enjoined to bear with rough language from irritated litigants, as well as from old or sick people, who come before him.

He is also cautioned against deciding causes on his own judgment, without consulting persons learned in the law;<sup>7</sup> and is positively forbidden to disturb any transaction that has once been settled conformably to law.<sup>8</sup> In trials he is to adhere to established practice.

### 1. Criminal Law.

The criminal law is very rude, and this portion of the code, taken together with the religious penances, leaves a more unfavourable impression of the early Hindus than any other part of the Institutes.

It is not, however, sanguinary, unless when influenced by superstition or by the prejudice of caste; and of punishments

<sup>6</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 1.* <sup>7</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 2.* <sup>8</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 3.* <sup>9</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 4.* <sup>10</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 5.* <sup>11</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 6.* <sup>12</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 7.* <sup>13</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 8.* <sup>14</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 9.* <sup>15</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 10.* <sup>16</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 11.* <sup>17</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 12.* <sup>18</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 13.* <sup>19</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 14.* <sup>20</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 15.* <sup>21</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 16.* <sup>22</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 17.* <sup>23</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 18.* <sup>24</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 19.* <sup>25</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 20.* <sup>26</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 21.* <sup>27</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 22.* <sup>28</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 23.* <sup>29</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 24.* <sup>30</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 25.* <sup>31</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 26.* <sup>32</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 27.* <sup>33</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 28.* <sup>34</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 29.* <sup>35</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 30.* <sup>36</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 31.* <sup>37</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 32.* <sup>38</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 33.* <sup>39</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 34.* <sup>40</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 35.* <sup>41</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 36.* <sup>42</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 37.* <sup>43</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 38.* <sup>44</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 39.* <sup>45</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 40.* <sup>46</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 41.* <sup>47</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 42.* <sup>48</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 43.* <sup>49</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 44.* <sup>50</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 45.* <sup>51</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 46.* <sup>52</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 47.* <sup>53</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 48.* <sup>54</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 49.* <sup>55</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 50.* <sup>56</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 51.* <sup>57</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 52.* <sup>58</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 53.* <sup>59</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 54.* <sup>60</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 55.* <sup>61</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 56.* <sup>62</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 57.* <sup>63</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 58.* <sup>64</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 59.* <sup>65</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 60.* <sup>66</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 61.* <sup>67</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 62.* <sup>68</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 63.* <sup>69</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 64.* <sup>70</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 65.* <sup>71</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 66.* <sup>72</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 67.* <sup>73</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 68.* <sup>74</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 69.* <sup>75</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 70.* <sup>76</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 71.* <sup>77</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 72.* <sup>78</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 73.* <sup>79</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 74.* <sup>80</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 75.* <sup>81</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 76.* <sup>82</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 77.* <sup>83</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 78.* <sup>84</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 79.* <sup>85</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 80.* <sup>86</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 81.* <sup>87</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 82.* <sup>88</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 83.* <sup>89</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 84.* <sup>90</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 85.* <sup>91</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 86.* <sup>92</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 87.* <sup>93</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 88.* <sup>94</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 89.* <sup>95</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 90.* <sup>96</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 91.* <sup>97</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 92.* <sup>98</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 93.* <sup>99</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 94.* <sup>100</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 95.* <sup>101</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 96.* <sup>102</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 97.* <sup>103</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 98.* <sup>104</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 99.* <sup>105</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 100.* <sup>106</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 101.* <sup>107</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 102.* <sup>108</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 103.* <sup>109</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 104.* <sup>110</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 105.* <sup>111</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 106.* <sup>112</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 107.* <sup>113</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 108.* <sup>114</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 109.* <sup>115</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 110.* <sup>116</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 111.* <sup>117</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 112.* <sup>118</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 113.* <sup>119</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 114.* <sup>120</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 115.* <sup>121</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 116.* <sup>122</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 117.* <sup>123</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 118.* <sup>124</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 119.* <sup>125</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 120.* <sup>126</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 121.* <sup>127</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 122.* <sup>128</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 123.* <sup>129</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 124.* <sup>130</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 125.* <sup>131</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 126.* <sup>132</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 127.* <sup>133</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 128.* <sup>134</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 129.* <sup>135</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 130.* <sup>136</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 131.* <sup>137</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 132.* <sup>138</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 133.* <sup>139</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 134.* <sup>140</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 135.* <sup>141</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 136.* <sup>142</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 137.* <sup>143</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 138.* <sup>144</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 139.* <sup>145</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 140.* <sup>146</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 141.* <sup>147</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 142.* <sup>148</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 143.* <sup>149</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 144.* <sup>150</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 145.* <sup>151</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 146.* <sup>152</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 147.* <sup>153</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 148.* <sup>154</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 149.* <sup>155</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 150.* <sup>156</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 151.* <sup>157</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 152.* <sup>158</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 153.* <sup>159</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 154.* <sup>160</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 155.* <sup>161</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 156.* <sup>162</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 157.* <sup>163</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 158.* <sup>164</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 159.* <sup>165</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 160.* <sup>166</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 161.* <sup>167</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 162.* <sup>168</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 163.* <sup>169</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 164.* <sup>170</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 165.* <sup>171</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 166.* <sup>172</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 167.* <sup>173</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 168.* <sup>174</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 169.* <sup>175</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 170.* <sup>176</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 171.* <sup>177</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 172.* <sup>178</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 173.* <sup>179</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 174.* <sup>180</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 175.* <sup>181</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 176.* <sup>182</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 177.* <sup>183</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 178.* <sup>184</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 179.* <sup>185</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 180.* <sup>186</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 181.* <sup>187</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 182.* <sup>188</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 183.* <sup>189</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 184.* <sup>190</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 185.* <sup>191</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 186.* <sup>192</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 187.* <sup>193</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 188.* <sup>194</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 189.* <sup>195</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 190.* <sup>196</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 191.* <sup>197</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 192.* <sup>198</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 193.* <sup>199</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 194.* <sup>200</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 195.* <sup>201</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 196.* <sup>202</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 197.* <sup>203</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 198.* <sup>204</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 199.* <sup>205</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 200.* <sup>206</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 201.* <sup>207</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 202.* <sup>208</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 203.* <sup>209</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 204.* <sup>210</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 205.* <sup>211</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 206.* <sup>212</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 207.* <sup>213</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 208.* <sup>214</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 209.* <sup>215</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 210.* <sup>216</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 211.* <sup>217</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 212.* <sup>218</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 213.* <sup>219</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 214.* <sup>220</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 215.* <sup>221</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 216.* <sup>222</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 217.* <sup>223</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 218.* <sup>224</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 219.* <sup>225</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 220.* <sup>226</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 221.* <sup>227</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 222.* <sup>228</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 223.* <sup>229</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 224.* <sup>230</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 225.* <sup>231</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 226.* <sup>232</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 227.* <sup>233</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 228.* <sup>234</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 229.* <sup>235</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 230.* <sup>236</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 231.* <sup>237</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 232.* <sup>238</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 233.* <sup>239</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 234.* <sup>240</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 235.* <sup>241</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 236.* <sup>242</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 237.* <sup>243</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 238.* <sup>244</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 239.* <sup>245</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 240.* <sup>246</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 241.* <sup>247</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 242.* <sup>248</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 243.* <sup>249</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 244.* <sup>250</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 245.* <sup>251</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 246.* <sup>252</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 247.* <sup>253</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 248.* <sup>254</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 249.* <sup>255</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 250.* <sup>256</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 251.* <sup>257</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 252.* <sup>258</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 253.* <sup>259</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 254.* <sup>260</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 255.* <sup>261</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 256.* <sup>262</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 257.* <sup>263</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 258.* <sup>264</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 259.* <sup>265</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 260.* <sup>266</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 261.* <sup>267</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 262.* <sup>268</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 263.* <sup>269</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 264.* <sup>270</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 265.* <sup>271</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 266.* <sup>272</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 267.* <sup>273</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 268.* <sup>274</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 269.* <sup>275</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 270.* <sup>276</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 271.* <sup>277</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 272.* <sup>278</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 273.* <sup>279</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 274.* <sup>280</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 275.* <sup>281</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 276.* <sup>282</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 277.* <sup>283</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 278.* <sup>284</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 279.* <sup>285</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 280.* <sup>286</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 281.* <sup>287</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 282.* <sup>288</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 283.* <sup>289</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 284.* <sup>290</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 285.* <sup>291</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 286.* <sup>292</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 287.* <sup>293</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 288.* <sup>294</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 289.* <sup>295</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 290.* <sup>296</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 291.* <sup>297</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 292.* <sup>298</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 293.* <sup>299</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 294.* <sup>300</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 295.* <sup>301</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 296.* <sup>302</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 297.* <sup>303</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 298.* <sup>304</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 299.* <sup>305</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 300.* <sup>306</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 301.* <sup>307</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 302.* <sup>308</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 303.* <sup>309</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 304.* <sup>310</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 305.* <sup>311</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 306.* <sup>312</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 307.* <sup>313</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 308.* <sup>314</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 309.* <sup>315</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 310.* <sup>316</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 311.* <sup>317</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 312.* <sup>318</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 313.* <sup>319</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 314.* <sup>320</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 315.* <sup>321</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 316.* <sup>322</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 317.* <sup>323</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 318.* <sup>324</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 319.* <sup>325</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 320.* <sup>326</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 321.* <sup>327</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 322.* <sup>328</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 323.* <sup>329</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 324.* <sup>330</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 325.* <sup>331</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 326.* <sup>332</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 327.* <sup>333</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 328.* <sup>334</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 329.* <sup>335</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 330.* <sup>336</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 331.* <sup>337</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 332.* <sup>338</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 333.* <sup>339</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 334.* <sup>340</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 335.* <sup>341</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 336.* <sup>342</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 337.* <sup>343</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 338.* <sup>344</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 339.* <sup>345</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 340.* <sup>346</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 341.* <sup>347</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 342.* <sup>348</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 343.* <sup>349</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 344.* <sup>350</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 345.* <sup>351</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 346.* <sup>352</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 347.* <sup>353</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 348.* <sup>354</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 349.* <sup>355</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 350.* <sup>356</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 351.* <sup>357</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 352.* <sup>358</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 353.* <sup>359</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 354.* <sup>360</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 355.* <sup>361</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 356.* <sup>362</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 357.* <sup>363</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 358.* <sup>364</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 359.* <sup>365</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 360.* <sup>366</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 361.* <sup>367</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 362.* <sup>368</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 363.* <sup>369</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 364.* <sup>370</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 365.* <sup>371</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 366.* <sup>372</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 367.* <sup>373</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 368.* <sup>374</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 369.* <sup>375</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 370.* <sup>376</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 371.* <sup>377</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 372.* <sup>378</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 373.* <sup>379</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 374.* <sup>380</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 375.* <sup>381</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 376.* <sup>382</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 377.* <sup>383</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 378.* <sup>384</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 379.* <sup>385</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 380.* <sup>386</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 381.* <sup>387</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 382.* <sup>388</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 383.* <sup>389</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 384.* <sup>390</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 385.* <sup>391</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 386.* <sup>392</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 387.* <sup>393</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 388.* <sup>394</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 389.* <sup>395</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 390.* <sup>396</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 391.* <sup>397</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 392.* <sup>398</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 393.* <sup>399</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 394.* <sup>400</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 395.* <sup>401</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 396.* <sup>402</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 397.* <sup>403</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 398.* <sup>404</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 399.* <sup>405</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 400.* <sup>406</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 401.* <sup>407</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 402.* <sup>408</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 403.* <sup>409</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 404.* <sup>410</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 405.* <sup>411</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 406.* <sup>412</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 407.* <sup>413</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 408.* <sup>414</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 409.* <sup>415</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 410.* <sup>416</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 411.* <sup>417</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 412.* <sup>418</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 413.* <sup>419</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 414.* <sup>420</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 415.* <sup>421</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 416.* <sup>422</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 417.* <sup>423</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 418.* <sup>424</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 419.* <sup>425</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 420.* <sup>426</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 421.* <sup>427</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 422.* <sup>428</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 423.* <sup>429</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 424.* <sup>430</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 425.* <sup>431</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 426.* <sup>432</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 427.* <sup>433</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 428.* <sup>434</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 429.* <sup>435</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 430.* <sup>436</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 431.* <sup>437</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 432.* <sup>438</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 433.* <sup>439</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 434.* <sup>440</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 435.* <sup>441</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 436.* <sup>442</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 437.* <sup>443</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 438.* <sup>444</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 439.* <sup>445</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 440.* <sup>446</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 441.* <sup>447</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 442.* <sup>448</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 443.* <sup>449</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 444.* <sup>450</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 445.* <sup>451</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 446.* <sup>452</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 447.* <sup>453</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 448.* <sup>454</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 449.* <sup>455</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 450.* <sup>456</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 451.* <sup>457</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 452.* <sup>458</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 453.* <sup>459</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 454.* <sup>460</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 455.* <sup>461</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 456.* <sup>462</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 457.* <sup>463</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 458.* <sup>464</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 459.* <sup>465</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 460.* <sup>466</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 461.* <sup>467</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 462.* <sup>468</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 463.* <sup>469</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 464.* <sup>470</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 465.* <sup>471</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 466.* <sup>472</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 467.* <sup>473</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 468.* <sup>474</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 469.* <sup>475</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 470.* <sup>476</sup> *Ch. vi. s. 471.* <sup>4</sup>

are, in some cases too lenient. Mutilation ( ) is among the punishments, as in all Asiatic codes. Burnt alive is one of the inflictions on offenders against the sacred order; but it is an honourable distinction from most Asiatic codes, that torture is never employed either against witnesses or criminals. But the law, confusion, and barbarism which pervade this branch of the law seem to prove that it was derived from the practice of the early times; and the adoption of it in the time of the composition of these Institutes shows an unimproved condition of the law, though it is not unlikely that parts of it were originally derived by an arbitrary system more conformable to the spirit of the law, as is seen in Hindú countries in modern times; but by some improvement, that the bloody laws in favour of robbery and theft, though inserted in the code by the legislator, are not the perfection of a Hindú criminal law, but have been added on by any Cshatriya king.<sup>11</sup>

The punishments, though not always in themselves severe, are often disproportioned to the offence; and are frequently so indistinctly or contradictorily declared as to leave the fate of an offender quite uncertain.

Both these faults are conspicuous in the following instance:—Slaying a priest, drinking spirits, stealing the gold of a priest, and violating the bed of one's natural or spiritual father, are all classed under one head, and subject to one punishment.<sup>12</sup> That punishment is at first declared to be, branding on the forehead, banishment, and absolute exclusion from the society of mankind (unless previously expiated by penance,<sup>13</sup> in which case the highest fine is to be substituted for branding); and this is declared applicable to all the classes.<sup>14</sup> Yet it is immediately afterwards directed that, when expiation has been performed, a priest guilty of those offences shall pay the middle fine, and shall in no case be deprived of his effects or the society of his family; while it is pronounced that the other classes, even after expiation, shall, in case of premeditation, suffer death.<sup>15</sup>

Still more inconsistent are the punishments for adultery and what are called overt acts of adulterous inclination. Among these

<sup>11</sup> In the "Toy Cart," the earliest of the Hindú dramas, and written about the commencement of our era, this extravagant veneration for Bramins nowhere appears. The king sentences one of that class convicted of murder to be put to death; and though he is afterwards deposed by a

successful rebellion, and although the Bramin's innocence is proved, this open defiance of the laws of Menu is not made a charge against the dethroned prince.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. ix. 235.

<sup>13</sup> Ch. ix. 237.

<sup>14</sup> Ch. ix. 240.

<sup>15</sup> Ch. ix. 241, 242.

last are included, talking to the wife of another man at a place of pilgrimage, or in a forest, or at the confluence of rivers; sending her flowers or perfumes; touching her apparel or her ornaments, and sitting on the same couch with her;<sup>17</sup> yet the penalty is banishment, with such bodily marks as may excite aversion.<sup>18</sup>

For adultery itself, it is first declared, without reserve, that the woman is to be devoured by dogs, and the man burned on an iron bed;<sup>19</sup> yet, in the verses next following, it appears that the punishment of adultery without aggravation is a fine of from 500 to 1000 panas.<sup>20</sup> The punishment, indeed, increases in proportion to the dignity of the party offended against. Even a soldier committing adultery with a Bramin woman, if she be of eminently good qualities, and properly guarded, is to be burned alive in a fire of dry grass or reeds.<sup>21</sup> These flat contradictions can only be accounted for by supposing that the compiler put down the laws of different periods, or those supported by different authorities, without considering how they bore on each other.

There is no express punishment for murder. From one passage it would appear that it as well as arson and robbery attended with violence is capital, and that the slighter punishments mentioned in other places were in cases where there was no premeditation; but, as the murder of particular descriptions of persons is afterwards declared capital,<sup>22</sup> it remains doubtful what is the punishment for the offence in simple cases.

Theft is punished, if small, with fine; if of greater amount, with cutting off the hand; but if the thief be taken with the stolen goods upon him, it is capital.<sup>23</sup>

Receivers of stolen goods, and persons who harbour thieves, are liable to the same punishment as the thief.<sup>24</sup>

It is remarkable that, in cases of small theft, the fine of a Bramin offender is at least eight times as great as that of a Sudra, and the scale varies in a similar manner and proportion between all the classes.<sup>25</sup> A king committing an offence is to pay a thousand panas, as if a fine would be exacted from an ordinary person.<sup>26</sup> Robbery seems to merit amputation of the hand principally if employed. If accompanied with violence it is capital; and if committed by robbers, or supply them with food or implements, or furnish them with quarters.<sup>27</sup>

The law against sedition, causing dissensions among great men,

१७१. ५००	१७२. ५००	१७३. ५००
१७४. ५००	१७५. ५००	१७६. ५००
१७७. ५००	१७८. ५००	१७९. ५००
१८०. ५००	१८१. ५००	१८२. ५००

isters, adhering to the king's enemies, and slaying women, priests, or children, are put under one head as capital.<sup>27</sup>

Men who openly oppose the king's authority, who rob his treasury, or steal his elephants, horses, or cars, are liable to capital punishment; as are those who break into a temple to steal.<sup>28</sup>

For cutting purses, the first offence is cutting off the fingers, the second the hand, the third is capital.<sup>29</sup>

False evidence is to be punished with banishment accompanied by fine, except in case of a Bramin, when it is banishment alone.<sup>30</sup>

Banishment is likewise the sentence pronounced upon men who do not assist in repelling an attempt to plunder a town,<sup>31</sup> to break down an embankment, or to commit robbery on the highway.

Public guards, not resisting or apprehending thieves, are to be punished like the thieves.<sup>32</sup>

Gamesters and keepers of gaming-houses are liable to corporal punishment.<sup>33</sup>

Most other offences are punished by fines, though sometimes other punishments are substituted.

No fine must exceed 1000 panas, or fall short of 250.<sup>34</sup>

Defamation is confined to this sort of penalty, except with Sûdras, who are liable to be whipped. It is to be observed, however, that this class is protected by a fine from defamation, even by a Bramin.<sup>35</sup>

Abusive language is still more distinguished for the inequality of punishments among the casts, but even in this branch of the law are traces of a civilized spirit. Men reproaching their neighbours with lameness, blindness, or any other natural infirmity, are liable to a small fine, even if they speak the truth.<sup>36</sup>

Assaults, if among equals, are punished by a fine of 100 panas for blood drawn, a larger sum for a wound, and banishment for breaking a bone.<sup>37</sup> The prodigious inequality into which the penalty runs between men of different classes has already been noticed.<sup>38</sup>

Proper provisions are made for injuries inflicted in self-defence; in consequence of being forcibly obstructed in the

<sup>27</sup> Ch. ix. 232. <sup>28</sup> Ch. ix. 280.

<sup>29</sup> Ch. ix. 277. <sup>30</sup> Ch. viii. 120-123.

<sup>31</sup> Ch. ix. 274. If this law does not refer to foreign enemies, it shows that gang robbery, now so well known under the name of *dacoity*, existed even when

this code was compiled. [Cullûca explains it as referring to robbers, &c.—Ed.]

<sup>32</sup> Ch. ix. 272. <sup>33</sup> Ch. ix. 224.

<sup>34</sup> Ch. viii. 138. <sup>35</sup> Ch. viii. 267-277.

<sup>36</sup> Ch. viii. 274. <sup>37</sup> Ch. viii. 284.

<sup>38</sup> P. 13.

execution of one's duty, or in defence of persons unjustly attacked."<sup>7</sup>

Furious and careless driving involves fines as different in degree as the loss occasioned by the death of a man and of the lowest animal.<sup>8</sup>

Persons defiling the highways are subject to a small fine, besides being obliged to remove the nuisance.<sup>9</sup>

Ministers taking bribes in private affairs are punished by confiscation of their property.<sup>10</sup>

The offences of physicians or surgeons who injure their patients for want of skill; breaking hedges, palisades, and earthen idols; mixing pure with impure commodities, and other impositions on purchasers, are all lumped up under a penalty of from 200 to 400 panas.<sup>11</sup> Selling bad grain for good, however, incurs severe corporal punishment;<sup>12</sup> and, what far more passes the limits of just distinction, a goldsmith guilty of fraud is ordered to be cut to pieces with razors.<sup>13</sup>

Some offences not noticed by other codes are punished in this one with whimsical disregard to their relative importance: forsaking one's parents, son, or wife, for instance, is punished by a fine of 600 panas; and not inviting one's next neighbour to entertainments on certain occasions, by a fine of one māsha of silver.<sup>14</sup>

The rules of police are harsh and arbitrary. Besides maintaining patrols and fixed guards, open and secret, the king is to have many spies, who are to mix with the thieves, and lead them into situations where they may be entrapped. When fair means fail, the prince is to seize them and put them to death, with their relations; the ancient commentator, Cullūka, inserts, "on proof of their guilt, and the participation of their relations;" which, no doubt, would be a material improvement on the text, but for which there is no authority.<sup>15</sup>

Gamesters, public dancers, and singers, revilers of scripture, open heretics, and who perform not the duties of their several classes, and sellers of spurious liquors, are to be instantly banished the realm.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Civil Law.

The laws for civil police are very superior to the penal code, inasmuch as they are more rational and matured than could well be expected of so early an age.

<sup>7</sup> *Manu*, i. 35.      <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 235, 236.      <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 254, 255.  
<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 274, 275.      <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 291.  
<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 292.      <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 293, 294.  
<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 295.

Cases are first stated in which the plaintiff is to be non-suited, or the decision to go by default<sup>50</sup> against the defendant; and rules then given in case the matter comes to <sup>Mode of</sup> proceeding a trial.

The witnesses must be examined standing in the middle of the court-room, and in the presence of the parties. The judge must previously address a particular form of exhortation to them, and warn them in the strongest terms of the enormous guilt of false evidence, and the punishment with which it will be followed in a future state.<sup>51</sup> If there are no witnesses, the judge must admit the oaths of the parties.<sup>51</sup>

The law of evidence in many particulars resembles that of England: persons having a pecuniary interest in the <sup>L w of</sup> cause, infamous persons, menial servants, familiar <sup>evidence.</sup> friends, with others disqualified on slighter grounds, are in the first instance excluded from giving testimony; but, in default of other evidence, almost every description of persons may be examined, the judge making due allowance for the disqualifying causes.<sup>52</sup>

Two exceptions which disgrace these otherwise well-intentioned rules have attracted more attention in Europe than the rules themselves. One is the declaration that a giver of false evidence, for the purpose of saving the life of a man of whatever class, who may have exposed himself to capital punishment,<sup>53</sup> shall not lose a seat in heaven; and, though bound to perform an expiation, has, on the whole, performed a meritorious action.<sup>54</sup> The other does not relate to judicial evidence, but pronounces that, in courting a woman, in an affair where grass or fruit has been eaten by a cow, and in case of a promise made for the preservation of a Bramin, it is no deadly sin to take a light oath.<sup>55</sup>

From these passages it has been assumed that the Hindú law gives a direct sanction to perjury; and to this has been ascribed the prevalence of false evidence, which is common to men of all religions in India; yet there is more space devoted in this code to the prohibition of false evidence, than to that of any other crime, and the offence is denounced in terms as awful as have ever been applied to it in any European treatise either of religion or of law.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Ch. viii. 52—57. <sup>51</sup> Ch. viii. 79—101.

<sup>51</sup> Ch. viii. 101. C 1 viii. 61—72.

<sup>52</sup> The ancient commentator Cullúca inserts, after "capital punishment," the words, "through inadvertence or error"; which proves that in his time the words

of the text were repugnant to the moral feeling of the community.

<sup>53</sup> Ch. viii. 103, 104.

<sup>54</sup> Ch. viii. 112.

<sup>55</sup> "Marking well all the murders comprehended in the crime of perjury, declare



A party advancing a wilfully false plea or defence is liable to <sup>or a</sup> a heavy fine: a judicious rule, which is pushed to absurdity in subjecting to corporal punishment a plaintiff who procrastinates the prosecution of his demand.<sup>2</sup> Appeals to ordeal are admitted, as might be expected in so superstitious a people.<sup>3</sup>

The following statement of the principal titles of law implies an advanced stage of civilization, and would not, in itself, be deficient in clearness and good sense, if it were not for the mixture of civil and criminal suits: - 1st, debt on loans for consumption; 2nd, deposits and loans for use; 3rd, sale without ownership; 4th, concerns among partners; 5th, subtraction of what has been given; 6th, non-payment of wages or hire; 7th, non-performance of agreements; 8th, rescission of sale and purchase; 9th, disputes between master and servant; 10th, contests on boundaries; 11th and 12th, assault and slander; 13th, larceny; 14th, robbery and other violence; 15th, adultery; 16th, alteration between man and wife, and their several duties; 17th, the law of inheritance; 18th, gaming with dice and with living creatures.<sup>4</sup> Some of these heads are treated of in a full and satisfactory manner, while the rules in others are meagre, and such as to show that the transactions they relate to were still in a simple state. I shall only mention a few of the most remarkable provisions under each head.

A creditor is authorised, before complaining to the court, to seize, or recover his property by any means in his power, resorting even to force, within certain bounds.<sup>5</sup>

This law still operates so strongly in some Hindu states, that a creditor imprisons his debtor in his private house, and even keeps him for a period without food and exposed to the sun, to compel him to produce the money he owes.

Interest varies from 2 per cent. per mensem for a Bramin, to 10 per cent. for a Sudra. It is reduced one-half when the loan is for a pledge, and ceases altogether if the pledge can be sold for the profit of the lender.

There are rules regarding interest on money lent on both dry

<sup>1</sup> The text of the law is, "If a man advances a false plea or defence, he shall be fined a hundred panas." *Manu Smriti*, Book I, Chapter I, Verse 10.   
<sup>2</sup> "If a man advances a false plea or defence, he shall be fined a hundred panas." *Manu Smriti*, Book I, Chapter I, Verse 10.   
<sup>3</sup> "If a man advances a false plea or defence, he shall be fined a hundred panas." *Manu Smriti*, Book I, Chapter I, Verse 10.   
<sup>4</sup> "If a man advances a false plea or defence, he shall be fined a hundred panas." *Manu Smriti*, Book I, Chapter I, Verse 10.   
<sup>5</sup> "If a man advances a false plea or defence, he shall be fined a hundred panas." *Manu Smriti*, Book I, Chapter I, Verse 10.

for sea voyages, and on similar risk by land; and others for preventing the accumulation of interest on money above the original amount of the principal.<sup>62</sup>

Various rules regarding sureties for personal appearance and pecuniary payments, as well as regarding contracts, are introduced under this head. Contracts.

Fraudulent contracts, and contracts entered into for illegal purposes, are null. A contract made, even by a slave, for the support of the family of his absent master, is binding on the master.<sup>63</sup>

A sale by a person not the owner is void, unless made in the open market; in that case it is valid if the purchaser can produce the seller, otherwise the right owner may take the property on paying half the value.<sup>64</sup> Sale without ownership.

A trader breaking his promise is to be fined; or, if it was made on oath, to be banished.<sup>65</sup>

A sale may be unsettled by either party within ten days after it is made, but not later.<sup>66</sup>

Disputes between master and servant refer almost entirely to herdsmen and their responsibilities about cattle.<sup>67</sup> Disputes between master and servant.

Boundaries of villages are to be marked by natural objects, such as streams, or by planting trees, digging ponds, and building temples along them, as well as other open marks above ground, and secret ones buried in the earth. In case of disputes, witnesses are to be examined on oath, in the presence of all the parties concerned, putting earth on their heads, wearing chaplets of red flowers, and clad in red garments. If the question cannot be settled by evidence, the king must make a general inquiry and fix the boundary by authority. The same course is to be adopted about the boundaries of private fields.<sup>68</sup> Disputes about boundaries.

The rules regarding man and wife are full of puerilities; the most important ones shall be stated after a short account of the laws relating to marriage. Relations between man and wife.

Six forms of marriage are recognised as lawful. Of these, four only are allowed to Bramins, which (though differing in minute particulars) all agree in insisting that the father shall give away his daughter without receiving a price. The remaining two forms are permitted to the military class alone, and are abund-

<sup>62</sup> Ch. viii. 151, 156, 157.

<sup>63</sup> Ch. viii. 219, etc.

<sup>64</sup> Ch. viii. 245—265.

<sup>65</sup> Ch. viii. 158—167.

<sup>66</sup> Ch. viii. 222.

<sup>67</sup> Ch. viii. 197—202.

<sup>68</sup> Ch. viii. 229—234.

antly liberal even with that limitation. One is, when a soldier carries off a woman after a victory, and espouses her against her will; and the other, when consummation takes place by mutual consent, without any formal ceremony whatever. Two sorts of marriage are forbidden: when the father receives a nuptial present;<sup>1</sup> and when the woman, from intoxication, or other cause, has been incapable of giving a real consent to the union.<sup>2</sup> A girl may marry at eight, or even earlier; and, if her father fails to give her a husband for three years after she is marriageable (*i.e.* capable of being a parent), she is at liberty to choose one for herself.<sup>3</sup>

Men may marry women of the classes below them, but on no account of those superior to their own.<sup>4</sup> A man must not marry within six known degrees of relationship on either side, nor with any woman whose family name, being the same, shows her to be of the same race as his own.<sup>5</sup>

The marriage of people of equal class is performed by joining hands; but a woman of the military class, marrying a Bramin, holds an arrow in her hand; a Vetsya woman, a whip; and a Sûdra, the skirt of a mantle.<sup>6</sup>

The marriage of equals is most recommended, for the first wife at least; that of a Bramin with a Sûdra is discouraged; and as a first wife, it is positively forbidden.<sup>7</sup>

Marriage is indissoluble, and the parties are bound to observe mutual fidelity.<sup>8</sup>

From the few cases hereafter specified, in which the husband may take a second wife, it may be inferred that, with those exceptions, he must have but one wife. A man may marry again on the death of his wife; but the marriage of widows is discouraged, if not prohibited (except in the case of Sudras).

A wife who is barren for eight years, or she who has produced no male children in eleven, may be *superseded* by another wife.<sup>9</sup>

It appears, notwithstanding this expression, that the wife first married retains the highest rank in the family.<sup>10</sup>

Drunken and immoral wives, those who bear malice to their husbands, or are guilty of very great extravagance, may also be superseded.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is, however, the right of the father to make a woman his wife, in the case of a present being in general spoken of with regard to a sale of the daughter when no price is the matter depending, presents received, and the father deriving from them are considered as legal profits.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. ii. 25, 26. Ch. ix. 22, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. ii. 12, 13. Ch. ix. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. iii. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. ix. 45, 47, 1, 2, 10, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. ix. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. ix. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. ix. 30.

A wife who leaves her husband's house, or neglects him, for a twelvemonth, without a cause, may be deserted altogether.<sup>77</sup>

A man going abroad must leave a provision for his wife.<sup>78</sup>

The wife is bound to wait for her absent husband for eight years, if he be gone on religious duty; six, if in pursuit of knowledge or fame; and three, if for pleasure only.<sup>81</sup>

The practice of allowing a man to raise up issue to his brother, if he died without children, or even if (though still alive) he have no hopes of progeny, is reprobated, except for Súdras, or in case of a widow who has lost her husband before consummation.<sup>82</sup>

The natural heirs of a man are the sons of his body, and their sons, and the sons of his daughters, when appointed in inheritance default of heirs male to raise up issue to him.<sup>83</sup>

The son of his wife, begotten by a near kinsman, at some time when his own life had been despaired of, according to the practice formerly noticed<sup>84</sup> (which, though disapproved of as heretical, would appear to be recognized when it has actually taken place), is also entitled to inherit as a son.<sup>85</sup>

On the failure of issue of the above description, an adopted son succeeds: such a son loses all claim on the inheritance of his original father; and is entitled to a sixth of the property of his adoptive one, even if, subsequently to his adoption, sons of the body should be born.<sup>86</sup>

On failure of the above heirs follow ten descriptions of sons, such as never could have been thought of but by Hindús, with whom the importance of a descendant for the purpose of performing obsequies is superior to most considerations. Among these are included the son of a man's wife by an uncertain father, begotten when he himself has long been absent, and the son of his wife of whom she was pregnant, without his knowledge, at the time of the marriage. The illegitimate son of his daughter by a man whom she afterwards marries, the son of a man by a married woman who has forsaken her husband, or by a widow,

<sup>77</sup> Ch. ix. 77—79.    <sup>78</sup> Ch. ix. 74.

<sup>81</sup> Ch. ix. 76. Cullúca in his Commentary, adds, "after those terms she must follow him;" but the code seems rather to refer to the term at which she may contract a second marriage. From the contradictions in the code regarding marriages of widows (as on some other subjects) we may infer that the law varied at different places or times; or rather, perhaps, that the writer's opinion and the actual practice were at variance. The opinion against such marriages prevails.

in modern times, and must have done so to a great extent in that of Cullúca.

<sup>82</sup> Ch ix. 59—70.    <sup>81</sup> Ch. ix. 104, 133.

<sup>81</sup> Ch. ix. 59, etc.

<sup>83</sup> Ch. ix. 145. Perhaps this recognition is intended to be confined to the son of a Súdra wife, in whom such a proceeding would be legal; but it is not so specified in the text, and the language of the code on this whole subject is contradictory. The practice is at the present day entirely forbidden to all classes.

<sup>86</sup> Ch. ix. 141, 142, 168, 169.



one-eightieth<sup>1</sup> of the property of the son on fortieth for the intermediate sons; but the remainder is equally divided among them all. Unmarried daughters are to be succeeded by their brothers, and receive no share of the father's estate<sup>2</sup> but share equally with their brothers in that of their mother's.

This equality among the sons in the case of others of equal birth<sup>3</sup>; but otherwise the son of a Kṣatriya, four parts; of a Cshatriya, three; a Veishya, two; and a Sūdra, one.

One such share, or one-tenth, of the property of a Sūdra mother can take, even if there be no other son.

Eunuchs, outcasts, persons blind or blind; persons who have lost the use of speech, and idiots, are excluded from succession, but may be maintained by the heirs.

The sons of excluded persons, however, are capable of inheriting.<sup>4</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

### RELIGION.

THE religion taught in the Institutes is derived from the Védas, to which scriptures they refer in every page.<sup>1</sup>

There are four Védas; but the fourth is rejected by many of the learned Hindús, and the number reduced to three.

Each Véda is composed of two, or perhaps of three, parts. The first<sup>2</sup> consists of hymns and prayers; the second part<sup>3</sup> of precepts which inculcate religious duties, and of arguments relating to theology.<sup>4</sup> Some of these last are embodied in separate tracts, which are sometimes inserted in the second part above mentioned, and sometimes are in a detached collection, forming a third part.<sup>5</sup>

Every Véda likewise contains a treatise explaining the adjustment of the calendar, for the purpose of fixing the proper period for the performance of each of the duties enjoined.

The Védas are not single works; each is the production of various authors, whose names (in the case of hymns and prayers at least) are attached to their compositions, and to whom,

<sup>1</sup> Ch. ix. 112—118. <sup>2</sup> Ch. ix. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. ix. 151—155. In these rules, throughout the code, great confusion is created by preference shown to sons and others, who are "learned and virtuous"; no person being specified who is to decide on their claims to those qualities.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. ix. 201—203.

<sup>5</sup> [Since Elphinstone's history was writ-

ten, so much progress has been made in the study of the Védas, that the account given in the text is necessarily very incomplete. For some further information, see the Additional Appendix (vii.).—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> Called Mantra.

<sup>3</sup> Bráhmāna.

<sup>4</sup> Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 387.

<sup>5</sup> Upanishad.

according to the Hindûs, those passages were separately revealed. They were probably written at different periods; but were compiled in their present form in the 14th century before Christ.\*

They are written in an ancient form of the Sanscrit, so different from that now in use that none but the more learned of the Bramins themselves can understand them. Only a small portion of them has been translated into European languages; and although we possess a summary of their contents (by a writer whose judgment and fidelity may be entirely depended on) sufficient to give us a clear notion of the general scope of their doctrines, yet it does not enable us to speak with confidence of particulars, or to assert that no allusion whatever is made in any part of them to this or that portion of the legends or opinions which constitute the body of the modern Hindû faith.

The primary doctrine of the Vêdas is the Unity of God, *monothéisme*. "There is in truth," say repeated texts, "but one Deity, the Supreme Spirit, the Lord of the Universe, whose work is the Universe."<sup>†</sup>

Among the creatures of the Supreme Being are some superior to man, who should be adored, and from whom protection and favours may be obtained through prayer. The most frequently mentioned of these are the gods of the elements, the stars, and the planets; but other personated powers and virtues likewise appear. The three principal manifestations of the Divinity (Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva), with other personated attributes and charges, and most of the other gods of Hindû mythology, are indeed mentioned, or at least indicated, in the Vêdas; but the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system."<sup>‡</sup>

Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, are rarely named, enjoy no pre-eminence, nor are they ever objects of special adoration;<sup>§</sup> and Mr. Colebrooke could discover no passage in which their incarnations were suggested. There seem to have been no images, and no visible types of the objects of worship.<sup>||</sup>

\* See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 107. "The Vêdas are not a single work, but a collection of many, which were composed at different times, and by different persons." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 107.

† For example, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 107. "The Vêdas are not a single work, but a collection of many, which were composed at different times, and by different persons." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 107. "The Vêdas are not a single work, but a collection of many, which were composed at different times, and by different persons." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 107.

‡ See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 107. "The Vêdas are not a single work, but a collection of many, which were composed at different times, and by different persons." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 107.

§ See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 107. "The Vêdas are not a single work, but a collection of many, which were composed at different times, and by different persons." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 107.

|| See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 107.

the *Purâna* p. 2.

The doctrine of Monotheism prevails throughout the Institutes; and it is declared towards the close, that, of all duties, "the principal is to obtain from the Upanishad a true knowledge of one supreme God."<sup>12</sup>

But although Menu has preserved the idea of the unity of God, his opinions on the nature and operations of the Divinity have fallen off from the purity of their original.

This is chiefly apparent in his account of the creation. There are passages in the Védas which declare that God is "the material, as well as the efficient, cause of the universe; the potter by whom the fictile vase is formed; the clay out of which it is fabricated:" yet those best qualified to interpret conceive that these expressions are not to be taken literally, and mean no more than to assert the origin of all things from the same first cause. The general tendency of the Védas is to show that the substance as well as the form of all created beings was derived from the will of the Self-existing Cause.<sup>13</sup>

The Institutes, on the contrary, though not very distinct, appear to regard the universe as formed from the substance of the Creator, and to have a vague notion of the eternal existence of matter as part of the Divine substance. According to them, "the Self-existing Power, himself undiscerned, but making this world discernible, with five elements and other principles, appeared with undiminished glory dispelling the gloom."

"He, having willed to produce various beings from his own Divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed."<sup>14</sup>

From this seed sprang the mundane egg, in which the Supreme Being was himself born in the form of Brahmá.

By similar mythological processes, he, under the form of Brahmá, produced the heavens and earth, and the human soul; and to all creatures he gave distinct names and distinct occupations. He likewise created the deities "with divine attributes and pure souls," and "inferior genii exquisitely delicate."<sup>15</sup>

This whole creation only endures for a certain period; when that expires, the Divine energy is withdrawn, Brahmá is absorbed in the supreme essence, and the whole system fades away.<sup>16</sup>

These extinctions of creation, with corresponding revivals, occur periodically, at terms of prodigious length.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ch. xii. 85.

<sup>13</sup> Ch. i. 8—22.

<sup>14</sup> Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup> Ch. i. 51—57.

<sup>16</sup> Ch. i. 5, 7.

<sup>17</sup> Ch. i. 73, 74.



The inferior deities are representatives of the elements : as <sup>inferior</sup> Indra, air; Agni, fire; Varuna, water; Prithivi, earth; <sup>deities</sup> or of heavenly bodies, Sūrya, the sun; Chandra, the moon; Vrihispati and other planets; or of abstract ideas, as Dharma, god of Justice; Dhanwantari, god of Medicine.<sup>1</sup> Some of the heroes who are omitted in the Vêda, but who now fill so prominent a part in the Hindû Pantheon (Râma, Crishna, etc.) are ever alluded to.

Even the deities of which these are incarnations are never noticed. Brahmâ is more than once named, but Vishnu and Siva never. These three forms of the Divinity occupy no conspicuous place among the deities of the Vêdas; and their mystical union or triad is never hinted at in Menu, or probably in the Vêdas. The three forms, into some one of which all other deities are there said to be resolvable, are fire, air, and the sun.<sup>2</sup>

Altogether distinct from the gods are good and evil genii, <sup>spirits</sup> who are noticed in the creation rather among the animals than the divinities. "Benevolent genii, fierce giants, bloodthirsty savages, heavenly choristers, nymphs and demons, huge serpents and birds of mighty wing, and separate companions of Pitris, or progenitors of mankind."<sup>3</sup>

Man is endowed with two internal spirits, the vital soul, <sup>me</sup> which gives motion to the body, and the rational, which is the seat of passions and good and bad qualities; and both these souls, though independent existences, are connected with the divine essence which pervades all beings.<sup>4</sup>

It is the vital soul which expiates the sins of the man. It is subjected to torments for periods proportioned to its offences, and is then sent to transmigrate through men and animals, and even plants; the mansion being the lower the greater has been its guilt, until at length it has been purified by suffering and humiliations, is again united to its more pure associates,<sup>5</sup> and again constructs a career which may lead to eternal bliss.

God endowed man from his creation with "consciousness, the internal monitor;" and "made a total difference between right and wrong," as well as between pleasure and pain, and other opposite pairs.<sup>6</sup>

He then produced the Vêdas for the due performance of V

<sup>1</sup> "The gods are represented by the elements, as Indra, air; Agni, fire; Varuna, water; Prithivi, earth; or of heavenly bodies, Sūrya, the sun; Chandra, the moon; Vrihispati and other planets; or of abstract ideas, as Dharma, god of Justice; Dhanwantari, god of Medicine." See also the list of deities in the Vêdas, in the *History of India*, vol. i. p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See also the list of deities in the Vêdas, in the *History of India*, vol. i. p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> "The gods are represented by the elements, as Indra, air; Agni, fire; Varuna, water; Prithivi, earth; or of heavenly bodies, Sūrya, the sun; Chandra, the moon; Vrihispati and other planets; or of abstract ideas, as Dharma, god of Justice; Dhanwantari, god of Medicine." See also the list of deities in the Vêdas, in the *History of India*, vol. i. p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> See also the list of deities in the Vêdas, in the *History of India*, vol. i. p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See also the list of deities in the Vêdas, in the *History of India*, vol. i. p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> See also the list of deities in the Vêdas, in the *History of India*, vol. i. p. 10.

sacrifice or necessary to enter further in the physical part of the work of Menu.

The practical part of religion may be divided into ritual and moral.

The ritual branch occupies too great a portion of the Hindu code, but not to the extent of the moral. Ritual observances.

There are religious ceremonies attending the pregnancy of the mother, at the birth of the child, and on various subsequent occasions, the principal of which is the shaving of his head, all but one lock, at the first or third year. But by far the most important ceremonial is the investiture with the sacred thread, which must not be delayed beyond 16 for a Bramin, or 24 for a merchant.<sup>25</sup> This great ceremony is called the second birth, and procures for the three classes who are admitted to it the title of "twice-born men," by which they are always distinguished throughout the code. It is on this occasion that the persons invested are taught the mysterious word *óm*, and the *gáyatri*, which is the most holy verse of the *Védas*, which is enjoined in innumerable parts of the code to be repeated either as devotion or expiation; and which, indeed, joined to universal benevolence, may raise a man to beatitude without the aid of any other religious exercise.<sup>27</sup> This mysterious text, though it is now confined to the Bramins, and is no longer so easy to learn, has been well ascertained by learned Europeans, and is thus translated by Mr. Colebrooke:<sup>28</sup> "Let us meditate the adorable light of the Divine Ruler; may it guide our intellects."

From fuller forms of the same verse, it is evident that the light alluded to is the Supreme Creator, though it might also appear to mean the sun.

It is not easy to see on what its superior sanctity is founded, unless it may at one time have communicated, though in ambiguous language, the secret of the real nature of God to the initiated, when the material sun was the popular object of worship.<sup>29</sup>

Every Bramin, and, perhaps, every twice-born man, must

<sup>25</sup> Ch. ii. 26—35. <sup>26</sup> Ch. ii. 36—40.

<sup>27</sup> Ch. ii. 74—87.

<sup>28</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 400.

<sup>29</sup> There are many commentaries on this text, and some difference of opinion as to the sense. The following interpretation is given by Professor Wilson, in a note in the "*Hindú Theatre*," vol. i. p. 184:—"Let us meditate on the supreme splendour of that divine sun, who may illuminate

our understandings." And the following is published as a literal translation by Rám Móhan Rái (*Translation of the Védas*, p. 117):—"We meditate on that supreme spirit of the splendid sun who directs our understandings."—[The *gáyatri* occurs in a hymn of Viswámitra's, numbered as the 62nd of the third Mandala of the Rig Veda, see Wilson's transl. of the Rig Veda, vol. iii. p. 110.—ED.]

bathe daily; must pray at morning and evening twilight, in some unfrequented place near pure water; " and must daily perform five sacraments: viz., studying the Vêda; making oblations to the manes and to fire in honour of the deities; giving rice to living creatures; and receiving guests with honour."

The gods are worshipped by burnt offerings of clarified butter, and libations of the juice of the Soma or moon-plant, at which ceremonies they are invoked by name; but, although idols are mentioned, and in one place desired to be respected," yet the adoration of them is never noticed but with disapprobation; nor is the present practice of offering perfumes and flowers to them ever alluded to. The oblations enjoined are to be offered by Bramins at their domestic fire, and the other ceremonies performed by themselves in their own houses. <sup>1</sup>

Most of the other sacraments are easily despatched, but the reading of the Vêdas is a serious task.

They must be read distinctly and aloud, with a calm mind, and in a respectful posture. The reading is liable to be interrupted by many omens, and must be suspended likewise on the occurrence of various contingencies which, by disturbing the mind, may render it unfit for such an occupation. Wind, rain, thunder, earthquakes, meteors, eclipses, the howling of jackals, and many other incidents, are of the first description; the prohibition against reading where lutes sound or where arrows whistle, when a town is beset by robbers, or when terrors have been excited by strange phenomena, clearly refers to the second. <sup>2</sup>

The last sacrament, that of hospitality to guests, is treated at length, and contains precepts of politeness and self-denial which would be very pleasing if they were not so much restricted to Bramins entertaining men of their own class. <sup>3</sup>

Besides the daily oblations, there are monthly obsequies to the manes of each man's ancestors. These are to be performed "in empty glades, naturally clean, or on the banks of rivers and in solitary spots." The sacrificer is there to burn certain offerings, and, with many ceremonies, to set down cakes of rice and clarified butter, exhorting the manes to come and partake of them.

He is afterwards to feed a small number of Bramins (not, however, his usual friends or guests). He is to serve them with respect, and they are to eat in silence.

"De parted ancestors, no doubt, are attendent on such invited

<sup>1</sup> Ch. iv. 1, 2, 3, 4.  
<sup>2</sup> Ch. iv. 11, 82, 90.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. iv. 66, 70.  
<sup>4</sup> Ch. iv. 99, 126.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. iv. 130.  
<sup>6</sup> Ch. iv. 99, 119.

Bramins, hovering around them like pure spirits and sitting by them when they are seated."<sup>38</sup>

No obsequies are to be performed for persons of disreputable or criminal life, or for those who illegally kill themselves;<sup>37</sup> but, on the other hand, there is a striking ceremony by which a great offender is renounced by his family, his obsequies being solemnly performed by them while he is yet alive. In the event of repentance and expiation, however, he can by another ceremony be restored to his family and to civil life.<sup>38</sup>

Innumerable are the articles of food from which a twice-born man must abstain; some for plain reasons, as carnivorous birds, tame hogs, and other animals whose appearance or way of living is disgusting; but others are so arbitrarily fixed, that a cock, a mushroom, a leek, or an onion, occasions immediate loss of cast;<sup>39</sup> while hedgehogs, porcupines, lizards, and tortoises are expressly declared to be lawful food. A Bramin is forbidden, under severe penalties, to eat the food of a hunter or a dishonest man, a worker in gold or in cane, or a washer of clothes, or a dyer. The cruelty of a hunter's trade may join him, in the eyes of a Bramin, to a dishonest man; but, among many other arbitrary proscriptions, one is surprised to find a physician,<sup>40</sup> and to observe that this learned and beneficent profession is always classed with those which are most impure.

What chiefly surprises us is to find most sorts of flesh permitted to Bramins,<sup>41</sup> and even that of oxen particularly enjoined on solemn festivals.<sup>42</sup>

Bramins must not, indeed, eat flesh, unless at a sacrifice; but sacrifices, as has been seen, are among the daily sacraments; and rice-pudding, bread, and many other things equally innocent, are included in the very same prohibition.<sup>43</sup>

It is true that humanity to animals is everywhere most strongly inculcated, and that abstaining from animal food is declared to be very meritorious, from its tendency to diminish their sufferings; but, though the use of it is dissuaded on these grounds,<sup>44</sup> it is never once forbidden or hinted at as impure, and is in many places positively declared lawful.<sup>45</sup>

The permission to eat beef is the more remarkable as the cow seems to have been as holy in those days as she is now. Saving

<sup>38</sup> Ch. iii. 189.

<sup>37</sup> Ch. v. 89.

<sup>39</sup> Ch. xi. 182—187.

<sup>38</sup> Ch. v. 18, 19.

<sup>40</sup> Ch. iv. 212.

<sup>41</sup> Ch. v. 22—36.

<sup>42</sup> Ch. v. 41, 42.

<sup>43</sup> Ch. v. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Ch. v. 43—56.

<sup>45</sup> "He who eats according to law com-

mits no sin, even if he every day tastes the flesh of such animals as may lawfully be tasted, since both animals which may be eaten, and those who eat them, were equally created by Brahmá." V. 30.)

the life of a cow was considered to atone for the murder of a Bramin;\* killing one required to be expiated by three months' austerities and servile attendance on a herd of cattle.†

Besides these restraints on eating, a Bramin is subjected to a multitude of minute regulations relating to the most ordinary occupations of life, the transgressing of any of which is nevertheless to be considered as a sin.

More than half of one book of the code is filled with rules about purification. The commonest cause of impurity is the death of a relation; and this, if he is near, lasts for ten days with a Bramin, and for a month with a Sûdra.

An infinity of contacts and other circumstances also pollute a man, and he is only purified by bathing, and other ceremonies, much too tedious to enumerate.‡ Some exceptions from these rules show a good sense which might not have been expected from the framers. A king can never be impure, nor those whom he wishes to be freed from this impediment to business. The hand of an artist employed in his trade is always pure; and so is every commodity when exposed to sale. The relations of a soldier slain in battle are not impure; and a soldier himself, who falls in the discharge of his duty, performs the highest of sacrifices, and is instantly freed from all impurities.§ Of all pure things, none impart that quality better than purity by acquiring wealth, forgiveness of injuries, liberality, and devotion.¶

Penances, as employed by the Hindûs, hold a middle place between the ritual and moral branches of religion. They help to deter from crimes, but they are equally employed against breaches of religious form; and their application is at all times so irregular and arbitrary as to prevent their being so effectual as they should be in contributing to the well-being of society.

Drinking spirits is classed in the first degree of crime. Performing sacrifices to destroy the innocent only falls under the third. Under the same penance with some real offences come giving pain to a Bramin, and "smelling things not fit to be smelled."‡

Some penances would, if compulsory, be punishments of the most atrocious kind. They are sufficiently at hand when left, as they are, to the will of the offenders, to be employed in averting exclusion from society in this world or retaliation in the next. For incest with the wife of a father, natural or spiritual, or with a sister, connexion with a child under the age of

\* Ch. vi. 8.

† Ch. v. 41, 48.

‡ Ch. xi. 102, 117.

§ Ch. x. 197.

¶ Ch. x. 57 to the end.

Ch. x. 115, 68.

puberty, or death by burning of the lowest class, the penance is iron bands, or embracing a red-hot metal image.<sup>52</sup> For drinking the boiling-hot urine of a cow, the penance is death by drinking

The other expiations are by fines and austerities. The fines are almost always in to be given to Bramins, some as high as a bull and 1,000 cows.

They, also, are oddly enjoined : for killing a snake a Bramin must give a hoe ; for killing a eunuch, a load of rice-straw.

Saying "hush" or "pish" to a superior, or overpowering a Bramin in argument, involves each a slight penance. Killing insects, and even cutting down plants and grass (if not for a useful purpose), require a penance ; since plants are also supposed to be endued with feeling.<sup>54</sup>

One passage about expiation is characteristic in many ways. "A priest who should retain in his memory the whole Rig Vêda would be absolved from all guilt, even if he had slain the inhabitants of the three worlds *and had eaten food from the foulest hands.*"<sup>55</sup>

Some of the penances, as well as some of the punishments under the criminal law, relate to pollutions which imply great corruption of manners in the people, or great impurity in the imagination of the lawgiver ;<sup>56</sup> but they probably originate in the same perverted ingenuity which appears in some of the European casuists.

Others are of a more pleasing character, and tend to lessen our impression of the force of superstition even among the Bramins. A man who spends his money in gifts, even for his spiritual benefit, incurs misery hereafter if he have left his family in want.<sup>57</sup> Every man who has performed penance is legally restored to society ; but all should avoid the communion of those whose offences were in themselves atrocious, among which are reckoned killing a suppliant and injuring a benefactor.<sup>58</sup>

The effect of the religion of Menu on morals is, indeed, generally good. The essential distinction between right and Moral effect, wrong, it has been seen, is strongly marked at the outset, and is in general well preserved. The well-known passages relating to false evidence, one or two where the property of another may be appropriated for the purposes of sacrifice,<sup>59</sup> and some laxity in

<sup>52</sup> Ch. xi. 104, 105, 171.

<sup>53</sup> Ch. xi. 262.

<sup>54</sup> Ch. xi. 190, 191.

<sup>55</sup> Ch. xi. 92.

<sup>56</sup> Ch. xi. 171—179, etc.

<sup>57</sup> Ch. xi. 11—19.

<sup>58</sup> Ch. xi. 125 to the end.

<sup>59</sup> Ch. ix. 9, 10.

the means by which a king may detect and seize offenders,"<sup>58</sup> are the only exceptions I recollect.

On the other hand there are numerous injunctions to justice, truth, and virtue; and many are the evils, both in this world and the next, which are said to follow from vicious conduct. The upright man need not be cast down though oppressed with penury, while "the unjust man attains no felicity, nor he whose wealth proceeds from false evidence."<sup>59</sup>

The moral duties are in one place distinctly declared to be superior to the ceremonial ones.<sup>60</sup> The punishments of a future state are as much directed against the offences which disturb society as against sins affecting religion.

One maxim, however on this subject, is of a less laudable tendency; for it declares that the men who receive from the government the punishment due to their crimes go pure to heaven, and become as clean as those who have done well.<sup>61</sup>

It may be observed, in conclusion, that the morality thus enjoined by the law was not, as now, sapped by the example of fabled gods, or by the debauchery permitted in the religious ceremonies of certain sects.

From many passages cited in different places, it has been shown that the code is not by any means deficient in generous maxims or in elevated sentiments; but the general tendency of the Bramin morality is rather towards innocence than active virtue, and its main objects are to enjoy tranquillity, and to prevent pain or evil to any sentient being.

## CHAPTER V.

### MANNERS AND STATE OF CIVILIZATION

In inquiring into the manners of a nation, our attention is first attracted to the condition of the women. This may be gathered from the laws relating to marriage, as well as from incidental regulations or observations which undesignedly exhibit the views under which the sex was regarded.

The laws relating to marriage, as has been seen, though in some parts they bear strong traces of a debasement, are not on the whole unfavourable to the weaker party. The state of women in other respects is such as might be expected from these laws.

<sup>58</sup> CH. II. 216. 269. <sup>59</sup> CH. IV. 116. 119. <sup>60</sup> CH. V. 204. <sup>61</sup> CH. VII. 215.

A wife is to be entirely obedient and devoted to her husband, who is to keep her under legal restrictions, but to leave her at her own disposal in innocent and lawful recreations.<sup>1</sup> When she has no husband, she is to be in a state of similar dependence on her male relations;<sup>2</sup> but, on the other hand, the husband and all the male relations are strictly enjoined to honour the women: "where women are dishonoured, all religious acts become fruitless;"—"where female relations are made miserable, the family very soon wholly perishes;" but "where a husband is contented with his wife, and she with her husband, in that house will fortune assuredly be permanent." The husband's indulgence to his wife is even regulated on points which seem singular in a code of laws; among these it is enjoined that she be "constantly supplied with ornaments, apparel, and food, at festivals and jubilees."<sup>3</sup>

Widows are also under the particular protection of the law. Their male relations are positively forbidden to interfere with their property. (III. 52.) The king is declared the guardian of widows and single women, and is directed to punish relations who encroach on their fortunes, as thieves. (VIII. 28, 29.)

There is little about domestic manners except as relates to the Bramins; and they, as usual, are placed under austere and yet puerile restrictions. A man of that class must not eat with his wife, nor look at her eating, or yawning, or sitting carelessly, or when setting off her eyes with black powder, or on many other occasions.<sup>4</sup>

In all classes women are to be "employed in the collection and expenditure of wealth; in purification and female duty; in the preparation of daily food, and the superintendence of household utensils."

"By confinement at home, even under affectionate and observant guardians, they are not secure; but those women are truly secure who are guarded by their own inclinations."<sup>5</sup>

There is not the least mention of Satis; indeed, as the widows of Bramins are enjoined to lead a virtuous, austere, and holy life,<sup>6</sup> it is plain that their burning with their husbands was never thought of.

The only suicides authorised in the code are for a Bramin hermit suffering under an incurable disease, who is permitted to proceed towards a certain point of the heavens with no sustenance but water, until he dies of exhaustion;<sup>7</sup> and for a king,

<sup>1</sup> Ch. ix. 2, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. v. 147, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. iii. 55—61.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. iv. 43, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. ix. 11, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. v. 156—158.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. vi. 31.





for a woman, a bridegroom, priest (in certain cases), for a prince, and for

I scarcely know where to place, so as to do justice to the importance assigned to it in the code, the respect enjoined to immemorial custom. It is declared to be "transcendent law," and "the root of all piety."<sup>11</sup> It is, indeed, to this day the vital spirit of the Hindú system, and the immediate cause of the permanence of these institutions. Learning is greatly honoured throughout the code, and the cultivation of it is recommended to all classes. It is true the Védas, and the commentaries on them, with a few other books, are the only ones to which the student is directed; but he is to learn theology, logic, ethics, and physical science from those works;<sup>12</sup> and we know that those subjects are discussed in the tracts appended to each Véda; each is also accompanied by a treatise entirely relating to astronomy; and, from the early excellence of the Brámins in these branches of learning, it is probable that they had made considerable progress even when this code was formed.

The arts of life, though still in a simple state, were far from being in a rude one. Gold and gems, silks and ornaments, are spoken of as being in all families.<sup>13</sup> Elephants, horses, and chariots are familiar as conveyances for men, as are cattle, camels, and waggons for goods. Gardens, bowers, and terraces are mentioned; and the practice, still subsisting, of the construction of ponds and orchards by wealthy men for the public benefit, is here, perhaps, first enjoined.<sup>14</sup> Cities are seldom alluded to, nor are there any regulations or any officers beyond the wants of an agricultural township. The only great cities were, probably, the capitals.

The professions mentioned show all that is necessary to civilized life, but not all required for high refinement. Though gems and golden ornaments were common, embroiderers and similar workmen, who put those materials to the most delicate uses, are not alluded to; and painting and writing could scarcely have attained the cultivation which they reached in after times, when they were left among the trades open to a Súdra in times of distress.

Money is often mentioned, but it does not appear whether its value was ascertained by weight or fixed by coining. The usual payments are in *panas*, the name now applied to a certain

<sup>11</sup> Ch. ii. 130—138. <sup>12</sup> Ch. i. 103—110.

<sup>13</sup> Ch. xii. 98, 105, 106.

<sup>14</sup> Ch. v. 111, 112, and vii. 130.

<sup>15</sup> Ch. iv. 226.



foreigners, and to revere their own, until they became incapable of receiving improvement from without, and averse to novelties even amongst themselves.

On looking back to the information collected from the code we observe the three twice-born classes forming the whole community embraced by the law, and the Súdras in a servile and degraded condition. Yet it appears that there are cities governed by Súdra kings, in which Bramins are advised not to reside,<sup>18</sup> and that there are "whole territories inhabited by Súdras, overwhelmed with atheists, and deprived of Bramins."<sup>19</sup>

*Origin of the  
Hindús and  
formation of  
their society.*

The three twice-born classes are directed invariably to dwell in the country between the Himavat<sup>20</sup> and the Vindhya mountains,<sup>21</sup> from the eastern to the western ocean. But, though the three chief classes are confined to this tract, a Súdra distressed for subsistence may sojourn wherever he chooses.<sup>22</sup>

It seems impossible not to conclude from all this, that the twice-born men were a conquering people; that the servile class were the subdued aborigines; and that the independent Súdra towns were in such of the small territories, into which Hindostan was divided, as still retained their independence, while the whole of the tract beyond the Vindhya mountains remained as yet untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion.

A doubt, however, soon suggests itself, whether the conquerors were a foreign people, or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; or whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect, for instance) which had outstripped their fellow-citizens in knowledge, and appropriated all the advantages of the society to themselves.

The different appearance of the higher classes from the Súdras, which is so observable to this day, might incline us to think them foreigners; but, without entirely denying this argument (as far, at least, as relates to the Bramins and Cshatriyas), we must advert to some considerations which greatly weaken its force.

The class most unlike the Bramins are the Chandálas, who are, nevertheless, originally the offspring of a Bramin mother; and who might have been expected to have preserved their resem-

<sup>18</sup> Ch. iv. 61.

<sup>19</sup> Ch. viii. 22.

<sup>20</sup> Himálaya.

<sup>21</sup> Still so called, and forming the boundaries of Hindostan proper, on the south, as

Himálaya does on the north, the legislator must have had an indistinct idea of the eastern termination of the range.

<sup>22</sup> Ch. ii. 21—24.



would be priests and soothsayers, who would pretend to a knowledge of the designs of the Supreme Being, and of the means of propitiating him ; but these would at first be individuals possessed of more sagacity than their neighbours ; and though they might transmit their art to their sons, it would be some time before their number and power had so far increased as to enable them to confine the sacred character to particular families. The pride of the military order would prevent their degrading their blood by marriages with the industrious classes, —a feeling which long operated in many European nations as effectually as the rules of cast. The priests would not be left behind in this assumption of superiority, and would be borne out by the necessity of preserving the purity of a race consecrated to the service of the Deity. The conquered people, as in all similar cases, would remain a class apart, at first cultivating the land for the use of the conquerors, but afterwards converted by the interest or convenience of their masters into free tenants. So far, except for the separation of the priesthood, the progress of society would have been the same with the early stages of most nations in ancient times or in the middle ages. The first striking difference appears in the permanence of the Hindû institutions, which were fixed at a certain point, and admitted of no subsequent alteration or improvement. The origin of this stability seems to have lain in the union and consequent power of the priesthood, when once formed into a separate class, and in their close alliance with the secular ruler. The prince's laws came forth with the sanction of the Divinity, and perhaps as revelations from heaven : they, therefore, admitted of no dispute ; and, as they embraced religious as well as moral and civil duties, they took a complete control over the conduct and consciences of those subject to them, and cast the whole into a mould from which it could never after vary. To effect their purpose, the priests would invent the genealogy of casts and other fables calculated to support the existing institutions, or to introduce such alterations as they thought desirable ; and, while they raised the power of the chief to the highest pitch, they would secure as much influence to their own order as could be got without creating jealousy or destroying the ascendancy which they derived from the public opinion of their austerity and virtue. The immediate causes of this powerful combination, and the particular means by which it was brought about, are beyond our powers of conjecture ; but if we suppose that the Catholic Church had been without a separate head at

the time of its alliance with Charlemagne, and that the clergy, retaining their other restrictions, had been allowed to marry and bring up their progeny in their own profession, it is not difficult to imagine a course which would lead to the result which we see exemplified in the Hindûs.

It would be some time before the existing usages and the occasional regulations of the prince came to be embodied in a code; and afterwards alterations would be silently made to suit the changes in the progress of society or in the policy of the rulers; even new codes incorporating the old ones might long be framed without occasioning doubts of the Divine authority for the whole; but at length the text of the code would become fixed, and all subsequent innovations would be effected by glosses on the original, or by new laws promulgated by the royal authority.

To all appearance the present code was not compiled until long after the community had passed the earliest stages of civilization.

In making a general review of the code, we are struck with peculiarities two peculiarities in its relation to the Bramins, by whom <sup>it is</sup> ~~it seems~~ it seems to have been planned. The first is the little importance attached by them to the direction of public worship and religious ceremonies of all sorts. Considering the reverence derived by the ministers of religion from their apparent mesliation between the laity and the Divinity, and also the power that might be obtained by means of oracles, and other modes of deception, it might rather have been expected that such means of influence should be neglected by the priesthood, in the security arising from long possession of temporal authority, than renounced in an early code, the main object of which is to confirm and increase the power of the Bramins.

The effects of this neglect are also deserving of observation. It was natural that the degradation of public worship should introduce the indifference now so observable in the performance of it; but it is surprising that the regular practice of it by all classes should still be kept up at all; and that on some occasions, as pilgrimages, festivals, &c., it should be able to kindle enthusiasm.

The second peculiarity is the regulation of all the actions of life, in a manner as strict and minute as could be enforced in a single convent, maintained over so numerous a body of men as the Bramins, scattered through an extensive region, living with their families like other citizens, and subject to no common

chief or council, and to no form of ecclesiastical government or subordination. Various causes contributed to support this discipline, which, at first, seems to have been left to chance,—the superstitious reverence for the Divine law, which must in time have been felt even by the class whose progenitors invented it; their strict system of early education; the penances enjoined by religion, perhaps enforced by the aid of the civil authority; the force of habit and public opinion after the rules had obtained the sanction of antiquity; but, above all, the vigilance of the class itself, excited by a knowledge of the necessity of discipline for the preservation of their power, and by that intense feeling of the common interest of the class, which, never, perhaps, was so deeply seated as in the heart of a Bramin.

In spite of these forces, however, the Bramin discipline has gradually declined. Their rules have been neglected in cases where the temptation was strong, or the risk of loss of influence not apparent, until the diminished sanctity of their character has weakened their power, and has thrown a considerable portion of it into the hands of men of other classes, who form the great body of the monastic orders.



## BOOK II.

CHANGES SINCE MENU, AND STATE OF THE HINDUS  
IN LATER TIMES.

THOUGH the Hindûs have preserved their customs more entire than any other people with whom we are acquainted, and for a period exceeding that recorded of any other nation, yet it is not to be supposed that changes have not taken place in the lapse of twenty-five centuries.

I shall now attempt to point out those changes : and, although it may not always be possible to distinguish such of them as may be of Mahometan origin, I shall endeavour to confine my account to those features, whether in religion, government, or manners, which still characterize the Hindûs.

I shall preserve the same order as in the code, and shall commence with the present state of the classes.

## CHAPTER I.

## CHANGES IN CASTE.

It is, perhaps, in the division and employment of the classes that <sup>the greatest</sup> the greatest alterations have been made since Menu. <sup>the least</sup> Those of Ushatriya and Veisya, perhaps even of Sûdra, are alleged by the Bramins to be extinct : a decision which is by no means acquiesced in by those immediately concerned. The Râppûts still loudly assert the purity of their descent from the Ushatriyas,\* and some of the industrious classes claim the same relation to the Veisyas. The Bramins, however, have been almost universally successful, so far as to exclude the other classes from access to the Vedas, and to confine all learning, human and divine, to their own body.

The Bramins themselves, although they have preserved their own lineage undisputed, have, in a great measure, departed from the rules and practice of their predecessors. In some particulars they are more strict than formerly, being denied the use of animal

\* A tradition of the Pûjy Brahmins holds that the Kshatriyas are all extinct. See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IV. p. 173. Vol. V. p. 174.

food,<sup>1</sup> and restrained from intermarriages with the inferior classes; but in most respects their practice is greatly relaxed. The whole of the fourfold division of their life, with all the restraints imposed on students, hermits, and abstracted devotees, is now laid aside as regards the community; though individuals, at their choice, may still adopt some one of the modes of life which formerly were to be gone through in turn by all.

Bramins now enter into service, and are to be found in all trades and professions. The number of them supported by charity, according to the original system, is quite insignificant in proportion to the whole. It is common to see them as husbandmen, and, still more, as soldiers; and even of those trades which are expressly forbidden to them under severe penalties, they only scruple to exercise the most degraded, and in some places not even those.<sup>2</sup> In the south of India, however, their peculiar secular occupations are those connected with writing and public business. From the minister of state down to the village accountant, the greater number of situations of this sort are in their hands, as is all interpretation of the Hindú law, a large share of the ministry of religion, and many employments (such as farmers of the revenue, etc.) where a knowledge of writing and of business is required.

In the parts of Hindostan where the Mogul system was fully introduced, the use of the Persian language has thrown public business into the hands of Mussulmans and Cáyets.<sup>3</sup> Even in the Nizám's territories in the Deckan the same cause has in some degree diminished the employment of the Bramins; but still they must be admitted to have everywhere a more avowed share in the government than in the time of Menu's code, when one Bramin counsellor, together with the judges, made the whole of their portion in the direct enjoyment of power.

It might be expected that this worldly turn of their pursuits would deprive the Bramins of some part of their religious influence; and, accordingly, it is stated by a very high authority,<sup>4</sup> that (in the provinces on the Ganges, at least) they are null as a hierarchy, and as a literary body few and little countenanced. Even in the direction of the consciences of families and of individuals they have there been supplanted by Gosáyens and other monastic orders.<sup>5</sup>

Yet even in Bengal they appear still to be the objects of vene-

<sup>1</sup> Some casts of Bramins in Hindostan eat certain descriptions of flesh that has been offered in sacrifice. In such circumstances flesh is everywhere lawful food; but in the Deckan this sort of sacrifice is so rare that probably few Bramins ever

witnessed it.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, vol. i. p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> A cast of Súdras; see p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. pp. 310, 311.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. vol. xvii. p. 311.

ration and of profuse liberality to the laity.\* The ministry of most temples, and the conduct of religious ceremonies, must still remain with them; and in some parts of India no diminution whatever can be perceived in their spiritual authority. Such is certainly the case in the Maratta country, and would appear to be so likewise in the west of Hindostan.† The temporal influence derived from their numbers, affluence, and rank subsists in all parts; but, even where the Bramins have retained their religious authority, they have lost much of their popularity. This seems to be particularly the case among the Rājputs,‡ and is still more so among the Marattas, who have not forgiven their being supplanted in the government of their country by a class whom they regard as their inferiors in the military qualities, which alone, in their estimation, entitle men to command.

The two lowest classes that existed in Menu's time are now again replaced by a great number of casts of mixed, and sometimes times obscure, descent, who, nevertheless, maintain their divisions with greater strictness than the ancient classes were accustomed to do, neither eating together, nor intermarrying, nor partaking in common rites. In the neighbourhood of Puna, where they are probably not particularly numerous, there are about 150 different casts.‡ These casts, in many cases, coincide with trades; the goldsmiths forming one cast, the carpenters another, &c. This is conformable to Menu, who assigns to each of the mixed classes an hereditary occupation.

The enforcement of the rules of cast is still strict, but capricious. If a person of low cast were to step on the space of ground cleared out by one of the higher classes for cooking, the owner would immediately throw away his untasted meal, even if he had not the means of procuring another.

The loss of cast is faintly described by saying that it is civil death. A man not only cannot inherit, nor contract, nor give evidence, but he is excluded from all the intercourse of private life, as well as from the privileges of a citizen. He must not be admitted into his father's house; his nearest relations must not communicate with him; and he is deprived of all the consolations of religion in this life, and all hope of happiness in that which is to follow. Unless, however, cast be lost for an enormous offence, or for long continued breach of rules, it can always be regained by expiation; and the means of recovering it must be

\* *Wiley's History*, vol. ii. p. 48, 49.      † *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 220.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 221, 222.

\* *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, vol. ii. p. 221.      † *Strabo's Geography of the East and West*, vol. ii. p. 221.

very easy, for the effects of the loss of it are now scarcely observable. It occurs, no doubt, and prosecutions are not unfrequent in our courts for unjust exclusion from cast; but in a long residence in India I do not remember ever to have met with or heard of an individual placed in the circumstances which I have described.

The greatest change of all is, that there no longer exists a servile class. There are still prædial slaves in the south of India, and in some of the mountain and forest districts elsewhere. These may possibly be the remains of the ancient Sûdras, but in other parts of the country all *classes* are free. Domestic slaves form no exception, being individuals of any class reduced by particular circumstances to bondage.

Though scrupulous genealogists dispute the existence of pure Sûdras at the present day, yet many descriptions of people are admitted to be such, even by the Bramins. The whole of the Marattas, for instance, belong to that class. The proper occupation of a Sûdra is now thought to be agriculture; but he is not confined to that employment, for many are soldiers; and the Cáyets, who have been mentioned as rivalling the Bramins in business and everything connected with the pen, are (in Bengal, at least)<sup>10</sup> pure Sûdras, to whom their profession has descended from ancient times.<sup>11</sup>

The institution of casts, though it exercises a most pernicious influence on the progress of the nation, has by no means so great an effect in obstructing the enterprise of individuals as European writers are apt to suppose. There is, indeed, scarcely any part of the world where changes of condition are so sudden and so striking as in India. The last Peshwa had, at different times, two prime ministers; one of them had been either an officiating priest or a singer in a temple (both degrading employments), and the other was a Sûdra, and originally a running footman. The Râja of Jeipûr's prime minister was a barber. The founder of the reigning family of Hólcar was a goatherd; and that of Sindia a menial servant; and both were Sûdras. The great family of Râstia, in the Maratta country, first followed the natural occupations of Bramins, then became great bankers, and, at length, military commanders. Many similar instances of elevation might be quoted. The changes of professions in private

<sup>10</sup> [In Bengal, the next divisions below the Brahmins are the *Baidyas* or medical, and the *Kâyasthas*, or writer cast,—then come the nine divisions called the *Nobos*, i.e., the *gopa* or cowherd, the *malî* or gardener, the *tailî* or oilman, the *tantri* or weaver, the *modaka* or confectioner, the *rarajî* or betel-cultivator, the *kuldâ* or

potter, the *karmakîra* or smith, and the *nâpîta* or barber. Below these are the numerous low casts, from whom a Brahman cannot accept water, such as the *kai-vartaka* or fisherman, *sauvarna-banij* or goldsmith, etc.—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 58.

life are less observable; but the first good Hindû miniature painter, in the European manner, was a blacksmith. A new *cast* <sup>of painting</sup> may be said to have been introduced by the establishment of the monastic orders. The origin of these communities can only be touched on as a matter of speculation.

By the rules of Menu's code, a Bramin in the fourth stage of his life, after having passed through a period of solitude and mortification as an anchorite,<sup>12</sup> is released from all formal observances, and permitted to devote his time to contemplation. It is probable that persons so situated might assemble for the purpose of religious discussion, and that men of superior endowments to the rest might collect a number of hearers, who would live around them without forming any religious community. Such, at least, was the progress from single monks to *celestites*, among the early Christians. The assemblies of these *sequesters* might in time be attended by disciples, who, though not Bramins, were of the classes to whom the study of theology was permitted, each, however, living independently, according to the practice of his own class. This would seem to be the stage to which these religious institutions had attained in the time of Alexander, though there are passages in the early Greek writers from which it might be inferred that they had advanced still further towards the present model of regular monastic orders.<sup>13</sup> Unless that evidence be thought sufficient, we have no means of conjecturing at what period these assemblies formed themselves into religious communities, subject to rules of their own, distinct from those of their respective classes. The earliest date to which the foundation of any such order can be traced in the Hindû books is the eighth century of our era; and few of those now in existence are older than the fourteenth.<sup>14</sup> Some orders are still composed of Bramins alone, and a few among *them* may be regarded as the representatives of the original societies adverted to above; but the distinguishing preponderance of a great number of the orders is, that all distinctions of caste are leveled, or *adversured*. Brahmins break their sacerdotal threads and *Uparis*, *Varis*, and *Sutras* become their new class, or entering no order, and all become *Chandras* of

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix VIII. p. 109. <sup>13</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>14</sup> See Appendix VIII. p. 109. <sup>15</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>16</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>17</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>18</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>19</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>20</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>21</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>22</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>23</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>24</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>25</sup> The *Philostratus* is a valuable authority on this subject. <sup>26</sup> The 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their new community. This bold innovation is supposed by Professor Wilson to have been adopted about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

The Hindú orders do not present the same regular aspect as similar fraternities in Europe, and do not so easily furnish marked characteristics to distinguish them from the rest of mankind or from each other. There is not even a general name for the class, though that of Gosáyen (which, in strictness, should be confined to one subdivision) is usually applied to the whole. They can all be recognised by their dress, as all wear some part of their clothes (generally the turban and scarf) of a dirty orange colour, except a few, who go quite naked: all are bound by some vows; and all accept (though all do not solicit) charity.

These are, perhaps, the only particulars which can be asserted of them all; but by far the greater number have many other features in common. An order generally derives its character from a particular spiritual instructor, whose doctrines it maintains, and by whose rules of life the members are bound. Many of these founders of orders have been likewise founders of sects; for which reason the tenets of Gosáyens are seldom purely orthodox. They vary greatly in numbers, some being confined to a small knot of votaries in one part of the country, and others spread in numbers over all India.

Most of them possess convents, to which, in some cases, landed property is attached. They derive an additional income from the contributions of devout persons, from money collected by begging, and, in many cases, from trade, which is often carried on openly, but more frequently in a covert manner. These convents are all under a mohant (or abbot), who is generally elected by his own community or by the other mohants of the order; but who is sometimes hereditary, and often named by his predecessor. Admission into an order is not given until after a probation of a year or two. The novice is in a manner adopted by a particular instructor, or guru, who has often several such disciples; all subject, as well as the guru himself, to the head of the convent. One order in Bengal admits of males and females living in one convent, but under strict vows of chastity.

Many of the Gosáyens who belong to convents nevertheless spend much of their lives in wandering about, and subsist by begging. Other Gosáyens lead an entirely erratic life; in some cases

<sup>15</sup> [Similarly distinctions of cast cease or the time among the worshippers at the temple of Jagannáth. The earliest protest against cast was the rise of Budhism.—Ed.]

still subordinate to mohants, and in others, quite independent and free from all rules, except such as they impose on themselves. But among these last are to be found some of the most austere religionists; those, in particular, who retire to the heart of forests, and live entirely unconnected with mankind, exposed to the chance of famine, if no charitable person should think of them, and to still greater danger from the beasts of prey that alone inhabit those wild and solitary tracts.\*

Few of the orders are under very strict vows; and they have no attendance on chapels, general fasts, vigils, or other monkish observances. Most are bound to celibacy; but many allow their members to marry, and to reside with their families like laymen. One order, particularly devoted to Crishna, in his infant form, hold it to be their duty to indulge in costly apparel and choice food, and to partake of every description of innocent enjoyment; and these tenets are so far from lowering their character that their influence with their followers is unbounded, and they are amply supplied with the means of living according to their liberal notions of religious duty.

Some orders, however, differ widely from these last; such are those of which individuals hold up one or both arms until they become fixed in that position, and until the nails grow through the hands; those who lie on beds of spikes, who vow perpetual silence, and who expose themselves to other voluntary mortifications. Some few affect every sort of filth and pollution, and extort alms by the disgust which their presence creates, or by gashing their limbs with knives.

Others, as has been said, go naked, and many nearly so. Of this description are the Nugas, who serve as mercenary soldiers, often to the number of several thousands, under their own leaders.

These people do not profess to take arms for the advancement of their religion, but serve any chief for hire; and are, in general, men of violent and profligate habits, but with the reputation of desperate courage. Their naked limbs smeared with ashes, their shaggy beards, and their matted hair artfully increased and twisted round the head, give a striking appearance to these martial devotees. When not armed, they have been known to wander about the country in large bands, plundering and levying contributions. In former times the British possessors were more than once invaded by such marauders.

\* Mr. W. Jones has heard that six of these hermits had been armed by the British, and that he was informed by a tiger in the preceding three months.

But these armed monks sometimes assemble in great numbers, without being formed into bands or associated for military service; and the meeting of large bodies of opposite sects has often led to sanguinary conflicts. At the great fair at Hardwár in 1760, an affray, or rather a battle, took place between the Nagás of Siva and those of Vishnu, in which it was stated, on the spot, that 18,000 persons were left dead on the field.<sup>17</sup> The amount must, doubtless, have been absurdly exaggerated, but it serves to give an idea of the numbers engaged.

One description of Gosáyens, of the sect of Siva, are Yógis (see Chap. V.); and attempt, by meditation, and by holding in the breath, and other mummeries, to procure a union with the Divinity. The lowest of this class pretend to work miracles; and some are even professed mountebanks, who go about the country with monkeys and musical instruments, and amuse the populace with juggling and other tricks of dexterity. Another sort is much more remarkable. These profess to be enthusiastic devotees, and practise their imposture not for money, but to increase their reputation for sanctity. Among them are persons who manage, by some contrivance hitherto unexplained, to remain seated, for many minutes, in the air, at as great a distance from the ground as four feet, with no other *apparent* support but what they derive from slightly resting on a sort of crutch with the back of one hand, the fingers of which are all the time employed in counting their beads.<sup>18</sup>

Among the Gosáyens there are, or have been, some few learned men: many are decent and inoffensive religionists, and many respectable merchants; but many, also, are shameless and importunate beggars, and worthless vagabonds of all descriptions, attracted to the order by the idle and wandering life which it admits of. In general, the followers of Vishnu are the most respectable, and those of Siva the most infected by the offensive qualities of the class. It is to the credit of the good sense of the Hindús that these devotees fall off in public esteem exactly in proportion to the extravagance and eccentricity of their observances.

The veneration of some of the Váishnava sectarians for their mendicant directors is carried to an almost incredible pitch. In Beugal, some of them consider their spiritual guide as of

<sup>17</sup> Captain Raper, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 455.

<sup>18</sup> The most authentic account of one of these is quoted by Professor Wilson,

*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 186, from a statement by an eye-witness in the *Asiatic Monthly Journal* for March, 1829.





the old lawgiver, and which, perhaps, was at no time exactly conformed to in the actual practice of any state.

The chief has no longer a fixed number of ministers and a regular council. He has naturally some heads of departments, and occasionally consults them, and his prime minister, on matters affecting the peculiar province of each.

Admini-  
stration.

Traces of all the revenue divisions of Menu,<sup>1</sup> under lords of 10 towns, lords of 100, and lords of 1000 towns, are still to be found, especially in the Deckan; but the only one which remains entire is that called Perganneh, which answers to the lordship of 100 towns. Even the officers of the old systems are still kept up in those divisions, and receive a remuneration in lands and fees; but they are no longer the active agents of the government, and are only employed to keep the records of all matters connected with land (A). It is generally supposed that these officers fell into disuse after the Mahometan conquest; but as, like everything Hindú, they became hereditary, and liable to division among heirs, the sovereign, Hindú as well as Mussulman, must have felt their inadequacy to fulfil the objects they were designed for, and the necessity of replacing them by officers of his own choosing, on whom he could rely.

Revenue  
divisions.

At present, even Hindú territories are divided into governments of various extent, which are again divided and subdivided, as convenience requires. The king names the governors of the great divisions, and the governor chooses his own deputies for those subordinate.

The governor unites all the functions of administration; there being no longer military divisions as in Menu's time; and no courts of justice, but at the capital (if there).

But among all these changes, the townships\* remain entire, and are the indestructible atoms, from an aggregate of which the most extensive Indian empires are composed.

A township is a compact piece of land, varying in extent, inhabited by a single community. The boundaries are accurately defined and jealously guarded. The lands may be of all descriptions: these actually under cultivation, and those neglected; arable lands never yet cultivated; and land which is altogether incapable of cultivation. These lands are divided into portions, the boundaries of which are as carefully

Description  
of a town-  
ship.

<sup>1</sup> As many of the notes on this account of the revenue system are long, and not required for a general understanding of

the subject, I have thought it best to place them in an Appendix, to which reference will be made by letters of the alphabet.

\* [cf. Sir. H. Maine's *Village Communities in the East and West*, 1871.]

marked as those of the township; and the names, qualities, extent, and proprietors of which are minutely entered in the records of the community. The inhabitants are all assembled in a village within the limits, which in many parts of India is fortified, or protected by a little castle or citadel.

Each township conduct its own internal affairs. It levies on its members the revenue due to the state; and is collectively responsible for the payment of the full amount. It manages its police, and is answerable for any property plundered within its limits. It administers justice to its own members, as far as punishing small offences, and deciding disputes in the first instance. It taxes itself, to provide funds for its internal expenses; such as repairs of the wall and temple, and the cost of public sacrifices and charities, as well as of some ceremonies and amusements on festivals.

It is provided with the requisite officers for conducting all those duties, and with various others adapted to the wants of the inhabitants; and, though entirely subject to the general government, is in many respects an organized commonwealth, complete within itself. This independence, and its concomitant privileges, though often violated by government, are never denied; they afford some little protection against a tyrannical ruler, and maintain order within their own limits, even when the general government has been dissolved.

I quote the following extract from a minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe, as well for the force of his language as the weight of his authority:—

“The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Marhatta, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but the village community remains the same. In times of trouble they arm, and fight for themselves; and hostile armies pass through the country. The village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves, and the first sword be irresistible, they fly to the hills. Villages are a distant thing, when the storm has passed over, they return and resume their occupations. If a century remain for a series of years the scene of carnage and pillage, and massacre, so that the villages cannot be inhabited, the scattered villages

nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers ; the same site for the village, the same positions for the houses, the same lands will be re-occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated ; and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.”<sup>2</sup>

A township in its simplest form is under a headman (B), who is only spoken of in Menu as an agent of the king, and may have been removable at his pleasure. His office has now become hereditary ; and though he is still regarded as an officer of the king, he is really more the representative of the people. The selection of an individual from the proper family rests sometimes with the village community, and oftener with the government ; but to be useful to either he must possess the confidence of both. He holds a portion of land, and receives an annual allowance from the government ; but the greater part of his income is derived from fees paid by the villagers. So far is he identified with the village, that he is held personally responsible for its engagements, and thrown into prison in all cases of resistance or failure of the revenue.

The headman settles with the government the sum to be paid to it for the year ; and apportions the payment among the villagers according to the extent and tenures of their lands. He also lets such lands as have no fixed occupants, partitions the water for irrigation, settles disputes, apprehends offenders, and sends them to the government office of the district ; and, in short, does all the duties of municipal government.

All this is done in public, at a place appropriated for the purpose ; and on all points affecting the public interest, in free consultation with the villagers. In civil disputes the headman

Government  
of a town-  
ship by one  
head.

Duties of the  
headman.

<sup>2</sup> Sir C. T. Metcalfe, *Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, 1832, vol. iii. Appendix 84, p. 331.*

is assisted by arbitrators named by the parties, or by assessors of his own choice. His office confers a great deal of respectability with all the country people, as well as influence in his own village. It is saleable; but the owner seldom parts with it entirely, reserving the right of presiding at certain ceremonies and other honorary privileges, when compelled to dispose of all the solid advantages.

The headman is assisted by different officers, of whom the village accountant and the watchman are the most important. The accountant (C) keeps the village records, which contain a full description of the nature of the lands of the village, with the names of the former and present holders, the rent, and other terms of occupancy. He also keeps the accounts of the village community and those of the villagers individually, both with the government and with each other. He acts as notary in drawing up deeds for them, and writes private letters for those who require such a service. He is paid by fees on the inhabitants, and sometimes has an allowance or an assignment of land from the government.

The watchman (D) is the guardian of boundaries, public and private. He watches the crops, is the public guide and messenger, and is, next to the headman, the principal officer of police. In this capacity he keeps watch at night, observes all arrivals and departures; makes himself acquainted with the character of every individual in the village, and is bound to find out the possessor of any stolen property within the township, or to track him till he has passed the boundary, when the responsibility is transferred to the next neighbour.

These duties may seem beyond the powers of one man; but the remuneration is hereditary in a particular family, all the members of which contribute to perform the service.<sup>1</sup> They are always men of a low cast.

The money-changer may also be considered an assistant of the headman, as one of his duties is to assay all money paid. He is also the silversmith of the village. Besides these, there are other village officers, the number of which is fixed by the native name and by common opinion, at twelve; but, in fact, it varies in different villages, and the officers included are not always the same.

<sup>1</sup> This is the case of the village of the author, in which the watchman is a hereditary office, and the accountants are also hereditary, but the watchman is not always the same person, as the office is not always filled.

The village of the author is a small one, and the number of officers is not more than twelve. In larger villages the number is often more, and the officers are not always the same.

The priest and the astrologer (one of whom is often the schoolmaster), the smith, carpenter, barber, potter, and worker in leather, are seldom wanting. The tailor, washerman, physician, musician, minstrel, and some others, are not so general: the dancing-girl seems only to be in the south of India.

The minstrel recites poems and composes verses. His most important character (in some places at least) is that of genealogist.<sup>4</sup> Each of these village officers and artisans has a fee, sometimes in money, more frequently a portion of produce, as a handful or two out of each measure of grain.

This is the mode of village government when there is nobody between the tenant and the prince; but in one half of India, especially in the north and the extreme south, Government by a village community. there is in each village a community which represents, or rather which constitutes, the township; the other inhabitants being their tenants (E). These people are generally regarded as absolute proprietors of the soil, and are admitted wherever they exist to have an hereditary and transferable interest in it; but as the completeness of their proprietary right is doubtful, it will be convenient to preserve the ambiguity of their native name, and call them "village landholders" (F).

Where they exist, the village is sometimes governed by one head, as above described; but more frequently each branch of the family composing the community (or each family if there be more than one) has its own head, who manages its internal affairs, and unites with the heads of the other divisions to conduct the general business of the village. The council thus composed fills precisely the place occupied in other cases by the single headman, and its members share among them the official remuneration allowed to that officer by the government and the villagers. Their number depends on that of the divisions, but seldom exceeds eight or ten. Each of these heads is generally chosen from the oldest branch of his division, but is neither richer nor otherwise distinguished from the rest of the landholders.

Where there are village landholders, they form the first class of the inhabitants of villages; but there are four other Classes of inhabitants. classes of inferior degree:—2. Permanent tenants. 3. Temporary tenants. 4. Labourers. 5. Shopkeepers, who take up their abode in a village for the convenience of a market.

The popular notion is that the village landholders are all

<sup>4</sup> The widely extended *entail* of all property in India, and the complicated restrictions on the intermarriage of families,

make the business of a genealogist of much more serious concern in that country than it is with us.

descended from one or more individuals who first settled the village; and that the only exceptions are formed by persons <sup>landholders</sup> ~~landholders~~ who have derived their rights by purchase, or otherwise, from members of the original stock. The supposition is confirmed by the fact that, to this day, there are often only single families of landholders in small villages, and not many in large ones (Gi); but each has branched out into so many members, that it is not uncommon for the whole agricultural labour to be done by the landholders, without the aid either of tenants or labourers.

The rights of the landholders are their *collective*; and, though they almost always have a more or less perfect partition of them, they never have an entire separation. A landholder, for instance, can sell or mortgage his rights; but he must first have the consent of the village, and the purchaser steps exactly into his place and takes up all his obligations. If a family becomes extinct, its share returns to the common stock.

In some villages the rights of the landholders are held in common, the whole working for the community, and sharing the net produce, after satisfying the claims of the government. In some they divide the cultivated lands, but still with mutual responsibility for the dues of government, and sometimes with periodical interchanges of the portions; and in others they make the separation between the portions of cultivated land complete, retaining only the waste land and some other rights in common; but, at times, they divide the waste land also. In dividing their lands they do not, in general, give one compact portion to each landholder, but assign to him a share of every description of soil; so that he has a piece of fertile land in one place, one of sterile in another, one of growing ground in a third, and so on, according to the variety of qualities to be found within a village (Gi).

Their rights are various in different parts of the country. Where their tenure is most perfect, the whole of their lands subjected to the payment of a fixed proportion of the produce to government, or to a certain demand. Where it is lowest, it is still subject to many exemptions that distinguish it from the rest of the village (Hi).

There are some instances where the government has taken advantage of the attachment of the landholders to their lands to have certain laws enacted, that other cultivators are willing to pay. Even in the present day, some of the most actual or prospective objects of the government are, that no new villages or fields are found in which their rights are not

occasionally

always enjoy in the country, which would induce marriage with a landholder rather than with a wealthy point of cast, but of an inferior

So rooted is the notion of property in the village landholders, that even when one of them is compelled to abandon his fields from the demand of government it exceeds what they will pay, he is still considered as proprietor, his name still remains on the village register, and, for three generations, or one hundred years, he is entitled to reclaim his land, if from any change of circumstances he should be so disposed.

In the Tamil country and in Hind a tenant put in by the government will sometimes voluntarily pay the proprietor's fee to the defaulting and dispossessed holder.\*

In all villages there are two classes of tenants, who rent the lands of the village landholders (where there are permanent tenants), and those of the government, where there is no such intermediate class. The former are commonly called ryots (1), and are divided into two classes—permanent and temporary.

The permanent ryots are those who cultivate the lands of the village where they reside, retain them during their lives, and transmit them to their children (K).

\* Mr. Ellis, *Report of Select Committee*, 1832, vol. iii. p. 376; Mr. Fortescue, *Selections*, vol. iii. p. 405.

[Mr. Robinson, in his valuable little book on *The Land Revenue of British India* (published in 1856), gives three principal kinds of land tenure in India—the Zemindaree, the Putteedaree, and the Ryutwaree. "The distinguishing feature of the Zemindaree tenure is, that when an estate belongs to several proprietors, it is managed in joint-stock, with no separate possession of portions of land by the sharers." "The characteristic of the Putteedaree tenure is partition, or apportionment of the land in severalty, with joint responsibility. Each owner, or shareholder, undertakes the management of his separate portion, paying through the headman that proportion of the whole assessment on the estate which, by previous agreement, has been fixed on his portion of the land." "Under the Ryutwaree tenure the various proprietary subdivisions of the estate are recognised, and joint responsibility ceases. The owner of each petty holding is made responsible to

government for the payment exclusively of his own fixed assessment. The principle is that of a field-assessment, with total separation of interests." Besides these three, there is a fourth, the Talooqdaree, which was superinduced over the others by the Muhammadan custom of granting the collection of revenue to great officers of state or powerful chiefs, who in course of time made the office hereditary. In Bengal proper, these talooqdars obtained great power by the perpetual settlement, and made themselves generally the sole owners or zemindars of the land. The Putteedaree tenure prevails in the North-west Provinces and the Saugor and Nerbudda territories; the Zemindaree in the North-west, and the Maratta and Tamil country; the Ryutwaree chiefly in Madras. See Robinson's *Land Revenue*, pp. 1—17, and Wilson's *Glossary* (*Grām* and *Zamindār*). Wilson also mentions an imperfect form of Putteedaree in the North-west, where part of the land is held in common and part in severalty.—Ed.]



They have often been confounded with the village landholders, though the distinction is marked in all cases where any proprietor's fee exists. In it no tenant ever participates.<sup>2</sup>

Many are of opinion that they are the real proprietors of the soil; while others regard them as mere tenants at will. All, however, are agreed within certain limits; all acknowledging, on the one hand, that they have some claim to occupancy, and on the other, that they have no right to sell their land.

But, though all admit the right of occupancy, some contend that it is rendered nugatory by the right of the landlord to raise his rent; and others assert that the rent is so far fixed, that it ought never to go beyond the rate customary in the surrounding district.

The truth probably is, that the tenant's title was clear as long as the demand of the state was fixed; but that it became vague and of no value when the public assessment became arbitrary. At present, the permanent tenant is protected by the interest of the landlord; he will pay more than a stranger for lands long held by his family, and situated in a village where he has a house; but if driven to extremities, he could easily get a temporary lease, in another village, on lighter terms (C.).

It is thought by some that the permanent tenants are the remains of village landholders reduced by oppression; others think they are temporary tenants who have gained their rights by long possession. It is probable that both conjectures are partially right; as well as a third, that their tenure was, in many instances, conferred on them by the landholders at the first settlement of the townships.

The temporary tenant (C<sup>o</sup>) cultivates the lands of a village <sup>permanent</sup> different from that to which he belongs, holding them <sup>estate</sup> by an annual lease, written or understood. The first description of land being occupied by the resident tenant, an inferior class falls to his share, for which there is little competition; for this reason, and on account of his other disadvantages, he gets his land at a lower rent than the permanent tenant.

There is another sort of tenant who deserves to be mentioned, though of much less importance than either of the other two (C<sup>o</sup>N). These are persons whose cast or condition in life prevents their engaging in manual labour, or their women from taking part in any employment that requires their appearing before men. In consideration of these disadvantages, they are allowed

<sup>2</sup> Mr. F. C. B. says, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 283.

to hold land at a favourable rate, so as to admit of their availing themselves of their skill or capital by the help of hired labourers (O). The services and remuneration of hired labourers are naturally various; but they differ too little from those of other countries to require explanation.

It need scarcely be repeated that each of these classes is not necessarily found in every village. One village may be cultivated entirely by any one of them, or by all, in every variety of proportion.

Shopkeepers, etc., are subject to a ground-rent, and sometimes a tax besides, to the person on whose land they reside. They are under the general authority of the headman as a magistrate, but have little else to do with the community.

It seems highly probable that the first villages founded by Hindûs were all in the hands of village communities. In the early stage of their progress it was impossible for single men to cut fields out of the forest, and to defend them against the attacks of the aborigines, or even of wild beasts: there was no capital to procure the services of others; and, unless the undertaker had a numerous body of kindred, he was obliged to call in associates who were to share in the profits of the settlement; and thence came the formation of village communities, and the division of the land into townships.

The unoccupied waste, as in all other cases where society has assumed a regular form, must no doubt have belonged to the state; but the king, instead of transferring this property to the intended cultivators for a price paid once for all, or for a fixed annual rent or quit-rent (as is usual in other countries), reserved a certain proportion of the produce, which increased or diminished according to the extent and nature of the cultivation. The rest of the produce belonged to the community of settlers; but if they found they had more good land than they could themselves till, they would endeavour to make a profit of it through the labour of others. No method seemed easier than to assign it to a person who should engage to pay the government's proportion, with an additional share to the community: but while land was plenty, and many villages in progress, no man would undertake to clear a spot unless he was to enjoy it for ever; and hence permanent tenants would arise. Temporary tenants and labourers would follow as society advanced. The subdivision of property by inheritance would have a natural tendency to destroy this state of things, and to reduce all ranks to the condition of labourers;

but as long as there was plenty of waste land, that principle would not come into full operation.

But for this, the village community would remain unaltered so long as the king's proportion of the produce was unchanged. When he raised his demand, the profits of the landholders and permanent tenants diminished; and when it rose above a certain point, both classes cultivated their land at a loss. If this continued they were obliged to throw up their lands, and seek other means of living.

As the highest proportion claimed by the king, which at the time of Menu's code was one-sixth, is now one-half, it is easy to account for the annihilation of many village communities, and the shattered condition of others. The lands abandoned by the landholders reverted to the state.

But though this progress may have been very general, it need not have been universal; conquered lands already cultivated, would become the property of the prince, and might be cultivated on his account by the old proprietors reduced to serfs. Even at this day, the state constantly grants lands to speculators, for the purpose of founding villages, without recognising a body of landholders. The terms of these grants are various; in general they provide for total or partial exemption from revenue for a certain number of years; after which the payment is to be the same as in neighbouring villages.

Other processes must also have taken place, as we perceive from the results, though we cannot trace their progress. In Canara, Malabar, and Travancore, the land is held in absolute property by single individuals, subject to a fixed payment to the state.

The sovereign's full share is now reckoned at one-half; and a poor poor country is reckoned moderately assessed where he takes but one-third only one-third! This increase has been made, not so much by openly raising the king's proportion of the crop as by means of various taxes and cesses, some falling directly on the land, and others more or less on the industrious cultivator. Of the first sort are taxes on plots, assessed either on the extent, or some description of the soil, taxes on the use of trees cut or the use of them, some levied on villages with a view to fund new taxes on consumption. Besides these, there are all the cesses of last description, which were previously laid on for temporary purposes, but have become fixed and permanent contributions. Of this last Mr. Munro writes, "The taxes on the land, he states, the Nizam levies on his subjects, and the British on theirs, amount to three per cent. of the Net Produce of the land, and the Nizam's share is one per cent. of the gross produce."

kind are a cess on all occupants of land, proportioned to their previous payments, and a cess on the emoluments of village and district functionaries.

As there is no limit to these demands, but the ability of those on whom they fall to satisfy them; the only defence of the villagers lies in endeavouring to conceal their income. For this purpose they understate the amount of produce, and contrive to abstract part without the knowledge of the collector; more frequently they conceal the quantity of land cultivated, falsifying their records, so as to render detection impossible, without a troublesome and expensive scrutiny, involving a survey of the land. The landholders, where there are such, possess other indirect advantages, the extent of which the government is seldom able to ascertain. Some degree of connivance on the collector's part is obtained by bribes, which are levied as part of the internal expenses, and charged as "secret service"; an item into which it is a point of honour, both with the villagers and with future collectors and auditors, never to inquire.

It is only by the existence of such abuses, counterbalancing those on the part of the government, that we can account for land yielding a rent and being saleable when apparently assessed to the utmost of its powers of bearing.<sup>9</sup>

In the confusion produced by these irregularities on both sides, the principle of proportions of the produce is lost sight of; and in most parts of India the revenue is annually settled by a reference to that paid in former years, with such alterations as the peculiarity of the season, or the occurrence of any temporary advantage or calamity, may render expedient.

When the parties cannot agree by this mode of settlement, they have recourse to a particular inquiry into the absolute ability of the village for the year. The land being classed (as has been mentioned) according to its fertility, and the facilities it possesses for cultivation, the surplus remaining after the expense of production can be conjectured: a sufficient proportion is set aside for the maintenance of the cultivator; and the rest, after deducting village expenses, etc., goes to the government. As a final resource, when all other amicable means fail, an appeal is made to an actual division of the crops; but this mode of adjustment is so open to frauds that it is generally avoided by both parties; except, indeed, in places where long connexion between the

<sup>9</sup> As in the village described by Mr. Hodgson (*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 77), where the landholders pay 57½ per cent. of their produce. See also Mr. Chaplin and the Deccan col-

lectors, and Mr. Elphinstone for Guzerat, both in the selections published by the East India Company; Mr. Hamilton Buchanan for Deinajpûr and other districts under Bengal, in his separate reports.

representative of government and the people has established mutual confidence, in which case the division of the crop is the most popular of all settlements.

If the result of the contest with the government officers is the imposition of a burden beyond the patience of the cultivators, the whole body by common consent abandon their lands, leave their village, and refuse to enter into any engagement with the government. The public officers then have recourse to conciliation and intimidation, and, when necessary, to concession; force would be reckoned very oppressive, and, if used, would be ineffectual; the most it could do would be to disperse the villagers, and drive them into other jurisdictions.

It may easily be supposed that such modes of settlement cannot be carried on without much interference with the internal constitution of the township. In general the government officer carries on his exactions through the headman, but interferes when necessary to support him against individuals; but he sometimes suspends the headman from his duties, and takes the details of imposing and collecting the public revenue for the time into his own hands. Appeals and complaints are also incited to afford pretences for extortion in matters connected with justice and police; so that under a bad government the privileges of the townships are often reduced to insignificance.

All these evils are aggravated in many parts of India by the system of farming the revenue. The governments of provinces in such cases are conferred on the person who engages to give security for the largest annual payment to the treasury. This contractor in like manner farms his subdivisions to the highest bidder; and the last, not our turn, contract with the headman, for fixed payments from the villages, leaving each of them to make what profit he can for himself. By this means the natural defender of the cultivators becomes himself our principal oppressor; and, if the headman refuses the terms offered to him, the case is made worse by the transfer of his office to any stranger who is willing to accept the contract.

It is true, in countries where village land holds, even in many cases by hereditary from masters of the township to more tenants of the same land, as they have been obliged to fly from their lands, they have been compelled to submit to them under terms which were perhaps better than before.

But in countries where the village lands are supposed to be not government land, but the king's and the landholders are each entitled to a definite share in the advantages derived

from it. The headman and accountant also, if not others of the village functionaries, can sell their offices and official emoluments. Thus a new description of persons is introduced into the township; but the new comers occupy precisely the station of their predecessors. The grantee of the king's share becomes entitled to receive *his* proportion of the produce, but does not supersede the headman in his local duties, still less interfere with private occupants; the new landholder takes up all the relations of the old; and the headman, accountant, etc., must henceforth be taken from the new family, but his functions undergo no change. The purposes of the king's alienations will be explained a little further on.

This account of the different occupants of the land naturally leads to the much agitated question of the property in the soil; which some suppose to be vested in the state; <sup>Property in the soil.</sup> some, in the great Zemindárs; some, in the village landholders; and some, in the tenants. The claim of the great Zemindárs will be shown, in its proper place, to be derived from one of the remaining three; among whom, therefore, the discussion is confined.

Property in land seems to consist in the exclusive use and absolute disposal of the powers of the soil in perpetuity; together with the right to alter or destroy the soil itself, where such an operation is possible. These privileges, combined, form the abstract idea of property; which does not represent any substance distinct from these elements. Where *they* are found united, *there* is property, and nowhere else. Now the king possesses the exclusive right to a proportion only of the produce. This right is permanent, and the king can dispose of it at his pleasure; but he cannot interfere with the soil or its produce beyond this limit. If he requires the land for buildings, roads, or other public purposes, he takes it as a magistrate, and ought to give compensation to his fellow-shareholders, as he can on emergency seize carts, boats, etc., and can demolish houses in besieged towns, although in those cases he has no pretensions whatever to property.

As much of the produce as comes into the hands of the landholder, after the king's proportion is provided, is his; and his power to dispose of his right to it for all future years is unrestrained. The tenant has what remains of the produce after the king's proportion and the landlord's rent is paid; and this he enjoys in perpetuity; but the right is confined to himself and his heirs, and cannot be otherwise disposed of.

Neither the landholder nor the tenant can destroy, or even

suspend, the use of the powers of the soil: a tenant forfeits his land when he fails to provide a crop from which the other sharers may take their proportions; and a landholder guilty of the same default would be temporarily superseded by a tenant of the community's or the king's, and, after a certain long period, would be deprived of his right altogether.

From all this it is apparent that, where there are village communities and permanent tenants, there is no perfect property in any of the sharers. Where there are neither communities nor permanent tenants, the king doubtless is the full and complete proprietor; all subsequent rights are derived from his grant or lease. The extent of those grants varies with circumstances; but when they are given without reserve and in perpetuity, they constitute a perfect form of private property.

Many of the disputes about the property in the soil have been occasioned by applying to all parts of the country, facts which are only true of particular tracts; and by including, in conclusions drawn from one sort of tenure, other tenures totally dissimilar in their nature. Many also are caused by the assumption, that where the government attends to no rights, no rights are now existing. Yet these rights are asserted by the sufferers, and are claimed by those who violate them; and often, in favourable circumstances, recover their former efficiency. Practically, the question is not in whom the property resides, but what proportion of the produce is due to each party; and this can only be settled by local inquiries, not by general rules founded on a supposed proprietary right, not even on ancient laws long since forgotten.

The king's share in the produce of all India, and his rent or *chauth*, as it is called, belongs to the crown, form by far the greatest part of the public revenue. The rest is derived from

various sources: of these, some are drawn from the people, as the cesses and taxes above alluded to; and others from classes unconnected with agriculture, as taxes on shops and houses, and houses in towns, or on articles of consumption. A third of these, the stipends of the court, the nobles, soldiers, &c., is now of less importance.

Most of them, especially the stipends, are the sources of oppression and vexation, and yield little or nothing in return for so much evil. These revenues are collected by the village and other local authorities, or by agents of the king, especially transit duties and customs, or other bonded or separate contractors.

It is to be remarked that the king can allocate his share of revenue in a village. In like manner he often allots large

portions of territory, including numerous villages as well as tracts of unappropriated waste. But in all these cases it is only his own rights that he makes over: those of the village landholders and permanent tenants (where such exist), of district and village officers, and of persons holding by previous grants from himself or his predecessors, remaining unaffected by the transfer.<sup>10</sup> These grants are made for the payment of troops and civil officers, for the support of temples, the maintenance of holy men, or for rewards of public service. Lands given for the two first purposes are called *Jágirs*.<sup>11</sup> This mode of remunerating the services of certain officers, and of providing for holy men, is as old as Menu. When it came to be applied to troops is uncertain. It was in use in Bijayanagar, and other states of the south of India, when they were overturned by the Mussulmans; but the more perfect form in which it is now found among the Marattas is probably of modern date. Such grants originate in the convenience of giving an assignment on a district near the station of the troops, instead of an order on the general treasury; a mode of transfer particularly adapted to a country where the revenue is paid in kind.

Lands alienated for military service.

These assignments at first were for specific sums equal to the pay due: but when they had long been continued, and were large enough to swallow up the whole revenue of a district, it was natural to simplify the arrangement, by transferring the collection to the chief of the military body. This was done with every precaution to prevent the chiefs appropriating more than the pay of the troops, or exercising any power not usually vested in other collectors. The system adopted by the Marattas gives a full illustration of the means resorted to for this purpose.

According to their plan, the number and description of troops to be maintained by each chief was prescribed; the pay of each division carefully calculated; allowances made for officers, sometimes even to the extent of naming individuals; a sum was allotted for the personal expenses of the chief himself; and every particular regarding the terms of service, the mode of mustering, and other arrangements, was laid down. A portion of territory was then selected, of which the share belonging to government

<sup>10</sup> Want of advertence to this circumstance has led to mistakes regarding the property in the soil. The native expression being "to grant a village," or "a district," it has been inferred that the grant implied the whole, and excluded the notion of any other proprietors.

<sup>11</sup> [*Jágir*, which is a Persian word in its

origin, is applied to lands given by government for personal support, or as a fief for the maintenance of troops for the service of the state. Some service is implied in the personal, as well as the military *Jágir*."]—(Col. Sykes on Land Tenures in the Dekkan, Jour. R. A. S. 1835.)—Ed.]



should be sufficient, after deducting the expenses of collection and other charges, to supply the amount which had been shown to be requisite; and the whole territory yielding that amount was made over to the chief. The chief was now placed in the situation of the governor of a revenue division, and exercised all the other functions which are now united in the holder of that office.

The power to interfere for the protection of subordinate rights was, however, retained by the government, as well as a claim to any revenue which the tract assigned might yield beyond the amount for which it was granted. Those stipulations were enforced by the appointment of two or more civil officers, directly from the government, to inspect the whole of the chief's proceedings, as well in managing his troops as his lands.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, the usual consequences of such grants did not fail to appear. The lands had from the first a tendency to become hereditary; and the control of the government always grew weaker in proportion to the time that had elapsed from the first assignment. The original principle of the grant, however, was never lost sight of, and the necessity of observing its conditions was never denied.

These grants affected but a moderate proportion of the territory of the state; the rest of which was administered by local officers directly under the prince, according to the form laid down in *Mohur*. The allotment of lands was adopted as a means of paying the troops, and not of governing the country; so that, although there were fiefs, there was no feudal system.

But though this was the progress of landed assignments in settled countries, they took another course in the case of foreign conquests. In some instances a chief was detached by the invaders, to occupy a remote part of the country, and to subvert his troops on its resources; and was allowed to remain undisturbed until his family had taken root, and had become tenants on condition of service instead of mere officers or detachments. Examples of this practice may be found among the Hindoo dynasties, in the south of India, and in the Deccan and parts of the Marattas of later times. Even in these cases of foreign conquest, however, the intermediate tenure, as the exception, and not the rule, left a large portion of the territory remaining under the direct administration of the prince. But a course of peaceful conquest, which carries the principle of liberation to a large extent, and leads to a system which, with every century, has become more and more liberal, it is impossible to suppose that it would have been attended with the same

It is that which prevails among the Rájputs. With them, the founder of a state, after reserving a demesne for himself, divided the rest of the country among his relations, according to the Hindú laws of partition. The chief to whom each share was assigned owed military service and general obedience to the prince, but exercised unlimited authority within his own lands. He, in his turn, divided his lands on similar terms among his relations, and a chain of vassal chiefs was thus established, to whom the civil government as well as the military force of the country was committed (P).

This plan differs from the feudal system in Europe, as being founded on the principle of family partition, and not on that of securing the services of great military leaders; but it may not always have originated in conquest, and when it did, the clan-nish connexion which subsists between the members of a Rájput tribe makes it probable that command among the invaders depended also on descent; and that the same kinsmen who shared the chief's acquisitions had been the leaders of the tribe before the conquest by which they were gained.

The origin of present possession in family claims is still alive in the memory of the Rájput chiefs, who view the prince as their coparcener in one point of view, though their sovereign in another. This mixed relation is well shown by the following passage, in a complaint from certain chiefs of Márwár against the Rája :—"When our services are acceptable," say they, "then he is our lord: when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants and laying claim to the land."<sup>12</sup>

The rule of partition was adhered to after the conquest, and each chief, in succession, was obliged to provide an appanage for the younger members of his father's family. When any of those claimants remained inadequately provided for, he was assisted to set out on military adventures, and to found new states, by conquests in other countries (Q).

The example of granting lands, which was set in the case of the Rája's family, came to be extended to strangers: many fiefs are now held by Rájputs of entirely distinct tribes;<sup>13</sup> and one of the first order seems, in later times, to have been bestowed on a Mussulman<sup>14</sup> (R). From the accounts given by the Mahometans of the state of Sind, during their early invasion in A.D. 711, it seems not improbable that the species of feudal system preserved among the modern Rájputs was then widely extended.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Colonel Tod, vol. 2, p. 198, *Rájasthán*.

<sup>13</sup> Colonel Tod, vol. 1, p. 166.

<sup>14</sup> In 1770. Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 200.

<sup>15</sup> See Book V. ch. i.

Lands for services not military, besides those already noticed <sup>Lands for services not military</sup> to local officers, are, to ministers and other persons engaged in the administration; and also to great officers of the household, and hereditary personal attendants.

Other alienations are, to temples or religious persons, or to <sup>Lands for</sup> meritorious servants and to favourites. Though very <sup>the fact</sup> numerous, they are generally of small extent: often single villages; sometimes only partial assignments on the government share of a village; but, in some cases, also, especially religious grants, they form very large estates. Religious grants are always in perpetuity, and are seldom interfered with. A large proportion of the grants to individuals are also in perpetuity, and are regarded as amongst the most secure forms of private property; but the gradual increase of such instances of liberality, combined with the frequency of forged deeds of gift, sometimes induces the ruler to resume the grants of his predecessors, and, more frequently, to burden them with heavy taxes. When these are laid on transfers by sale, or even by succession, they are not thought unjust; but total resumptions, or the permanent levy of a fixed rate, is regarded as oppressive. The reaction must have begun long ago; for the ancient inscriptions often contain imprecations on any of the descendants of the grantor who shall resume his gift.

It is probable that in all times there were heads of hill and <sup>the</sup> forest tribes who remained independent of the Hindu <sup>and</sup> monarchies, since even the more vigorous governments of the Moguls and the British have not always been able to reduce such chiefs to subjection. There were certainly others, who, though they acknowledged a sovereign, and paid him a real or nominal tribute, or furnished a regular quota of troops, or merely gave general assistance, yet retained the internal administration of their country, yielding different degrees of obedience according to circumstances.

The number of these half-subdued chieftains was from time to time increased on the breaking up of different Hindu states; while some of the governors of districts and the military foundations were able to hold out against the conquerors, and to maintain themselves in different degrees of independence. Others of the same classes, and, still more, persons who formed the public revenue, contrived to keep their stations by rendering themselves useful to the ruling power, and without the least pretence

<sup>1</sup> See the account of the *Chattran* system in Hindoo *Manu*, *Book II.* *Chapter IV.* *Section 1.* *Manu*, *Book II.* *Chapter IV.* *Section 1.* *Manu*, *Book II.* *Chapter IV.* *Section 1.*

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The art of war is great y d. At the time of the  
 Mahometan invasions from C the Hindús were war.  
 capable of systematic plans, n ough several campaigns,  
 and no longer confined to in of eks' duration. The  
 use of ordnance afterwards i i ther great alteration; and  
 the introduction of regular l tali tly changed the face  
 of war. Setting aside that Euro i improvement, their dis-  
 cipline, so far as relates to i ch and battle, is worse  
 than that described in Me ; but they now show a skill in  
 the choice of ground, an a ivity in the employment of light  
 troops, and a judgment in ing their own supplies and  
 cutting off those of the enemy, of ich there is no sign in the  
 long instructions laid down in the code.

The spirit of generosity and mercy which pervades the old  
 laws of war is no longer to be found: but war in India is still  
 carried on with more humanity than in other Asiatic countries;  
 and more so by the Hindús than the Mahometans.

The longer duration of their campaigns renders the military  
 part of their life much more marked than it was formerly. Some  
 of the Maratta chiefs, in particular, have lived entirely in the  
 field, and had no other capital but their camp. From this  
 circumstance the numbers assembled are out of all proportion  
 to the fighting men; and, when they move, they form a disorderly  
 crowd, spread over the country for ten or twelve miles in length,  
 and one or two in breadth, besides parties scattered to the  
 right and left for forage or plunder.

The main body is, in some places dense, and in others rare,

<sup>12</sup> The Persian word zemín-dár means  
*keeper, holder or keeper* of the land, but by  
 no means necessarily implies ownership;  
 the termination *dár* being applied to a  
 person in any charge, down to the meanest;  
 as *thezaineh-dár*, treasurer; *killa-dár*, go-  
 vernor of a fort; *chób-dár*, mace-bearer;  
*ab-dár*, water-cooler, etc. It is said by Mr.  
 Stirling (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 239)

that, until Aurangzib's time, the term  
*zemíndár* was confined to such chiefs as  
 enjoyed some degree of independence. In  
 modern times it is not limited to that  
 class; for in the Deccan it is most gene-  
 rally applied by the natives to the district  
 officers (*désmúks*, etc.); and in our pro-  
 vinces in Hindostan to the village land-  
 holders.

composed of elephants and camels, horse and foot, carts, palankens and bullock-carriages, loaded oxen, porters, women, children, droves of cattle, goats, sheep, and asses, all in the greatest conceivable disorder, and all enveloped in a thick cloud of dust that rises high into the atmosphere, and may be seen for miles.

Where there are regular infantry, they march in a body, or, at least, by regiments; and the guns form a long line occasioning continual obstructions from the badness of the roads or the breaking down of carriages. The rest of the troops struggle among the baggage. Two tall standards, accompanied by kettledrums (all, perhaps, on elephants), represent a body which ought to be from 500 to 5,000 horse, but are followed by from 5 to 50. The other horsemen belonging to them are riding singly or in groups, each, perhaps, with his spear poised on his shoulder, to the imminent danger of those who press behind, while the owner is joking with his companion, or singing in a voice that may be heard amidst the surrounding din.

The whole is generally so loosely spread that a horseman might go at a full trot from the rear to the head of the column, and have way made for him as he advanced, except at passes of ravines or narrow parts of the road, where he and everybody else must often suffer most tedious delay.

Partial halts occasionally take place towards the front, when the quartermaster-general is negotiating with a village (to which it is to give him rot to camp on its lands; and toward the rear, as individuals wish to smoke, or to take other rest or refreshment.

Now and then a deer or a wild boar runs through the line; shouts and commotion precede and follow; as do other sticks and arrows, shots are fired, and men spring among the crowd, without much thought of the risk of life or limb to themselves or others.

With all this want of order, its good intelligence, and numbers of light troops prevent a native army from being surprised on the line of march. It would be difficult to conceive of an instance even of the defeat of a native army being cut off, unless with further aid it could be a successful one. It marches, on the contrary, these apparently unwieldy masses, have often a decided advantage from the superior mobility of their components. — Helder, Tippoo, and the Marathas frequently advanced separate detachments, by cutting them well, allowed them to some distant quarters or has. Then have they tipped the scale, difficult passes, and ravaged the country in the rear of our general, when he thought he was driving them before him towards their own capital.

When they reach their ground, things are arranged better than would be expected in such a scene of confusion. Conspicuous flags are pitched, which mark the place allotted to each chief or each department; and every man knows what part of his own line belongs to him.

The camp, when pitched, is a mixture of regularity and disorder. The bázars are long and regular streets, with shops of all descriptions, as in a city. The guns and disciplined infantry are in lines, and the rest scattered about, without any visible regard to arrangement. The tents are mostly white, but often striped with red, green, or blue, and sometimes wholly of those colours.

Those of the poor are low, and of black woollen, sometimes merely a blanket of that description thrown over three spears stuck in the ground; though the owners of spears are seldom so ill lodged.

The tents of the great are splendid; they are disposed in courts formed of canvas screens; and some are large and lofty, for public receptions; while others are low, and of moderate size, with quilted, and sometimes double walls, that secure privacy, while they exclude the dust and wind. They are connected by covered passages, and contain every accommodation that would be met with in a palace. A Maratta court, indeed, appears to much greater advantage in their camps than in their cities. Yet, with all this magnificence, there is some of their usual carelessness and indifference to making anything complete: these canvas palaces are often so ill pitched that they are quite incapable of resisting the tempest of particular seasons. Sindia's whole suite of tents have been known to be levelled with the ground at midnight, and his women obliged to seek shelter from the wind and rain in some low private tent that happened to have resisted the fury of the elements.

The intended proceedings for the next day are announced by fakirs or gosáyens, who go about the camp proclaiming a halt, or the hour and direction of the movement; and who stop on the march to beg, exactly at the point where the welcome sight of the flags of the proposed encampment disposes all to be liberal.

The armies are fed by large bodies of Banjáras, a tribe whose business it is to be carriers of grain, and who bring it from distant countries and sell it wholesale to the dealers.<sup>18</sup>

Smaller dealers go about to villages at a moderate distance from the camp and buy from the inhabitants. The government

<sup>18</sup> [It was these who afforded such assistance to Lord Cornwallis in his war

with Tippoo in 1791. See Mill's Hist. vol. v. ch. iv.—Ed.]

interferes very little, and native camps are almost always well supplied.

The villages in the neighbourhood of the camp are sure to be plundered, unless protected by safeguards. The inhabitants fly with such property as they can carry, the rest is pillaged, and the doors and rafters are pulled down for firewood ; treasure is dug for if the place is large ; and, even in small villages, people try if the ground sounds hollow, in hopes of finding the pits in which grain is buried ; or bore with iron rods, such as are used by our surveyors, and ascertain by the smell, whether the rod has passed through grain. A system like this soon reduces a country to a desert. In a track often traversed by armies the villages are in ruins and deserted ; and bushes of different ages, scattered over the open country, show that cultivated fields are rapidly changing into jungle. The large towns are filled with fugitives from the country ; and their neighbourhood is generally well cultivated, being secured by means of compositions with the passing armies.

The most important part of the Hindû battles is, now, a cannonade. In this they greatly excel, and have occasioned heavy loss to us in all our battles with them ; but the most characteristic mode of fighting (besides skirmishing, which is a favourite sort of warfare) is a general charge of cavalry, which soon brings the battle to a crisis.

Nothing can be more magnificent than this sort of charge. Even the slow advance of such a sea of horsemen has something in it more than usually impressive ; and, when they move on at speed, the thunder of the ground, the flashing of their arms, the brandishing of their spears, the agitation of their banners rushing through the wind, and the rapid approach of such a countless multitude, produce sensations of grandeur which the imagination cannot surpass.

Their mode is to charge the front and the flanks at once ; and the manner in which they perform this manoeuvre has sometimes called forth the admiration of European antagonists, and is certainly surprising in an undisciplined body. The whole appear to be coming on at full speed towards their adversary's front, when suddenly those selected for the duty advance wheel inwards, bring their spears by one motion to the side nearest the enemy, and are in a position to attack before the main body is suspected.

The same mode is, however, gradual, and is the end against regular troops, unless they catch them in a moment of confusion, or when they have been thinned by the fire of cannon.

Horse are often maintained (as before mentioned) by assignments of the rent or revenue belonging to government, in particular tracts of country, but oftener by payments from the treasury, either to military leaders, at so much a horseman (besides personal pay, and pay of subordinate officers), or to single horsemen, who, in such cases, are generally fine men, well mounted, and who expect more than ordinary pay. Some bodies are mounted on horses belonging to the government; and these, although the men are of lower rank than the others, are the most obedient and efficient part of the army.

The best foot now-a-days are mercenaries, men from the Jumna and Ganges, and likewise Arabs and Sindians; especially Arabs, who are incomparably superior to most other Asiatics in courage, discipline, and fidelity. Their own way of carrying on sieges is, probably, little improved since Menu: individuals creep near the wall, and cover themselves by digging, till they can crouch in safety, and watch for an opportunity to pick off some of the garrison; batteries are gradually raised, and a shot fired from time to time, which makes little impression on the works: a blockade, a surprise, or an unsuccessful sally, more frequently ends the siege than a regular assault.

The modern system of government and policy will appear in so many shapes hereafter, that it is quite unnecessary to enter on the subject in this place.

### CHAPTER III.

#### CHANGES IN THE LAW.

THE code of Menu is still the basis of the Hindú jurisprudence; and the principal features remain unaltered to the present day.

Changes in the written law.

The various works of other inspired writers,<sup>1</sup> however, and the numerous commentaries by persons of less authority,<sup>2</sup> Civil law.

<sup>1</sup> [These are the other so-called Smritis, which bear the names of Yājñavalkya, Angiras, Atri, Apastamba, Uśanas, Kātyāyana, Dakṣha, Parāśara, Yama, Likhita, Viṣṇu, Vrihaspati, Vyāsa, Śaṅkha, Samvarta, Hārta, Gautama, Sātātapa, and Vasishtha.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> [Of these the most important are those on Manu by Kullūka and Medhātithi; that on Yājñavalkya, called the

Mitāksharā, by Vijnāneśwara, which is the main authority for all the schools of law, except in Bengal; and that on Parāśara, called the Mādhabīya, by Mādhabāchārya, current in Drāvida. To these must be added the digest of Jimútavāhana, whose chapter on inheritance is called the Dāyabhāga; that of Raghunandana, called the Smṛiti tattva; the Vivāda ratnākara and chintāmani which are current in Mit-





forms, and some of the relations between landlord and tenant are fixed. Attorneys or pleaders are allowed; rules of pleading are prescribed, which are spoken of with high praise by Sir William Jones.<sup>5</sup>

Different modes of arbitration are provided; and, although many of the rudest parts of the old fabric remain, yet the law bears clear marks of its more recent date, in the greater experience it evinces in the modes of proceeding, and in the signs of a more complicated society than existed in the time of the first code.

The improvements, however, in the written law bear no proportion to the excellence of the original sketch, and in the existing code of the Hindús has no longer that superiority to those of other Asiatic nations which, in its early stage, it was entitled to claim over all its contemporaries.

Many great changes have been silently wrought without any alteration in the letter of the law. The eight modes of marriage, for instance, are still permitted; but only one <sup>Changes in practice.</sup> (that most conformable to reason and to the practice of other nations) is ever adopted in fact.

The criminal law, also, which still subsists in all its original deformity, has (probably for that very reason) fallen <sup>Criminal law.</sup> into desuetude, and has been replaced by a sort of customary law, or by arbitrary will.

The regular administration of justice by permanent courts, which is provided for in Menu, and of which the tribunals, with their several powers, are recorded by later writers,<sup>6</sup> is hardly observed by any Hindú government. The place of those tribunals is in part taken by commissions appointed in a summary way by the prince, generally granted from motives of court favour, and often composed of persons suited to the object of the protecting courtier. In part, the courts are replaced by bodies of arbitrators, called Pancháyets, who sometimes act under the authority of the government, and sometimes settle disputes by the mere consent of the parties. The efficiency of these tribunals is in some measure kept up, notwithstanding the neglect of the government, by the power given by Menu to a creditor over his debtor, which still subsists, and affords a motive to the person withholding payment to consent to an inquiry into the claim.

On the whole, there cannot be the least doubt that civil

<sup>5</sup> Colebrooke's *Digest*, Preface, p. xii.

<sup>6</sup> See Mr. Colebrooke on Hindu Courts

of Justice, *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 146.

justice is much worse administered in Hindû states at the present time than it was in the earliest of which we have any certain knowledge.

Besides rules of Menu which have been altered in later times, *as above*, many local customs are now observable, of which no notice is taken in the Institutes. Most of these are unimportant : but some relate to matters of the first consequence, and are probably remains of the laws which prevailed in the nations where they are now in force before the introduction of Menu's code, or of the authority of the Bramins. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of this sort is to be found among the Nâirs of Malabar, where a married woman is legally permitted to have unrestrained intercourse with all men of equal or superior cast : and where, from the uncertainty of the issue thus produced, a man's heirs are always his sister's sons, and not his own.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

### PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.

THE principal changes in religion since Menu are—

*changes.* The neglect of the principle of monotheism :

*changes.* The neglect of some gods, and the introduction of others :

The worship of deified mortals :

The introduction (or at least the great increase) of sects, and the attempt to exalt individual gods at the expense of the others :

The doctrine that *pûth* in a particular god is more efficacious than contemplation, ceremonial observance, or good works :

The use of a new ritual instead of the Vedas ; and the religious ascendancy acquired by monastic orders.

The nature of these changes will appear in an account of the Hindû religion as it now stands, which is essential to an understanding of the ordinary transactions of the people.

There is, indeed, no country where religion is so constantly brought before the eyes as in India. Every town has temples of all descriptions, from a shrine, which barely holds the idol, to a pagoda with lofty towers, and spacious courts, and colonnades. To all these votaries are constantly repairing, to hang the image

<sup>2</sup> Dr E. B. Howard's *J. Asiat. Indes et de Malabar*, &c., vol. i. pp. 411, 412.

with garlands, and to present it with fruit and flowers. The banks of the river, or artificial sheet of water (for there is no town that is not built on one or other), have often noble flights of steps leading down to the water, which are covered, in the early part of the day, with persons performing their ablutions, and going through their devotions, as they stand in the stream. In the day, the attention is drawn by the song, or by the graceful figures and flowing drapery of groups of women, as they bear their offerings to a temple.

Parties of Bramins and others pass on similar occasions; and frequently numerous processions move on, with drums and music, to perform the ceremony of some particular holiday. They carry with them images borne aloft on stages, representations of temples, chariots, and other objects which, though of cheap and flimsy materials, are made with skill and taste, and present a gay and glittering appearance.

At a distance from towns, temples are always found in inhabited places; and frequently rise among the trees on the banks of rivers, in the heart of deep groves, or on the summits of hills. Even in the wildest forests, a stone covered with vermilion, with a garland hung on a tree above it, or a small flag fastened among the branches, apprises the traveller of the sanctity of the spot.

Troops of pilgrims and religious mendicants are often met on the road; the mendicants are distinguished by the dress of their order, and the pilgrims by bearing some symbol of the god to whose shrine they are going, and shouting out his name or watchword whenever they meet with other passengers. The numerous festivals throughout the year are celebrated by the native princes with great pomp and expense; they afford occasions of display to the rich, and lead to some little show and festivity even among the lower orders.

But the frequent meetings, on days sacred to particular gods, are chiefly intended for the humbler class, who crowd to them with delight, even from distant quarters.

Though the religion presented in so many striking forms does not enter, in reality, into all the scenes to which it gives rise, yet it still exercises a prodigious influence over the people; and has little, if at all, declined in that respect, since the first period of its institution.

The objects of adoration, however, are no longer the same.

The theism inculcated by the Védas as the true faith, in which all other forms were included, has been supplanted by a system of gross polytheism and idolatry; and, though nowhere

entirely forgotten, is never steadily thought of, except by philosophers and divines. The followers of the *Vēdas*, though they ascended beyond the early worship of the elements and the powers of nature to a knowledge of the real character of the Divinity, and though anxious to diffuse their own doctrines, did not disturb the popular belief; but, actuated either by their characteristic respect for immemorial usage, or, perhaps, by a regard for the interests of the priesthood (from which the most enlightened Bramin seems never to have been free), they permitted the worship of the established gods to continue, representing them as so many forms or symbols of the real Divinity. At the same time, they erected no temple and addressed no worship to the true God. The consequence was such as was to be expected from the weakness of human nature: the obvious and palpable parts of their religion prevailed over the more abstruse and more sublime; the ancient polytheism kept its ground, and was further corrupted by the introduction of deified heroes, who have, in their turn, superseded the deities from whom they were supposed to derive their divinity.

The scriptures of this new religion are the *Purāṇas*, of which to name there are eighteen, all alleged by their followers to be the works of Viṣṇu, the compiler of the *Vēdas*; but, in reality, composed by different authors between the eighth and sixteenth centuries, although in many places, from materials of much more ancient date. They contain theologues; accounts of the creation; philosophical speculations; instructions for religious ceremonies; genealogies; fragments of history; and innumerable legends relating to the actions of gods, heroes, and sages. Most are written to support the doctrines of particular sects, and all are corrupted by sect and fables; so that they do not form a consistent whole, and were never intended to be compiled into one general system of belief. Yet they are all received as a continuous tradition, and as such, as they are the sources from which the mass of Hindu religion is drawn, we cannot but be surprised to find that contradictions and anomalies.

The Hindu scriptures, as I have stated, are of two existing classes, the *Sātras* and *Brahmaṇas*, which I should have there called the *Śraut* and *Smṛiti* scriptures, but will not follow, they are common to all sects, and are intended to regulate the universe and the Duties of man in general. But the *Smṛiti* is directed to particular sects and classes of women; it is impossible to fix the number of *Sātras* or *Brahmaṇas*, with the great Hindu extravagan-

gance, make the deities amount to 330,000,000; but most of these are ministering angels in the different heavens, or other spirits who have no individual name or character, and who are counted by the million.

The following seventeen, however, are the principal ones, and, perhaps, the only ones universally recognised as exercising distinct and divine functions, and therefore entitled to worship:<sup>1</sup>—

1. Brahmá, the creating principle;
2. Vishnu, the preserving principle;
3. Siva, the destroying principle;

with their corresponding female divinities, who are mythologically regarded as their wives, but, metaphysically, as the active powers which develop the principle represented by each member of the triad; namely,—

4. Saraswatí.
5. Lakshmi.
6. Párvatí, called also Déví, Bhavání, or Durgá.
7. Indra, god of the air and of the heavens.
8. Varuna, god of the waters.
9. Pavana, god of the wind.
10. Agni, god of fire.
11. Yama, god of the infernal regions and judge of the dead.
12. Cuvéra, god of wealth.
13. Cártikeya, god of war.
14. Cáma, god of love.
15. Súrya, the sun.
16. Soma, the moon.
17. Ganésa, who is the remover of difficulties, and, as such, presides over the entrances to all edifices, and is invoked at the commencement of all undertakings.

To these may be added the planets, and many sacred rivers, especially the Ganges, which is personified as a female divinity, and honoured with every sort of worship and reverence.

The three first of these gods, Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva, form the celebrated Hindú triad, whose separate characters are sufficiently apparent, but whose supposed unity may perhaps be resolved into the general maxim of orthodox Hindús, that *all* the deities are only various forms of one Supreme Being.<sup>2</sup>

Brahmá, though he seems once to have had some degree of pre-eminence, and is the only one of the three mentioned by Menu,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kennedy's *Researches into the Hindoo Mythology*, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> Kennedy's *Researches*, p. 211. Cole-

brooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Kennedy's *Researches*, p. 270.

was never much worshipped, and has now but one temple in India;<sup>1</sup> though invoked in the daily service, his separate worship is almost entirely neglected.<sup>2</sup>

His consort, Saraswati, being goddess of learning and eloquence, has not fallen so completely out of notice. It is far different with Vishnu and Siva. They and their incarnations now attract almost all the religious veneration of the Hindûs; the relative importance of each is eagerly supported by numerous votaries; and there are heterodox sects of great extent which maintain the supreme divinity of each, to the entire exclusion of his rival.

Siva is thus described in the Purânas.<sup>3</sup> "He wanders about, sea-surrounded by ghosts and goblins, inebriated, naked, and with dishevelled hair, covered with the ashes of a funeral pile, ornamented with human skulls and bones, sometimes laughing and sometimes crying." The usual pictures of him correspond with these gloomy descriptions, with the addition that he has three eyes, and bears a trident in one of his hands; his hair is coiled up like that of a religious mendicant; and he is represented seated in an attitude of profound thought. This last particular corresponds with the legends relating to him, which describe him as always absorbed in meditation, and as consuming with the fire of his eye those who dare to disturb him in his state of abstraction. But although these accounts accord so well with his character of destroyer, the only emblem under which he is ever worshipped is intended to mark that destruction is also the means of creative regeneration.

It is not, for the same symbol of the creative principle that was employed by the ancients; but is, in fact, a low cylinder of stone, which occupies the place of an image in all the temples sacred to Siva, and which suggests no suspicion of its original import. Bloody sacrifices are performed to Siva, though disapproved by the Brahmans of his sect; and it is in honour of him, and of his consort, that so many self-inflicted tortures are incurred by the devotees of his sect. On these occasions, some devotees slash their faces and thighs with knives, and walk in procession with swords, arrows, and even living serpents, their faces smeared with oil, and their bodies encased in the hair of a black ox. Others cut their backs, and have war-holes made in their chests, the extent of which would make their destruction inevitable, if the skin were to give way.

<sup>1</sup> The temple of Siva's incarnation does not indicate much of his former importance. <sup>2</sup> *W. & H. Ind. Ant. p. 17.* <sup>3</sup> *W. & H. Ind. Ant. p. 17.* <sup>4</sup> *W. & H. Ind. Ant. p. 17.* <sup>5</sup> *W. & H. Ind. Ant. p. 17.*

attention to the affairs of mankind ; and, according to the present Hindú system, there is no god particularly charged with the government of the world ; the Supreme Being, out of whose substance it is formed, taking no concern in its affairs : but the opinion of the vulgar is more rational than that of their teachers ; they mix up the idea of the Supreme Being with that of the deity who is the particular object of their adoration, and suppose him to watch over the actions of men, and to reward the good and to punish the wicked both in this world and in the next.

The heaven of Siva is in the midst of the eternal snows and glaciers of Keilása, one of the highest and deepest groups of the stupendous summits of Himálaya.

His consort, Dévi or Bhaváni, is at least as much an object of adoration as Siva ; and is represented in still more terrible colours. Even in the milder forms in which she <sup>Dévi or Bhaváni.</sup> is generally seen in the south of India, she is a beautiful woman, riding on a tiger, but in a fierce and menacing attitude, as if advancing to the destruction of one of the giants, against whom her incarnations were assumed. But in another form occasionally used everywhere, and seemingly the favourite one in Bengal, she is represented with a black skin, and a hideous and terrible countenance, streaming with blood, encircled with snakes, hung round with skulls and human heads, and in all respects resembling a fury rather than a goddess. Her rites in those countries correspond with this character. Human sacrifices were formerly offered to her ;<sup>8</sup> and she is still supposed to delight in the carnage that is carried on before her altars. At her temple near Calcutta, 1,000 goats, besides other animals, are said to be sacrificed every month.<sup>9</sup> At Bindabáshni, where the extremity of the Vindhya hills approaches the Ganges, it used to be the boast of the priests that the blood before her image was never allowed to dry.

In other respects the worship of Dévi does not differ much from that of the other gods ; but it sometimes assumes a form that has brought suspicion or disgrace on the whole of the Hindú religion. I allude to the secret orgies, which have often been dwelt on by the missionaries, and the existence of which no one has ever attempted to deny. On those occasions, one sect of the worshippers of Dévi, chiefly Bramins (but not always, for with this sect all cast is abolished), meet in parties of both

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Blaquiére, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 271.

<sup>9</sup> Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 126.



sexes, to feast on flesh and spirituous liquors, and to indulge in the grossest debauchery. All this is rendered doubly odious by being performed with some semblance of the ceremonies of religion; but it is probably of rare occurrence, and is all done with the utmost secrecy; the sect by which it is tolerated is scarcely ever avowed, and is looked on with horror and contempt by all the orthodox Hindûs. Besides these votaries of *Ivri*, and entirely unconnected with her worship, there are some few among the varieties of religious mendicants who consider themselves above all law, and at liberty to indulge their passions without incurring sin. These add to the ill repute of the religion of the Hindûs; and it is undeniable, that a strain of licentiousness and sensuality mixes occasionally with every part of their mythology; but it is confined to books and songs, and to temples and festivals, which do not fall under every one's observation. A stranger might live among them for years, and frequent their religious ceremonies and private companies, without seeing anything indecent; and their notions of decorum, in the intercourse of persons of different sexes, is carried to a pitch of strictness which goes beyond what is consistent with reason or with European notions.

To return to the gods of the Hindûs: Vishnu is represented <sup>वसुदेव</sup> ~~vasudeva~~ as a comely and placid young man, of a dark azure colour, and dressed like a king of ancient days. He is painted also in the forms of his ten principal incarnations, which I may mention to illustrate the genius of Hindû fiction.

The first was that of a fish, to recover the *Vêlas*, which had been carried away by a demon in a deluge; another was that of a bear, who raised on his backs the world, which had sunk to the bottom of the ocean; and another was a tortoise, that supported a mountain in one of the most famous legends. The fourth had rather more of human interest. An infidel tyrant was about to put his son to death for his faith in Vishnu. In his last interview, he asked him, in derision of the omnipresence of his favourite divinity, whether he was in that pillar, pointing to one of those that supported the hall. The son answered that he was; and the incensed father was about to order his execution, when Vishnu, in the shape of a man, with the head and paws of a lion, burst from the pillar and tore him to pieces. The fifth was, when a king, by force of sacrifices and austerities, had acquired such a power over the gods that they were compelled to surrender to him the earth and sea, and were waiting in dread till the conclusion of his last sacrifice should put him in

possession of the heavens. On this occasion Vishnu presented himself as a Bramin dwarf, and begged for as much ground as he could step over in three paces: the Rájá granted his request, with a smile at his diminutive stature; when Vishnu at the first step strode over the earth; at the second over the ocean; and no space being left for the third, he released the Rájá from his promise, on condition of his descending to the infernal regions. The sixth incarnation is Parasu Ráma, a Bramin hero, who made war on the Cshatriya, or military class, and extirpated the whole race. The seventh was Ráma. The eighth was Bala Ráma, a hero who delivered the earth from giants."<sup>10</sup> The ninth was Buddha, a teacher of a false religion, whose form Vishnu assumed for the purpose of deluding the enemies of the gods; a character which plainly points to the religion of Buddha, so well known as the rival of that of the Bramins. The tenth is still to come. But all his other forms are thrown into the shade by the incarnations of Ráma and Crishna, who have not only eclipsed their parent Vishnu, in Hindostan at least, but have superseded the worship of the old elementary gods, and indeed of all other gods, except Siva, Súrya, and Ganésa.<sup>11</sup> Ráma. Ráma, thus identified with Vishnu by the superstition of his admirers, was a king of Oudh, and is almost the only person mentioned in the Hindú traditions whose actions have something of an historical character. He is said to have been at first excluded from his paternal kingdom, and to have passed many years in religious retirement in a forest. His queen, Sítá, was carried off by the giant Rávana; for her sake he led an army into the Deckan, penetrated to the island of Ceylon, of which Rávana was king, and recovered Sítá, after a complete victory over her ravisher. In that expedition his allies were an army of monkeys, under the command of Hanumat, whose figure is frequently seen in temples, and who, indeed, is at least as much worshipped in the Deckan as Ráma or any of the other gods. Ráma's end, however, was unfortunate; for having, by his imprudence, caused the death of his brother Lakshmana, who had shared with him in all his dangers and successes, he threw himself, in despair, into a river, and, as the Hindús say, was reunited to the Divinity. He still, however, retains his individual

<sup>10</sup> Balaráma was Krishna's half brother; he is more usually considered an incarnation of Vishnu's serpent Ananta. Krishna is generally called the eighth incarnation, but sometimes Balaráma and he are the eighth and ninth, Buddha being

excluded. When Krishna is not mentioned among them, it is only because he is the deity himself.—ED.]

<sup>11</sup> Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 280; Wilson, *ibid.* vol. xvi. pp. 4, 20.



Râma ; but, though composed of an important class, as including many of the ascetics, and some of the boldest speculators in religious inquiry, its numbers and popularity bear no proportion to another division of the Vaishnava sect, which is attached to the worship of Crishna. This comprises all the opulent and luxurious, almost all the women, and a very large proportion of all ranks of the Indian society.<sup>17</sup>

The greater part of these votaries of Crishna maintain that he is not an incarnation of Vishnu, but Vishnu himself, and likewise the eternal and self-existing creator of the universe.<sup>18</sup>

These are the principal manifestations of Vishnu ; but his incarnations or emanations, even as acknowledged in books, are innumerable ; and they are still more swelled by others in which he is made to appear under the form of some local saint or hero, whom his followers have been disposed to deify.

The same liberty is taken with other gods : Khandobâ, the great local divinity of the Marattas (represented as an armed horseman), is, an incarnation of Siva ;<sup>19</sup> and the family of Bramins at Chinchôr, near Pûna, in one of whose members godhead is hereditary, derive their title from an incarnation or emanation of Ganésa.<sup>20</sup>

Even villages have their local deities, which are often emanations of Siva or Vishnu, or of the corresponding goddesses. But all these incarnations are insignificant, when compared to the great ones of Vishnu, and above all to Râma and Crishna. The wife of Vishnu is Lakshmi. She has no temples ; but, being goddess of abundance and of fortune, she continues to be assiduously courted, and is not likely to fall into neglect.

Of the remaining gods, Ganésa and Sûrya (the sun) Other gods. are the most generally honoured. They both have votaries who prefer them to all other gods, and both have temples and regular worship. Ganésa, indeed, has probably more temples in the Deckan than any other god except Siva. Sûrya is represented in a chariot, with his head surrounded by rays. Ganésa, or Ganapati, is a figure of a fat man, with an elephant's head.

None of the remaining nine of the gods enumerated have temples, though most of them seem to have had them in former times.<sup>21</sup> Some have an annual festival, on which their image is made and worshipped, and next day is thrown into a stream ;

<sup>17</sup> Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. pp. 85, 86.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p. 86, etc.

<sup>19</sup> Mr. Coats's *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 198.

<sup>20</sup> Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 282 ; Captain Moore, *ibid.* p. 381

<sup>21</sup> Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 20.

others are only noticed in prayers.<sup>21</sup> Indra, in particular, seems to have formerly occupied a much more distinguished place in popular respect than he now enjoys. He is called the Ruler of Heaven and the King of Gods, and was fixed on by an eminent orientalist as the Jupiter of the Hindûs;<sup>22</sup> yet is now but seldom noticed.

Câma, also, the god of love, has undergone a similar fate. He is the most pleasing of the Hindû divinities, and most conformable to European ideas of his nature. Endowed with perpetual youth and surpassing beauty, he exerts his sway over both gods and men. Brahmâ, Vishnu, and even the gloomy Siva, have been wounded by his flowery bow and his arrows tipped with blossoms. His temples and groves make a distinguished figure in the tales, poems, and dramas of antiquity;<sup>23</sup> but he now shares in neglect and disregard with the other nine, except Yama, whose character of judge of the dead makes him still an object of respect and terror.

Each of these gods has his separate heaven, and his peculiar attendants. All are mansions of bliss of immense extent, and all glittering with gold and jewels.

That of Indra is the most fully described; and, besides the usual profusion of golden palaces adorned with precious stones, is filled with streams, groves, and gardens, blooms with an infinity of flowers, and is perfumed by a celestial tree, which grows in the centre, and fills the whole space with its fragrance. It is illumined by a light far more brilliant than that of the sun; and is thronged with Apsarases and Gandharvas (heavenly nymphs and choristers). Angels of many kinds minister to the inhabitants, who are incessantly entertained with songs and dances, music, and every species of enjoyment.

Besides the angels and good geni that inhabit the different heavens, there are various descriptions of spirits spread ghosts and evil spirits through the rest of the creation.

The Asuras are the kindred of the gods, disoriented and cast into darkness, but long struggling against their rivals; and bearing a strong resemblance to the Titans of the Grecian mythology.

The Dityas are another species of demon, strong enough to have mustered armies and carried on war with the gods.<sup>24</sup>

The Râkshasas are also gigantic and malignant beings; and

<sup>21</sup> Wards *Hindoo Mythology*, etc.

vol. viii. p. 20.

<sup>22</sup> See W. Jones *to the Royal Asiatic Soc.* p. 240.

<sup>23</sup> See in particular the legend of Candharva, Kennedy's *Kamuran*, p. 6-8.

<sup>24</sup> Professor Wilson *to the Royal Asiatic Soc.*

the Pisáchas are of the same nature, though perhaps inferior in power. Bhútas are evil spirits of the lowest order, corresponding to our ghosts and other goblins of the nursery; but in India believed in by all ranks and ages.

A most extensive body of divinities is still to be noticed; although they are not individually acknowledged except in confined districts, and although the legality of their worship is sometimes denied by the Bramins. These are the village gods, of which each village adores two or three, as its especial guardians; but sometimes as its dreaded persecutors and tormentors. They bear some resemblance to the penates or lares of the Romans; and, like them, they are sometimes the recognised gods of the whole nation (either in their generally received characters, or in local incarnations); but much oftener they are the spirits of deceased persons, who have attracted the notice of the neighbourhood. They have seldom temples or images, but are worshipped under the form of a heap of earth.

It is possible that some of them may be ancient gods of the Súdras, who have survived the establishment of the Bramin religion.<sup>28</sup>

Such is the outline of the religion of the Hindús. To give a conception of its details, it would be necessary to relate some of the innumerable legends of which their mythology is composed,—the churning of the ocean by the gods and asuras, for the purpose of procuring the nectar of immortality, and the subsequent stratagem by which the gods defrauded their coadjutors of the prize obtained; the descent of the Ganges from heaven on the invocation of a saint; its falling with violence on the head of Siva, wandering for years amidst his matted locks, and tumbling at last in a mighty stream upon the earth with all its train of fishes, snakes, turtles, and crocodiles; the production of Ganésa, without a father, by the intense wishes of Déví; his temporary slaughter by Siva, who cut off his head and afterwards replaced it with that of an elephant, the first that came to hand in the emergency;—such narratives, with the quarrels of the gods, their occasional loves and jealousies; their wars with men and demons; their defeats, flights, and captivity; their penances and austerities for the accomplishment of their wishes; their speaking weapons; the

General character of the Hindú religion.

<sup>28</sup> Dr. Hamilton Buchanan paid much attention to this subject in his survey of certain districts in Bengal and Behár. He found the village gods were generally spirits of men of the place who had died

violent deaths; often of Bramins who had killed themselves to resist or revenge an injury.—MSS. at the India House, published in part by Mr. Montgomery Martin.

numerous forms they have assumed, and the delusions with which they have deceived the senses of those whom they wished to injure;—all this would be necessary to show fully the religious opinions of India; but would occupy a space for which the value of the matter would be a very inadequate compensation.

It may be sufficient to observe, that the general character of these legends is extravagance and incongruity. The Greek gods were formed like men, with greatly increased powers and faculties, and acted as men would do if so circumstanced; but with a dignity and energy suited to their nearer approach to perfection. The Hindû gods, on the other hand, though endued with human passions, have always something monstrous in their appearance, and wild and capricious in their conduct. They are of various colours—red, yellow, and blue; some have twelve heads, and most have four hands. They are often enraged without a cause, and reconciled without a motive. The same deity is sometimes powerful enough to destroy his enemies with a glance, or to subdue them with a wish; and at other times is obliged to assemble numerous armies to accomplish his purpose, and is very near failing after all.

The powers of the three great gods are coequal and unlimited; yet are exercised with so little harmony, that in one of their disputes Siva cuts off one of Brahmâ's heads.\* Neither is there any regular subordination of the other gods to the three, or to each other. Indra, who is called the King of Heaven, and has been compared to Jupiter, has no authority over any of the rest. These and more incongruities arise, in part, from the desire of different sects to extol their favourite deity; but as the *Purânas* are all of authority, it is impossible to separate legends founded on those writings from the general belief of all classes. With all this there is something in the gigantic scale of the Hindû gods, the original character of their sentiments and actions, and the peculiar forms in which they are clothed, and splendour with which they are surrounded, that does not fail to make an impression on the imagination.

The most singular anomaly in the Hindû religion is the power of sacrifices and religious austerities. Though, from a religious asceticism, rather than the severest calamities, even on a deity, for his curse and the most wicked and most misappos of mankind may depart, and an assenting deity even to such as to render them

\* See *Story of Siva*, *Book I. c. 10*.—W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1. p. 104.

† Kennedy's *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1. p. 104.

the passive instruments of his ambition, and even to force them to submit their heavens and themselves to his sovereignty. Indra, on being cursed by a Bramin, was hurled from his own heaven, and compelled to animate the body of a cat.<sup>20</sup> Even Yama, the terrible judge of the dead, is said, in a legend, to have been cursed for an act done in that capacity, and obliged to undergo a transmigration into the person of a slave.<sup>20</sup>

The danger of all the gods from the sacrifices of one king has appeared in the fifth incarnation of Vishnu ; another king actually conquered the three worlds, and forced the gods, except the three chief ones, to fly, and to conceal themselves under the shapes of different animals ;<sup>21</sup> while a third went still further, and compelled the gods to worship him.<sup>22</sup>

These are a few out of numerous instances of a similar nature ; all, doubtless, invented to show the virtue of ritual observances, and thus increase the consequence and profits of the Bramins. But these are rather the traditions of former days, than the opinions by which men are now actuated in relation to the Divinity. The same objects which were formerly to be extorted by sacrifices and austerities are now to be won by faith. The followers of this new principle look with scarcely disguised contempt on the Védas, and all the devotional exercises there enjoined. As no religion ever entirely discards morality, they still inculcate purity of life, and innocence, if not virtue ; but the sole *essential* is dependence on the particular god of the sect of the individual teacher. Implicit faith and reliance on him makes up for all deficiencies in other respects ; while no attention to the forms of religion, or to the rules of morality, are of the slightest avail without this all-important sentiment. This system is explained and inculcated in the Bhagavad Gítá, which Mr. Colebrooke regards as the text-book of the school.

It is an uncommon, though not exclusive feature in the Hindú religion, that the gods enjoy only a limited existence : at the end of a cycle of prodigious duration, the universe ceases to exist ; the triad, and all the other gods lose their being ; and the Great First Cause of all remains alone in infinite space. After the lapse of ages, his power is again exerted ; and the whole creation, with all its human and divine inhabitants, rises once more into existence.

One can hardly believe that so many rude and puerile fables, as most of those above related, are not the relics of the earliest

<sup>20</sup> Ward, vol. iii. p. 31.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> Kennedy's *Researches*, p. 363.

<sup>22</sup> Ward, vol. iii. p. 75.



and most barbarous times ; but even the sacred origin of the Christian religion did not prevent its being clouded, after the decay of learning, with superstitions proportionately as degrading ; and we may therefore believe, with the best informed orientalist, that the Hindû system once existed in far greater purity, and has sunk into its present state along with the decline of all other branches of knowledge.

In the above observations I have abstained from all reference to the religion of other countries. It is possible that antiquarians may yet succeed in finding a connexion, in principles or in origin, between the mythology of India and that of Greece or of Egypt ; but the external appearances are so different, that it would quite mislead the imagination to attempt to illustrate them by allusions to either of those superstitions.<sup>21</sup>

It only remains to say a few words on the belief of the Hindûs *Karmas*, relating to a future state. Their peculiar doctrine, as is well known, is transmigration ; but they believe that, between their different stages of existence, they will, according to their merits, enjoy thousands of years of happiness in some of the heavens already described, or suffer torments of similar duration in some of their still more numerous hells. Hope, however, seems to be denied to none : the most wicked man, after being purged of his crimes by ages of suffering and by repeated transmigrations, may ascend in the scale of being, until he may enter into heaven and even attain the highest reward of all the good, which is incorporation in the essence of God.

Their descriptions of the future states of bliss and pain are spirited and poetical. The good, as soon as they leave the body, proceed to the abode of Yama, through delightful paths, under the shade of fragrant trees, among streams covered with the lotos. Showers of flowers fall on them as they pass ; and the air resounds with the hymns of the blessed, and the still melodious strains of angels. The passage of the wicked is through dark and dismal paths ; sometimes over burning sand, sometimes over stones that cut their feet at every step ; they travel naked, parched with thirst, covered with dirt and blood, amidst showers of hot ashes and burning coals ; they are tormented with frequent and terrible appetitions, and fill the air with their shrieks and wailing.<sup>22</sup> The hells to which they are ultimately doomed are conceived in the same spirit, and described with a mixture of sublimity and magnificence that almost recalls the " Inferno."

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *History of Modern India*, second series, x. v. xi. Ed.

<sup>22</sup> *Western History*, i. p. 274.

These rewards and punishments are often well apportioned to the moral merits and demerits of the deceased: and Moral effects. they no doubt exercise considerable influence over the conduct of the living. But, on the other hand, the efficacy ascribed to faith, and to the observance of the forms of devotion, and the facility of expiating crimes by penances, are, unfortunately, prevailing characteristics of this religion, and have a strong tendency to weaken its effect in supporting the principles of morality.

Its indirect influence on its votaries is even more injurious than these defects. Its gross superstition debases and debilitates the mind; and its exclusive view to repose in this world, and absorption hereafter, destroys the great stimulants to virtue afforded by love of enterprise and of posthumous fame. Its usurpations over the provinces of law and science tend to keep knowledge fixed at the point to which it had attained at the time of the pretended revelation by the Divinity; and its interference in the minutiae of private manners extirpates every habit and feeling of free agency, and reduces life to a mechanical routine. When individuals are left free, improvements take place as they are required; and a nation is entirely changed in the course of a few generations without an effort on the part of any of its members; but when religion has interposed, it requires as much boldness to take the smallest step, as to pass over the innovations of a century at a stride; and a man must be equally prepared to renounce his faith and the communion of his friends, whether he merely makes a change in his diet, or embraces a whole body of doctrines, religious and political, at variance with those established among his countrymen.

It is within its own limits that it has been least successful in opposing innovation. The original revelation, indeed, has not been questioned; but different degrees of importance have been attached to particular parts of it, and different constructions put on the same passages; and as there is neither a ruling council nor a single head to settle disputed points, and to enforce uniformity in practice, various sects have sprung up, which differ from each other both in their tenets and their practice.

There are three principal sects:<sup>36</sup> Saivas (followers of Siva), the Vaishnavas (followers of Vishnu), and the Saktas Sects. (followers of some one of the Saktis; that is, the female associates or active powers of the members of the triad).

<sup>36</sup> Almost the whole of the following statements regarding the sects are taken from Professor Wilson's essays on that subject, in *Asiatic Researches*, vols. xvi. xvii.

Each of these sects branches into various subordinate ones, depending on the different characters under which its deity is worshipped, or on the peculiar religious and metaphysical opinions which each has grafted on the parent stock. The Śāktas have three additional divisions of a more general character, depending on the particular goddesses whom they worship. The followers of Dēvi (the spouse of Śiva), however, are out of all comparison more numerous than both the others put together.

Besides the three great sects, there are small ones, which worship Sūrya and Gaṇeśa respectively; and others which, though preserving the form of Hindūism, approach very near to pure deism. The Sikhs (who will be mentioned hereafter) have founded a sect involving such great innovations, that it may almost be regarded as a new religion.

It must not be supposed that every Hindū belongs to one or other of the above sects. They, on the contrary, are alone reckoned orthodox, who profess a comprehensive system opposed to the exclusive worship of particular divinities, and who draw their ritual from the Vēdas, Purāṇas, and other sacred books, repeating the ceremonies derived from other sources. To this class the apparent mass of the Brāminical order, at least, still belongs.\* But probably, even among them, all but the more philosophic religionists have a bias to one or the other of the contending divinities; and the same may be said more decidedly of all such of the lower castes as are not careless of everything beyond the requisite ritual observances. It has been remarked that incarnations of Viṣṇu are the principal objects of popular devotion. In all Bengal and Hindostān it is to these incarnations that the religious feelings of the people are directed; and, though the temples and emblems of Śiva are very common, the worshippers are few, and seem inspired with little veneration.

Śiva, it appears, has always been the patron God of the Brāmin class, but has never much excited the imaginations of the people. Even where his sect ostensibly prevails, the great body of the idolatrous are much more attracted by the human feelings and interesting adventures of Rāma and Cṛiṣṇa. The first of the two is the great object of devotion, (with the regular orders at least) in the banks of the Ganges and the north-western part† of the Ganges; but Cṛiṣṇa prevails, in his turn, along the

\* *Pr. Ind. Soc. Trans. Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 2.

† *Ibid.* vol. xv. p. 170.

lower course of the Ganges,<sup>38</sup> and all the centre and west of Hindostan.<sup>39</sup> Râma, however, is everywhere revered; and his name, twice repeated, is the ordinary salutation among all classes of Hindûs.

The Saivas, in all places, form a considerable portion of the regular orders: among the people they are most numerous in the Mysore and Maratta countries. Further south, the Vaishnavas prevail; but *there* the object of worship is Vishnu, not in his human form of Râma or Crishna, but in his abstract character, as preserver and ruler of the universe.<sup>40</sup> Sâktas, or votaries of the female divinity, are mixed with the rest; but are most numerous in particular places. Three-fourths of the population of Bengal worship goddesses, and most of them Dévi.<sup>41</sup>

In most of these instances the difference of sects, though often bitter, is not conspicuous. Europeans are seldom distinctly aware of their existence, unless they have learned it from the writings of Mr. Colebrooke, Mr. Wilson, or Dr. Hamilton Buchanan. Even the painted marks on the forehead, by which each man's sect is shown, although the most singular peculiarity of the Hindû dress, have failed to convey the information they are designed for, and have been taken for marks of the *cast*, not the sect, of the wearer. Persons desirous of joining a sect are admitted by a sort of initiation, the chief part of which consists in whispering by the guru (or religious instructor) of a short and secret form of words, which so far corresponds to the communication of the *gâyatri* at the initiation of a Bramin.

The sects are of very different degrees of antiquity.

The separate worship of the three great gods and their corresponding goddesses is probably very ancient;<sup>42</sup> but when the assertion of the supremacy of one or other began (in which the peculiarity of the present sects consists) is not so clear. It is probably much more modern than the mere separate worship of the great gods.

It seems nearly certain that the sects founded on the worship of particular incarnations, as Râma, Crishna, etc., are later than the beginning of the eighth century of the Christian era.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 52.

<sup>39</sup> Tod's *Rajasthan*.

<sup>40</sup> Buchanan MSS. at the India House. These may be either the strictly orthodox Hindûs, or followers of Râmânuj.

<sup>41</sup> Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. pp. 210, 221.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p. 213. The same gentleman

points out a convincing proof of the early worship of the spouse of Siva. A temple to her, under her title of Comâri (from which the neighbouring promontory, Cape Comorin, derives its name), is mentioned in the "Periplus," attributed to Arrian, and probably written in the 2nd century of our era.

<sup>43</sup> They are not mentioned in a work written in the eleventh century, but pro-

The number of sects has, doubtless been increased by the disuse of the Védas, the only source from which the Hindû religion could be obtained in purity. The use of those scriptures was confined to the three twice-born classes, of which two are now regarded as extinct, and the remaining one is greatly fallen off from its original duties. It may have been owing to these circumstances that the old ritual was disused, and a new one has since sprung up, suited to the changes which have arisen in religious opinion.

It is embodied in a comparatively modern collection of hymns, prayers, and incantations, which, mixed with portions of the Védas, furnishes now what may be called the Hindû service.<sup>14</sup> It is exhibited by Mr. Colebrooke, in three separate essays, in the fifth and seventh volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*.

The difference between the spirit of this ritual and that of which we catch occasional views in Menu is less than might have been expected. The long instructions for the forms of ablution, meditation on the gâyatri, &c., are consistent with the religion of the Védas, and might have existed in Menu's time, though he had no occasion to mention them. The objects of adoration are in a great measure the same, being deities of the elements and powers of nature. The mention of Crishna is, of course, an innovation; but it occurs seldom.

Among other new practices are meditations on Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Siva, in their corporeal form; and, above all, the frequent mention of Vishnu with the introduction of the text, "Thrice did Vishnu step," &c., a passage in the Védas, which seems to imply an allusion to the fifth incarnation,<sup>15</sup> and, perhaps, owes the frequent introduction of it to the paucity of such acknowledgments. Mr. Colebrooke avowedly confines himself to the five sacraments which existed in Menu's time; but there is a new sort of worship never alluded to in the Institutes, which now forms one of the principal duties of every Hindû. This is the worship of images, before whom many prostrations and other acts of adoration must daily be performed, accompanied with burning incense, offerings of flowers and fruits, and sometimes of dressed victims. Many idols are also attired by their votaries, and decorated with jewels and other ornaments, and are treated in all respects as if they were human beings.

<sup>14</sup> See a table of the contents of the collection of the late Sir John Wilson Croker, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> *W. Wilson Croker's* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> See page 100. The Sâh. not only mentions three steps of Vishnu, as before mentioned, but also the sun at his rising, and the sun at his setting, and the terrestrial fire, and the sun, &c.

The Hindú ceremonies are numerous, but far from impressive ; and their liturgy, judging from the specimen afforded by Mr. Colebrooke, though not without a few fine passages, is in general tedious and insipid. Each man goes through his daily devotions alone, in his own house, or at any temple, stream, or pool, that suits him ; so that the want of interest in his addresses to the divinity is not compensated by the effect of sympathy in others. Although the service (as it may be termed) is changed, the occasions for using it remain the same as those formerly enumerated from Menu. The same ceremonies must be performed from conception to the grave ; and the same regular course of prayers, sacrifices, and oblations must be gone through every day. More liberty, however, is taken in shortening them than was recognised in Menu's code, however it might have been in the *practice* of his age.

A strict Bramin, performing his full ceremonies, would still be occupied for not less than four hours in the day. But even a Bramin, if engaged in worldly affairs, may perform all his religious duties within half an hour ; and a man of the lower classes contents himself by repeating the name of his patron deity while he bathes.<sup>46</sup>

The increase of sects is both the cause and consequence of the ascendancy of the monastic orders. Each of these is in general devoted to some particular divinity, and its <sup>Ascendancy of the mon-</sup> importance is founded on the veneration in which its patron is held. They therefore inculcate faith in that divinity as the means of attaining all wishes and covering all sins ; and, in addition to this, they claim for themselves *through life* an implicit submission from their followers, such as the Bramin religious instructor in Menu required from his pupil during his period of probation alone. To this is to be ascribed the encroachments which those orders have made on the spiritual authority of the Bramins, and the feelings of rivalry and hostility with which the two classes regard each other.

The Bramins, on their part, have not failed to profit by the example of the Gosáyens, having taken on themselves the conduct of sects in the same manner as their rivals. Of the eighty-four Gurus (or spiritual chiefs) of the sect of Rámánuja, for instance, seventy-nine are secular Bramins.<sup>47</sup>

The power of these heads of sects is one of the most remarkable innovations in the Hindú system. Many of them in the

<sup>46</sup> Ward on the Hindoos.

<sup>47</sup> Buchanan's *Journey*, vol. i. p. 144 ; vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.

south (especially those of regular orders) have large establishments, supported by grants of land and contributions from their flock. Their income is chiefly spent in charity, but they maintain a good deal of state, especially on their circuits, where they are accompanied by elephants, flags, etc., like temporal dignitaries, are followed by crowds of disciples, and are received with honour by all princes whose countries they enter. Their function is, indeed, an important one, being no less than an inspection of the state of morals and cast, involving the duties and powers of a censor."

*Religion of the Buddhists and Jainas.*

There are two other religions, which, although distinct from that of the Hindûs, appear to belong to the same stock, and which seem to have shared with it in the veneration of the people of India, before the introduction of an entirely foreign faith by the Mahometans. These are the religions of the Buddhas or worshippers of Buddha and the Jainas.

They both resemble the Bramin doctrines in their character of quietism, in their tenderness of animal life, and in the belief of repeated transmigrations, of various hells for the purification of the wicked, and heavens for the solace of the good. The great object of all three is, the ultimate attainment of a state of perfect apathy, which, in our eyes, seems little different from annihilation; and the means employed in all are, the practice of mortification and of abstraction from the cares and feelings of humanity.

The differences from the Hindû belief are no less striking than the points of resemblance, and are most so in the religion of the Buddhas.

The most ancient of the Buddha sects entirely denies the existence of God; and some of those which admit the existence of God, refuse to acknowledge Him as the creator or ruler of the universe.

According to the most antient sects, nothing exists but matter, which is eternal. The power of organization is inherent in matter, and the world has numerous periods from time to time, this quality of matter is renewed, and carries it forward, as it were, in a kind of generation, without the guidance of any external power.

The most striking peculiarity of existence is held by certain

beings called Buddhas, who have raised themselves by their own actions and austerities, during a long series of transmigrations in this and former worlds, to the state of perfect inactivity and apathy, which is regarded as the great object of desire.

Even this atheistical school includes intelligence and design among the properties inherent in every particle of matter; and another sect<sup>49</sup> endeavours to explain those qualities more intelligibly by uniting them in one, and, perhaps, combining them with consciousness, so as to give them a sort of personality; but the being formed by this combination remains in a state of perpetual repose, his qualities operating on the other portions of matter without exertion or volition on his part.

The next approach to theism, and generally included in that creed, is the opinion that there is a Supreme Being,<sup>50</sup> eternal, immaterial, intelligent, and also endued with free-will and moral qualities; but remaining, as in the last-mentioned system, in a state of perpetual repose. With one division of those who believe in such a Divinity, he is the sole eternal and self-existing principle; but another division associates matter with him as a separate deity, and supposes a being formed by the union of the other two to be the real originator of the universe.

But the action of the Divinity is not, in any theory, carried beyond producing by his will the emanation of five (or some say seven) Buddhas from his own essence;<sup>51</sup> and from these Buddhas proceed, in like manner, five (or seven) other beings called Bodhisatwas, each of whom, in his turn, is charged with the creation of a world.

But so essential is quiescence to felicity and perfection, according to Buddhist notions, that even the Bodhisatwas are relieved as much as possible from the task of maintaining their own creations. Some speculators, probably, conceive that each constitutes the universe according to laws which enable it to maintain *itself*; others suppose inferior agents created for the purpose; and, according to one doctrine, the Bodhisatwa of the existing world produced the well-known Hindú triad, on whom he devolved his functions of creating, preserving, and destroying.

There are different opinions regarding the Buddhas, who have

<sup>49</sup> The Prájnikas.

<sup>50</sup> Called Ádi Buddha, or supreme intelligence. [Rather "primordial Buddha." This doctrine of an Ádi Buddha seems to be no part of the original system of Buddhism, but to have arisen in Nepal. Bur-nouf, *Buddhisme Indien* i. p. 119.—Ed.]

<sup>51</sup> [These are called the five *dhyáni Buddhas*, or Buddhas of contemplation. We exist in the period of the fourth Bodhisatwa Avalokiteśvara, the emanation of the fourth Buddha Amitábha.—Ed.]



risen to that rank by transmigrations.<sup>33</sup> Some think of an atheistical school that they are separate productions of ; like other men, and retain an independent existence after a at the much-desired state of rest ; while the other sects that they are emanations from the Supreme Being through of the other Buddhas or Bodhisatwas, and are ultimately rewarded by absorption into the divine essence.

There have been many of these human Buddhas in the former worlds ;<sup>34</sup> but the seven last are particularly n and above all the last, whose name was Gôtama or who revealed the present religion, and established the n worship and morality ; and who, although long since passed a higher state of existence, is considered as the religion of the world, and will continue so until he has completed his allotted period of five thousand years.

Beneath this class of Buddhas are an infinite number of different degrees, apparently consisting of mere men who made approaches towards the higher stages of perfect the sanctity of their lives.

Besides the chain of Buddhas, there are innumerable celestial and terrestrial beings, some original, and transferred, unchanged, from the Hindû Pantheon.<sup>35</sup>

The Buddhists of different countries differ in many particulars from each other. Those of Nepâl seem most imbued with Hindû superstitions, though even in China the general character of the religion is clearly Indian.

The theistical sect seems to prevail in Nepâl,<sup>36</sup> as atheistical to subsist in perfection in Ceylon.<sup>37</sup>

In China, M. Abel Remusat considers the atheistical to vulgar doctrine, and the theistical to be the esoteric.<sup>38</sup>

The Buddhas differ in many other respects from the Bra-

<sup>33</sup> These are called *Mônaki Buddhas*. — Etc.]

<sup>34</sup> Mr. Hodgson (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 416) gives a list of 110 Buddhas in the first order.

<sup>35</sup> The reviewer of the *Buddhist* tenets is chiefly taken from the complete and distinct view of that religion given by Mr. Hodgson (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. pp. 411-415). I have also consulted the "Papers on the History of the Religion of the Tsinan," of the *Real Asiatic Society of Europe*, printed at the request of the Asiatic Society, by the Rev. Mr. A. C. Williams, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, for the year 1830, and in the *Asiatic* for the same year, those of M.

Carmy de Koro, *Journal of the Society of Calcutta*, those of Mr. and Major Mahoney in vol. viii. of *Asiatic Researches*; together with Wilson's observations in his *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. in his account of the Jains, vol. vi. likewise the answers of Bala Kishna Tiphani, *Secundus*, *Hindustani*, &c.

<sup>36</sup> Mr. Hodgson.

<sup>37</sup> See answers to questions in the *Asiatic*. I presume these answers depended on whatever may be with the historical writings in the work.

<sup>38</sup> *Journal des Savans de l'Asie*.

they deny the authority of the Védas and Puránas ; they have no cast ; even the priests are taken from all classes of the community, and bear much greater resemblance to European monks than to any of the Hindú ministers of religion. They live in monasteries, wear a uniform yellow dress, go with their feet bare and their heads and beards shaved, and perform a constant succession of regular service at their chapel in a body, and, in their processions, their chaunting, their incense, and their candles, bear a strong resemblance to the ceremonies of the Catholic Church.<sup>58</sup> They have nothing of the freedom of the Hindú monastic orders ; they are strictly bound to celibacy, and renounce most of the pleasures of sense ;<sup>59</sup> they eat together in one hall ; sleep sitting in a prescribed posture, and seem never allowed to leave the monastery, except once a week, when they march in a body to bathe,<sup>60</sup> and for part of every day, when they go to beg for the community, or rather to receive alms, for they are not permitted to ask for anything.<sup>61</sup> The monks, however, only perform service in the temples attached to their own monasteries, and to them the laity do not seem to be admitted, but pay their own devotions at other temples, out of the limits of the convents.

Nunneries for women seem also, at one time, to have been general.

The Bauddha religionists carry their respect for animal life much further than the Bramins : their priests do not eat after noon, nor drink after dark, for fear of swallowing minute insects ; and they carry a brush on all occasions, with which they carefully sweep every place before they sit down, lest they should inadvertently crush any living creature. Some even tie a thin cloth over their mouths to prevent their drawing in small insects with their breath.<sup>62</sup> They differ from the Bramins in their want of respect for fire, and in their veneration for relics of their holy men,—a feeling unknown to the Hindús. Over these relics (a few hairs, a bone, or a tooth) they erect those solid cupolas, or bell-shaped monuments, which are often of stupendous size, and which are so great a characteristic of their religion.

The Buddhas are represented standing upright, but more

<sup>58</sup> Mr. Davis, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 491 ; Turner's *Tibet*.

<sup>59</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 273.

<sup>60</sup> Mr. Davis, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 495 ; and Knox, *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 277.

<sup>61</sup> Captain Mahoney, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 42 ; and Mr. Knox, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 277.

<sup>62</sup> The laity eat animal food without restraint ; even the priests may eat it, if no animal is killed on their account.

generally seated cross-legged, erect, but in an attitude of deep meditation, with a placid countenance, and always with curled hair.

Besides the temples and monuments, in countries where the Bauddhas still subsist, there are many magnificent remains of them in India.

The most striking of these are cave temples, in the Peninsula. Part of the wonderful excavations of Ellōra are of this description; but the finest is at Cārla, between Pūna and Bombay, which, from its great length and height, the colonnades which run along the sides like aisles, and the vaulted and ribbed roof, strongly recalls the idea of a Gothic church.<sup>5</sup>

The Bauddhas have a very extensive body of literature, all on the Bramin model, and all originally from India.<sup>6</sup> It is now preserved in the local dialects of various countries, in many of which the long-established art of printing has contributed much to the diffusion of books.

Pāli, or the local dialect of Magadha (one of the ancient kingdoms on the Ganges, in which Sākya or Gōtama flourished), seems to be the language generally used in the religious writings of the Bauddhas, although its claim to be their sacred language is disputed in favour of Sanscrit and of other local dialects springing from that root.<sup>6</sup>

The Jains hold an intermediate place between the followers of Buddha and Brahmin.<sup>6</sup>

They agree with the Bauddhas in denying the existence, or at least the activity and providence, of God; in believing the eternity of matter; in the worship of deified saints; in their scrupulous care of animal life, and all the precautions which it leads to; in their having no hereditary priesthood; in disclaiming the divine authority of the Vēdas; and in having no sacrifices, and no respect for fire.

They agree with the Bauddhas also in considering a state of

<sup>5</sup> The history of the cave temples of the Bauddhas in the Peninsula is interesting, and is given by Mr. Fergusson, *Illustrations of the Rock Temples of the Deccan*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. H. Wilson, *History of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 14. He also observes, p. 15, that the sacred books of the Bauddhas are written in the local dialects of various countries, and that the language of the Jains is Sanscrit.

<sup>7</sup> W. L. Wilson, *History of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 14.

the Bauddhas, that in Sanscrit as in the Northern Bramin, and correct in the Southern Bramin, China and Japan, and that in the Southern Bramin, the language of the Bauddhas is Sanscrit. The latter is the language of the Jains, and the former is the language of the Bauddhas.

<sup>8</sup> The history of the Jains is given by Mr. Wilson, *History of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 14. The history of the Bauddhas and Jains is given by Mr. Wilson, *History of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 14.

impassive abstraction as supreme felicity, and in all the doctrines which they hold in common with the Hindús.

They agree with the Hindús in other points; such as division of cast. This exists in full force in the south and west of India; and can only be said to be dormant in the north-east; for, though the Jains there do not acknowledge the four classes of the Hindús, yet a Jain converted to the Hindú religion takes his place in one of the casts; from which he must all along have retained the proofs of his descent; and the Jains themselves have numerous divisions of their own, the members of which are as strict in avoiding intermarriages and other intercourse as the four classes of the Hindús.<sup>67</sup>

Though they reject the scriptural character of the Védas, they allow them great authority in all points not at variance with their religion. The principal objections to them are drawn from the bloody sacrifices which they enjoin, and the loss of animal life which burnt-offerings are liable (though undesignedly) to occasion.<sup>68</sup> They admit the whole of the Hindú gods and worship some of them; though they consider them as entirely subordinate to their own saints, who are therefore the proper objects of adoration.

Besides these points common to the Bramins or Baudddhas, they hold some opinions peculiar to themselves. The chief objects of their worship are a limited number of saints, who have raised themselves by austerities to a superiority over the gods, and who exactly resemble those of the Baudddhas in appearance and general character, but are entirely distinct from them in their names and individual histories. They are called Tirthankaras: there are twenty-four for the present age, but twenty-four also for the past, and twenty-four for the future.<sup>69</sup>

Those most worshipped are, in some places, Rishabha,<sup>70</sup> the first of the present Tirthankaras; but everywhere Párswanáth, and Mahávira, the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of the number.<sup>71</sup> As all but the two last bear a fabulous character in their dimensions and length of life, it has been conjectured, with great appearance of truth, that these two are the real founders of the religion.

<sup>67</sup> De la Maine. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 413; Colebrooke, *ibid.* p. 549; Buchanan, *ibid.* pp. 531, 532; Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 239.

<sup>68</sup> Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 248.

<sup>69</sup> [Tirthankara means "one who crosses the ocean of existence." They are also

called *Arhats*, or "entitled to the homage of gods and men," and *Jinas*, or "victors over human passions and infirmity." From the last title comes "Jaina."—Ed.]

<sup>70</sup> Major de la Maine, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 424.

<sup>71</sup> Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 248.

All remain alike in the usual state of apathetic beatitude, and take no share in the government of the world.<sup>72</sup>

Some changes are made by the Jains in the rank and circumstances of the Hindû gods. They give no preference to the greater gods of the Hindûs; and they have increased the number of gods, and added to the absurdities of the system: thus they have sixty-four Indras, and twenty-two Dévis.<sup>73</sup>

They have no veneration for relics, and no monastic establishments. Their priests are called Jatis;<sup>74</sup> they are of all casts, and their dress, though distinguishable from that of the Bramins, bears some resemblance to it. They wear very large, loose, white mantles, with their heads bare, and their hair and beard clipped; and carry a black rod and a brush for sweeping away animals. They subsist by alms. They never bathe, perhaps in opposition to the incessant ablutions of the Bramins.

The Jain temples are generally very large and handsome; often flat roofed, and like private houses, with courts and colonnades; but sometimes resembling Hindû temples, and sometimes circular and surrounded by colossal statues of the Tirthankaras.<sup>75</sup> The walls are painted with their peculiar legends, mixed, perhaps, with those of the Hindûs. Besides images, they have marble altars, with the figures of saints in relief, and with impressions of the footsteps of holy men; a memoria which they have in common with the Bauddhas.

By far the finest specimens of Jain temples of the Hindû form are the noble remains in white marble on the mountain of Abû, to the north of Guzerât. There are Jain caves also, on a great scale, at Ellôra, Nâssik, and other places; and there is, near Chinnâpâvan, in the Mysore, a statue of one of the Tirthankaras, cut out of a rock, which has been guessed at different heights, from 54 to 79 feet.

The Jains have a considerable body of learning, resembling that of the Bramins, but far surpassing even the extravagance of the Bramins in chronology and geography, amounting to hundreds

<sup>72</sup> Plinius, *lib. vi. c. 12. de Indis*, lib. vi. c. 13. *de Arabiâ*, lib. vi. c. 14. *de Indis*, lib. vi. c. 15.

<sup>73</sup> *Metaphysics*, lib. vi. c. 1. *Metaphysics*, lib. vi. c. 2. *Metaphysics*, lib. vi. c. 3. *Metaphysics*, lib. vi. c. 4.

<sup>74</sup> The Jains, according to the *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 1. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 2. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 3. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 4.

<sup>75</sup> The Jains, according to the *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 1. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 2. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 3. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 4.

<sup>76</sup> The Jains, according to the *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 1. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 2. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 3. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 4.

<sup>77</sup> The Jains, according to the *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 1. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 2. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 3. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 4.

<sup>78</sup> The Jains, according to the *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 1. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 2. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 3. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 4.

<sup>79</sup> The Jains, according to the *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 1. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 2. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 3. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 4.

<sup>80</sup> The Jains, according to the *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 1. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 2. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 3. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 4.

<sup>81</sup> The Jains, according to the *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 1. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 2. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 3. *Encyclopædia*, lib. vi. c. 4.

of millions what was already sufficiently sacred language is Māgadhi or Pālī. absurd at millions. Their

A question has arisen, which of the three religions above described was first established in India.

It resolves itself into a discussion of the claims of those of Buddha and Brahma.<sup>76</sup> Admitting the common origin of the two systems, which the similarity of the fundamental tenets would appear to prove, the weight of the arguments adduced appears to lean to the side of the Bramins; and an additional reason may perhaps be drawn from the improbability that the Bauddha system could ever have been an original one.

Comparative antiquity of those religions and that of Brahmā.

A man as yet unacquainted with religious feelings would imbibe his first notions of a God from the perception of powers superior to his own. Even if the idea of a quiescent Divinity could enter his mind, he would have no motive to adore it, but would rather endeavour to propitiate the sun on which he depended for warmth, or the heavens, which terrified him with their thunders. Still less would he commence by the worship of saints; for sanctity is only conformity to religious notions already established; and a religion must have obtained a strong hold on a people before they would be disposed to deify their fellows for a strict adherence to its injunctions; especially if they neither supposed them to govern the world, nor to mediate with its ruler.

The Hindú religion presents a more natural course. It rose from the worship of the powers of nature to theism, and then declined into scepticism with the learned, and man worship with the vulgar.

The doctrines of the Sāṅkhya school of philosophers seem reflected in the atheism of the Bauddha;<sup>77</sup> while the hero worship of the common Hindús, and their extravagant veneration for religious ascetics, are much akin to the deification of saints among

<sup>76</sup> The arguments on both sides are summed up with great clearness and impartiality by Mr. Erskine, in the *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. pp. 495—503. Even the summary is too long to be inserted in this place.

<sup>77</sup> ["La doctrine de Çākyas se place en opposition au Brāhmanisme, comme une morale sans Dieu et comme un athéisme sans Nature. Ce qu'il nie, c'est le Dieu éternel des Brāhmanes, et la Nature éternelle des Sāṅkhyas; ce qu'il admet, c'est la multiplicité et l'individualité des âmes humaines, des Sāṅkhyas, et la transmi-

gration des Brāhmanes. Ce qu'il veut atteindre, c'est la délivrance ou l'affranchissement de l'esprit, ainsi que le voulait tout le monde dans l'Inde. Mais il n'affranchit pas l'esprit comme faisaient les Sāṅkhyas en le détachant pour jamais de la Nature, ni comme faisaient les Brāhmanes en le replongeant au sein du Brahman éternel et absolu; il anéantit les conditions de son existence relative en la précipitant dans le vide, c'est-à-dire, selon toute apparence, en l'anéantissement."—Burnouf, *Buddhisme Ind.*, i. 521.—Ed.]

the Buddhas. We are led, therefore, to suppose the Bramin faith to have originated in early times, and that of Buddha to have branched off from it at a period when its orthodox tenets had reached their highest perfection, if not shown a tendency to decline.

The historical information regarding these religions tends to the same conclusion. The Vêdas are supposed to have been arranged in their present form about the fourteenth century before Christ, and the religion they teach must have made considerable previous progress; while scarcely one even of its most zealous advocates has claimed for that of Buddha a higher antiquity than the tenth or eleventh century before Christ, and the best authenticated accounts limit it to the sixth.

All the nations professing the religion of Buddha concur in referring its origin to India.\* They unite in representing the founder to have been Sâkya Muni or Gôtama, a native of Capilavastu, north of Gôrakpûr. By one account he was a Cshatriya, and by others the son of a king. Even the Hindûs confirm this account, making him a Cshatriya, and son to a king of the solar race. They are not so well agreed about the date of his appearance. The Indians and the people of Ava, Siam, and Ceylon, fix it near the middle of the sixth century before Christ,<sup>†</sup> an epoch which is borne out by various particulars in the list of kings of Magadha.

The Cashmirians, on the other hand, place Sâkya 1332 years before Christ; the Chinese, Mongols, and Japanese about 1000; and of thirteen Tibetan authors referred to in the same *Oriental Magazine*, four give an average of 2360; and nine of 835;<sup>‡</sup> while the great religious work of Tibet, by asserting that the general council<sup>§</sup> held by Asoka was 110 years after Buddha's

\* For the Chinese, see Dr. Gârgues, *Mémoires de l'Inde, ou des Indes Orientales*, vol. XI, p. 157, et seq. A. Bellamy, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. 18, p. 1, and the same society's *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 202, and vol. 2, p. 202. Mr. Gârgues, *op. cit.*, p. 241. For the Malays, see M. K. de la N., *Journal de l'Inde*, vol. 1, p. 202, and vol. 2, p. 202. For the Siamese, see A. de la N., *Journal de l'Inde*, vol. 1, p. 202, and vol. 2, p. 202. For the Ceylonese, see M. de la N., *Journal de l'Inde*, vol. 1, p. 202, and vol. 2, p. 202. For the Cashmirians, see M. de la N., *Journal de l'Inde*, vol. 1, p. 202, and vol. 2, p. 202. For the Chinese, Mongols, and Japanese, see M. de la N., *Journal de l'Inde*, vol. 1, p. 202, and vol. 2, p. 202.

† See the *Journal de l'Inde*, vol. 1, p. 202, and vol. 2, p. 202.

‡ See the *Journal de l'Inde*, vol. 1, p. 202, and vol. 2, p. 202.

§ See the *Journal de l'Inde*, vol. 1, p. 202, and vol. 2, p. 202.

¶ The Tibetan authors, as just mentioned, are not in agreement. The majority of them, however, agree in fixing the date of his appearance at the middle of the sixth century before Christ. The Tibetan authors, the majority of whom, however, agree in fixing the date of his appearance at the middle of the sixth century before Christ. The majority of them, however, agree in fixing the date of his appearance at the middle of the sixth century before Christ.

death,<sup>82</sup> brings down that event to less than 400 years before Christ, as Asóca will be shown, on incontestable evidence, to have lived less than 300 years before our era.<sup>83</sup>

One Chinese author also differs from the rest, fixing 688 years before Christ;<sup>84</sup> and the Chinese and Japanese tables, which make the period of Sákya's eminence 999 years before Christ, say that it occurred during the reign of Ajáta Satru, whose place in the list of Magadha kings shows him to have lived in the sixth century before Christ.

These discrepancies are too numerous to be removed by the supposition that they refer to an earlier and a later Buddha; and that expedient is also precluded by the identity of the name, Sákya, and of every circumstance in the lives of the persons to whom such different dates are assigned. We must, therefore, either pronounce the Indian Banddhas to be ignorant of the date of a religion which arose among themselves, and at the same time must derange the best established part of the Hindú chronology; or admit that an error must have occurred in Cashmír or Tíbet, through which places it crept into the more eastern countries, when they received the religion of Buddha many years after the death of its founder. As the latter seems by much the most probable explanation, we may safely fix the death of Buddha about 550 B.C.<sup>85</sup>

The Indian origin of the Banddhas would appear, independently of direct evidence, from the facts that their theology, mythology, philosophy, geography, chronology, etc., are almost entirely of the Hindú family; and all the terms used in those sciences are Sanscrit. Even Buddha (intelligence), and Ádi Buddha (supreme intelligence), are well-known Sanscrit words.<sup>86</sup>

We have no precise information regarding the early progress of this religion. It was triumphant in Hindostan in the reign of Asóca, about the middle of the third century before Christ.<sup>87</sup> It was introduced by his missionaries into Ceylon in the end of the same century.<sup>88</sup>

It probably spread at an early period into Tartary and Tibet, but was not introduced into China until A.D. 65, when it was

under the great Asoka, 235 years after Buddha.—Ed.]

<sup>82</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. i. p. 6.

<sup>83</sup> See Book iii. Ch. iii.

<sup>84</sup> De Guignes, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xl. p. 195.

<sup>85</sup> [Prof. Max Müller prefers 477 B.C. See *Hist. Ancient Sansk. Lit.*, p. 298.—Ed.]

<sup>86</sup> [Buddha means "wise," and Ádi Buddha "the primordial wise or Buddha." —Ed.]

<sup>87</sup> See Turnour's *Maháwanso*, and translations of contemporary inscriptions in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta* for February, 1838.

<sup>88</sup> In 307 B.C. Turnour's *Maháwanso*, Introduction, p. xxix., and other places.



brought direct from India, and was not fully established till A.D. 310.\*

The progress of its decline in its original seat is recorded by a Chinese traveller, who visited India on a religious expedition in the first years of the fifth century after Christ.† He found Buddhism flourishing in the tract between China and India, but declining in the Panjab, and languishing in the last stage of decay in the countries on the Ganges and Jumna. Capla, the birthplace of Buddha, was ruined and deserted, “a wilderness untenanted by man.” His religion was in full vigour in Ceylon, but had not yet been introduced into Java, which island was visited by the pilgrim on his return by sea to China.

The religion of Buddha afterwards recovered its importance in some parts of India. Its adherents were refuted, persecuted, and probably chased from the Deckan, by Sancara Acharya, in the eighth or ninth century, if not by Cumarila at an earlier period; but they appear to have possessed sovereignty in Hindostan in the eighth century, and even to have been the prevailing sect at Benâres as late as the eleventh century,‡ and in the north of Guzerât as late as the twelfth century of our era.§

They do not now exist in the plains of India, but their religion is the established one in Ceylon, and in some of the mountainous countries to the north-east of the provinces on the Ganges. Buddhism is also the faith of the Burman Empire, of Tibet, of Siam, and all the countries between India and China. It is very general in the latter country, and extends over a great part of Chinese and Russian Tartary; so that it has been said, with apparent truth, to be professed by a greater portion of the human race than any other religion.

The Jains appear to have originated in the sixth or seventh century of our era; to have become conspicuous in the eighth or ninth century; got to the highest prosperity in the eleventh, and declined after the twelfth.¶ Their principal seats seem to have been in the southern parts of the peninsula, and in Guzerât and at the west of Hindostan. They seem never to have had much success in the provinces on the Ganges.

They appear to have undergone several persecutions by the Brahmans, to the south of India, at least.‡

\* *Journal de M. de Guignes*, t. vi. p. 121. *Asiatick Researches*, t. vi. p. 121. *Journal de M. de Guignes*, t. vi. p. 121. *Asiatick Researches*, t. vi. p. 121.

† *Journal de M. de Guignes*, t. vi. p. 121. *Asiatick Researches*, t. vi. p. 121. *Journal de M. de Guignes*, t. vi. p. 121. *Asiatick Researches*, t. vi. p. 121.

‡ *Journal de M. de Guignes*, t. vi. p. 121. *Asiatick Researches*, t. vi. p. 121. *Journal de M. de Guignes*, t. vi. p. 121. *Asiatick Researches*, t. vi. p. 121.

§ *Journal de M. de Guignes*, t. vi. p. 121. *Asiatick Researches*, t. vi. p. 121. *Journal de M. de Guignes*, t. vi. p. 121. *Asiatick Researches*, t. vi. p. 121.

¶ *Journal de M. de Guignes*, t. vi. p. 121. *Asiatick Researches*, t. vi. p. 121. *Journal de M. de Guignes*, t. vi. p. 121. *Asiatick Researches*, t. vi. p. 121.

The Jains are still very numerous, especially in Guzerat, the Rájput country, and Canara; they are generally an opulent and mercantile class; many of them are bankers, and possess a large proportion of the commercial wealth of India.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER V.

### PRESENT STATE OF PHILOSOPHY.<sup>1</sup>

THE subject of philosophy is upon which Menu professes to treat. It is, however, already mentioned in his first chapter, and it has occupied too g a portion of the attention of the Hindús of later days to be omitted in any account of their genius and character.

The first chapter of the In vi ly an exposition of the belief of the compiler, an ( il t rs, which have been framed in various ages) prol the state of opinion as it stood in his time.

The topics on which it treats—the nature of God and the soul, the creation, and other subjects, physical and metaphysical—are too slightly touched on to show whether any of the present schools of philosophy were then in their present form; but the minute points alluded to as already known, and the use of the terms still employed, as if quite intelligible to its readers, prove that the discussions which have given rise to their different systems were already perfectly familiar to the Hindús.

The present state of the science will be best shown, Six principal schools. by inquiring into the tenets of those schools.

There are six ancient schools of philosophy recognised among the Hindús. Some of these are avowedly inconsistent with the religious doctrines of the Bramins; and others, though perfectly orthodox, advance opinions not stated in the Védas.

These schools are enumerated in the following order by Mr. Colebrooke.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tod's *Rájasthan*, vol. i. p. 518; Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 294. See also Buchanan's *Journey*, vol. iii. pp. 19, 76-84, 131, 410.

<sup>2</sup> [The subject of Hindú philosophy is far too wide to be treated in a single chapter. The reader who desires to study it further is referred to two works published in India by two Christian Brahmans—*Dialogues on Hindú Philosophy*, by the Rev. K. M. Banerjee (Calcutta, 1860), and

*Refutation of Hindú Philosophy*, by Pun-dit Nehemiah Nilkanth Sástri Gore, originally written in Hindú, and translated by Dr. Hall (Calcutta, 1862). These works (as well as Dr. Ballantyne's translations) contain an immense amount of information on this most interesting subject. I have only added a few notes to explain the text.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 19.

1. The prior Mimánsá, founded by Jaimini.
2. The latter Mimánsá, or Védānta, attributed to Vyāsa.
3. The Nyāya, or logical school of Gôtama.
4. The Vaisēshika, or atomic school of Canāda.
5. The Sāṅkhya, or atheistical school of Capila.
6. The Yoga, or theistical school of Patanjali.

These two last schools agree in many points, and are included in the common name of Sāṅkhya.

This division does not give a complete idea of the present of philosophy. The prior Mimánsá, which teaches the reasoning with the express view of aiding the interpretation of the Vēdas, is, so far, only a school of criticism; and its object being to ascertain the duties enjoined in those scriptures, is purely religious, and gives it no claim to a place among the schools of philosophy.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the remaining schools branched into various subdivisions, each of which is entitled to be considered as a separate school, and to form an addition to the original number. It would be foreign to my object to enter into all the distinctions between those philosophical systems; an outline of the two most contrasted of the six principal schools, with a slight notice of the rest, will be sufficient to give an idea of the progress made by the nation in this department of science. The two schools selected for this summary examination are Sāṅkhya and Védānta.<sup>2</sup> The first maintains the eternity of matter, and its principal branch denies the being of God; the other school derives all things from God, and one sect denies the reality of matter.

All the Indian systems, atheistical as well as theistical, in their object, which is, to teach the means of obtaining happiness, or, in other words, exemption from metempsychosis—deliverance from all corporeal encumbrances.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The prior Mimāṃsā, however, in the course of its critical investigations, discusses various philosophical questions. It appears to have been originally atheistical; the sacrifices and other ceremonies which it so zealously upholds being said to produce their fruit by immediate law or fate. One of its most curious speculations is the doctrine of an eternal soul, and underlying all temporary accidents, this is by some identified with Brahman. The great sages have naturally adopted this doctrine to give dignity to their favorite study. The title prior Mimāṃsā seems to have no reference to priority of time, but to have been given, because during its school, it confined their attention to the *Āraṇyaka* and

the ceremonial or exoteric part of it, while the "latter" or *Upanishads* treated of the higher or esoteric contained in the *Upanishads*. It are many reasons for believing it so called. Prior school was much older than the Védānta. — Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> For an elaborate account of the *Revelation of Hindu Philosophy*, see — Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Thus the Nyāya *Ājibhāṣya* says of the following: "Ignorance, creative activity, defect, ignorance, when of these is removed, all that grows with it, and then ensues final extinction." From ignorance comes "that we desire or hate or are

*Sāṅkhya School, Atheistical and Theistical.*

This school is divided, as has been mentioned, into two branches, that of Capila, which is atheistical, and that of Patanjali, acknowledging God; but both agree in the following opinions: <sup>Purpose of knowledge.</sup> 6—

Deliverance can only be gained by true and perfect knowledge.<sup>7</sup>

This knowledge consists in discriminating the principles, perceptible and imperceptible, of the material world from the sensitive and cognitive principle, which is the immaterial soul.<sup>8</sup>

True knowledge is attained by three kinds of evidence, perception, inference, and affirmation (or testimony).<sup>9</sup> <sup>Means of attaining knowledge.</sup>

The principles of which a knowledge is thus derived <sup>Principles.</sup> are twenty-five in number,<sup>10</sup> viz. :

1. Nature, the root or plastic origin of all; the universal material cause. It is eternal matter; undiscete, destitute of parts; productive, but not produced; the equilibrium of the three qualities.

2. Intelligence; the first production of nature, increate,<sup>11</sup> prolific; being itself productive of other principles.

3. Consciousness, which proceeds from intelligence, and the peculiar function of which is the sense of self-existence, the belief that "I am."

4 to 8. From consciousness spring five particles, rudiments, or atoms, productive of the five elements.<sup>12</sup>

9 to 19. From consciousness also spring eleven organs of

indifferent; from "defect" arises "activity," viz. that we seek or avoid or are stupidly apathetic; and from this mistaken "activity" arises merit, or demerit, which necessitates our passing into some new birth after death, to receive the reward or punishment of our deeds. Thus all the weary round of conscious existence springs from "ignorance," as its root; and it is the aim of the Hindú *jīvanāt* to eradicate this fatal seed.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 27. [Nature is imperceptible (*avyakta*), those numbered 2-24 are perceptible (*vyakta*), to higher beings, if not to man.—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 28. [The various kinds of proofs or sources of knowledge (*pramāṇa*), as admitted in the different schools, form an interesting part of Hindú philosophy. Thus the *Chārvākas* or materialists admit only sense-perception (*pratyakṣa*); the

*Vaiśeṣikas* add inference (*anumāna*); the *Sāṅkhyas* testimony (*śabda*); the *Naiyāyikas* analogy (*upamāna*); the *Vedāntins* further add presumption (*arthāpatti*), which corresponds to our disjunctive hypothetical syllogism, and non-perception or negative proof (*anupalabdhi*). Besides these proofs of the six orthodox schools, other sections increase the number to nine by adding equivalence (*sambhava*), fallible testimony (*aitihya*), and gesture (*chেষtā*). Ed.]

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. pp. 29-31.

<sup>11</sup> The contradiction between the two first terms might be explained by supposing that intelligence, though depending on nature for its existence, is co-eternal with the principle from which it is derived.

<sup>12</sup> Rather, rudiments of the perceptions by which the elements are made known to the mind; as sound, the rudiment of ether; touch, of air; smell, of earth, etc. [i.e. form of fire and taste of water].—Wilson's *Sāṅkhya Cūrikā*, pp. 17, 119.

sense and action. Ten are external; five instruments of the senses (the eye, ear, etc.), and five instruments of action (the voice, the hands, the feet, etc.). The eleventh organ is internal, and is mind, which is equally an organ of sense and of action.

20 to 24. The five elements are derived from the five particles above mentioned (4 to 8). They are ether, air, fire, water, and earth.

25. The last principle is soul, which is neither produced nor productive. It is multitudinous, individual, sensitive, unalterable, immaterial.

It is for the contemplation of nature, and for abstraction from it, that the union between the soul and nature takes place. By that union creation, consisting in the development of intellect, and the rest of the principles, is effected.<sup>1</sup> The soul's wish is fruition, or liberation. For either purpose it is invested with a subtle person, composed of intellect, consciousness, mind, the organs of sense and action, and the five principles of the elements. This person is unconfined, free from all hindrance, affected by sentiments; but incapable of enjoyment, until invested with a grosser frame, composed of the elements; which is the body, and is perishable.

The subtle person is more durable, and accompanies the soul in its transmigrations.<sup>2</sup> The corporeal creation, consisting of souls invested with gross bodies, comprises fourteen orders of beings; eight above, and five inferior to man. The superior orders are composed of the gods and other spirits recognised by the Hindus; the inferior, of animals, plants, and inorganic substances.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the grosser corporeal creation, and the subtle or intellectual personal (all belonging to the material world), the Sāṅkhya distinguishes an intellectual creation, consisting of the affections of the intellect, its sentiments and faculties.

These are enumerated in four classes, as obstructing, disabling, containing, or perfecting the understanding.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is a popular error to suppose that the creation of the universe, according to the Sāṅkhya, is apparent to the human eye, or by ordinary senses. It is quite the reverse. The only testimony is, however, the existence of other than that which appears from its connection with any particular soul, or even with the five elements, the personified soul, the elements, &c. &c. The only testimony to the reality of the creation is the separate existence of the intellectual beings.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Colebrooke, *Transacts of the Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> The catalogue is very extensive. For the greater principles, however, are stated at large, there is great brevity in the enumeration of the lesser.

The following may serve as a specimen, selected from that given by Mr. Colebrooke, who has used very much to be followed.

1. Obstructions to the intellect are—

The Sāṅkhya, like all the Indian schools, pays much attention to three essential qualities or modifications of nature. These are, 1. goodness; 2. passion; 3. darkness. They appear to affect all beings, animate and inanimate. Through *goodness*, for instance, fire ascends, and virtue and happiness are produced in man; it is *passion* which causes tempests in the air, and vice among mankind; *darkness* gives their downward tendency to earth and water, and in man produces stolidity as well as sorrow.

Eight modes appertaining to intellect are derived from these qualities: on the one hand, virtue, knowledge, dispassion, and power; and on the other, sin, error, incontinency, and powerlessness. Each of these is subdivided: power, for instance, is eightfold.

The opinions which have above been enumerated, as mere dogmas of the Sāṅkhya philosophers, are demonstrated and explained at great length in their works. Mr. Colebrooke gives some specimens of their arguments and discussions; the fault of which, as is usual in such cases, seems to be a disposition to run into over-refinement.<sup>17</sup>

In endeavouring to find out the scope of the Sāṅkhya system, which is somewhat obscured by the artificial form in which it is presented by its inventors, we are led at first to think that this school, though atheistical, and, in the main, material, does not differ very widely from that which derives all things from spirit. From nature comes intelligence; from intelligence, consciousness; from consciousness, the senses and the subtile principles of the elements; from these principles, the grosser elements themselves. From the order of this procession it would appear that, although matter be eternal, its forms are derived from spirit, and have no existence independent of perception.

But this is not the real doctrine of the school. It is a property inherent in nature to put forth those principles in their order; and a property in soul to use them as the means of obtaining a knowledge of nature; but these operations, though coinciding in their object, are independent in their origin. Nature and the whole multitude of individual souls are eternal; and

error, conceit, passion, hatred, fear, These are severally explained, and comprise sixty-two subdivisions.

2. Disabilities are of twenty-eight sorts, arising from defect or injury of organs, etc.

3. Content, or acquiescence, involves nine divisions; all appear to relate to total or partial omission of exertion, to procure

deliverance or beatitude.

4. Perfecting the intellect is of eight sorts; three consist in ways of preventing evil, and the remaining five are reasoning, oral instruction, study, amicable intercourse, and purity, internal and external,

<sup>17</sup> Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 33-37.

though each soul is united with intellect and the other products of nature, it exercises no control over their development; union, indeed, is not with the general intellect, which is the production of nature, but with an individual intellect derived from that primary production.<sup>17</sup>

At birth, each soul is invested with a subtle body,<sup>18</sup> again is clad in a grosser body. The connection between mind and matter being thus established, the organs communicate sensations occasioned by external nature: mind combines consciousness gives them a reference to the individual: it draws inferences, and attains to knowledge not within the sphere of the senses;<sup>19</sup> soul stands by as a spectator, and not as perceiving all, but affected by nothing; as a mirror which receives all images, without itself undergoing any change.<sup>20</sup> At the end of the kalpa the soul has completely seen and understood nature, its work is performed: it is released, and the connection between nature and that individual soul is dissolved. Nature (to use an illustration from the text-book) exhibits herself like an actress: she is seen when she has been perfectly seen; and the soul attains its great object of liberation.

Thus it appears that the soul takes no part in the operations of nature, and is necessary to none of them: sensation, consciousness, reasoning, judgment, would all go on equally were away.<sup>21</sup> Again: it is for the purpose of the liberation of the soul that all these operations are performed: yet the soul was free at first, and remains unchanged at the end, while the whole phenomena of mind and matter have therefore without a purpose. In each view, the soul is entirely independent.

<sup>17</sup> "Every individual soul has from eternity been continually in connection with Nature, and repeated creations have resulted from this connection. Nature is said to be enlightened by its proximity to Soul, and Soul by its proximity to nature, as the light of Nature as seen in these systems is increased by proximity to heaven."—

<sup>18</sup> Mr. Ch. Johnston, *Treatise on the Principles of Saikhya*, Vol. i. p. 14.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 141, 18. "The general operations of the senses of Nature are received by the individual soul, and its perception is illustrated in various ways by the native writers. It thus comprehends the twofold knowledge, which is said to be that the mind is for the attainment of the soul, and individuality says it is not that it is, and intellect determines what it is, not run away." And again, "As the Brahmins of a village collect the taxes

from the villagers and pay them to the governor of the district, so the governor pays the amount to the king, and the minister receives it for the use of the king," so mind, having received from the external objects, transmits them to individuality, and then to the intellect, which is the superintendent, and takes charge for the use of the sovereign. See Wilson's *Saikhya Kira*, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>20</sup> Mr. Ch. Johnston, *Treatise on the Principles of Saikhya*, Vol. i. p. 42.

<sup>21</sup> In the Saikhya system, there are two quite distinct stages of operation in the objects, which is the gross and the subtle intellect etc. of external objects, in which the gross soul and has no relation to any.

See *Rational Religion*, p. 24—E.

famous; and we are tempted to surmise that its existence and liberation have been admitted, in terms, by Capila, as the gods were by Epicurus, to avoid shocking the prejudices of his countrymen by a direct denial of their religion.

The tenets hitherto explained are common to both schools; but Capila, admitting, as has been seen, the separate exist- Separate doctrines of the atheistical and theistical branches. ence of souls, and allowing that intellect is employed in the evolution of matter, which answers to creation, denies that there is any Supreme Being, either material or spiritual, by whose *volition* the universe was produced.<sup>23</sup>

Patanjali, on the other hand, asserts that, distinct from other souls, there is a soul or spirit unaffected by the ills with which the others are beset; unconcerned with good or bad deeds or their consequences, and with fancies or passing thoughts; omniscient, infinite, unlimited by time. This being is God, the Supreme Ruler.<sup>24</sup>

The practice of the two sects takes its colour from these peculiar opinions. The object of all knowledge with both is liberation from matter; and it is by *contemplation* that the great work is to be accomplished.

To this the theistical sects add *devotion*; and the subjects of their meditation are suggested by this sentiment. While the followers of the other sect are occupied in abstruse reasonings on the nature of mind and matter, the deistical Sāṅkhya spends his time in devotional exercises, or gives himself up to mental abstraction. The mystical and fanatical spirit thus engendered appears in other shapes, and has influenced this branch of the Sāṅkhya in a manner which has ultimately tended to degrade its character.

The work of Patanjali, which is the text-book of the theistical sect, contains full directions for bodily and mental exercises, consisting of intensely profound meditation on certain topics, accompanied by suppression of the breath, and restraint of the senses, while steadily maintaining prescribed positions. By such exercises, the adept acquires the knowledge of everything past and future, hidden or remote: he divines the thoughts of others, gains the strength of an elephant, the courage of a lion, and the swiftness of the wind; flies in air, floats in water; dives into the earth; contemplates all worlds at a glance, and indulges in the enjoyment of a power that scarcely knows any bounds.

<sup>23</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 37.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*



To the attainment of these miraculous faculties, some ascetics divert the efforts which ought to be confined to the acquisition of beatitude; and others have had recourse to imposture for the power to surprise their admirers with wonders which they possessed no other means of exhibiting.

The first description of these aspirants to supernatural powers *yogi*—are still found among the monastic orders, and the second among the lowest classes of the same body; both are called *Yogi*,—a name assigned to the original sect, from a word meaning “abstracted meditation.”\*

### *Vedānta, or Uttara Mimāṃsī School.*

The foundation of this school is ascribed to Vyāsa, the supposed compiler of the *Vēdas*, who lived about 1400 B.C.; and it does not seem improbable that the author of that compilation, whoever he was, should have written a treatise on the scope and essential doctrines of the compositions which he had brought together; but Mr. Colebrooke is of opinion that, in its present form, the school is more modern than any of the other five, and even than the *Jains* and *Buddhists*; and that the work in which its system is first explained could not, therefore, have been written earlier<sup>†</sup> than the sixth century before Christ.

Though the system of this school is supported by arguments drawn from reason, it professes to be founded on the authority of the *Vēdas*, and appeals for proofs to texts from those scriptures. It has given rise to an enormous mass of treatises, with commentaries, and commentaries on commentaries, almost all written during the last nine centuries. From a selection of these explications, Mr. Colebrooke has formed his account of the school; but owing to the controversial matter introduced, as well as to the appeals to texts instead of to human reason, it is more confused and obscure than the system of the other schools.

Its principal doctrines are, that “God is the omnipotent and eternal omnipotent cause of the existence, continuance, and destruction of the universe. Creation is an act of his will, he is not the efficient and the material cause of the world.

\* The Sanskrit name of the *Sāṅkhya* school is *Yogi*, taken from Mr. Colebrooke’s translation of the *Yoga Sūtra*, in which he has translated *Yogi* as *Yogi*. A treatise on the *Yoga Sūtra* is also mentioned in the *Yoga Sūtra*, and is called *Yoga Sūtra*. Mr. Colebrooke has translated the *Yoga Sūtra* as *Yoga Sūtra*.

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At the consummation of all things, all are resolved into him. He is the "sole existent" and the "universal soul."<sup>27</sup>

Individual souls are portions of his substance : from him they issue like sparks from a flame, and to him they return.

The soul (as a portion of the Divinity) is "infinite, immortal, intelligent, sentient, true."

It is capable of activity, though its natural state is repose.

It is made to act by the Supreme Being, but in conformity to its previous resolutions ; and those again have been produced by a chain of causes extending backward apparently to infinity.<sup>28</sup>

The soul is encased in the body as in a sheath, or rather a succession of sheaths. In the first, the intellect is associated with the five senses ; in the second, the mind is added ; in the third, the organs of sense and the vital faculties. These three constitute the subtile body, which accompanies the soul through all its transmigrations.

The fourth sheath is the gross body.<sup>29</sup>

The states of the soul in reference to the body are these :—When awake, it is active, and has to do with a real and practical creation : in dreams, there is an illusive and unreal creation : in profound sleep, it is enfolded, *but not blended*, in the Divine essence : on death, it has quitted the corporeal frame.<sup>30</sup> It then goes to the moon, is clothed in an aqueous body, falls in rain, is absorbed by some vegetable, and thence through nourishment into an animal embryo.<sup>31</sup>

After finishing its transmigrations, the number of which depends on its deeds, it receives liberation.

Liberation is of three sorts : one incorporeal and complete, when the soul is absorbed in Brahmá ; another imperfect, when it only reaches the abode of Brahmá ; and a third far short of the others, by which, while yet in life, it acquires many of the powers of the Divinity, and its faculties are transcendent for enjoyment, but not for action. These two last are attainable by sacrifice and devout meditation in prescribed modes.

The discussions of this school extend to the questions of free will, divine grace, efficacy of works, of faith, and many others of the most abstracted nature.

Faith is not mentioned in their early works, and is a tenet of the branch of the Védánta school which follows the Bhagavad

<sup>27</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 34.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* p. 35.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* p. 37.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* p. 25.

Gîtâ. The most regular of the school, however, maintain the doctrine of divine grace, and restrict free will, as has been shown, by an infinite succession of influencing motives, extending back through the various worlds in the past eternity of the universe.

It is obvious that this school differs entirely from that first mentioned, in denying the eternity of matter, and ascribing the existence of the universe to the energy and volition of God. But its original teachers, or their European interpreters, appear to disagree as to the manner in which that existence is produced. One party maintains that God created matter out of his own essence, and will resume it into his essence at the consummation of all things; and that from matter thus produced, he formed the world, and left it to make its own impressions on the soul of man. The other party says that God did not create matter, nor does matter exist; but that he did, and continually does, produce directly on the soul a series of impressions such as the other party supposes to be produced by the material world. One party says that all that exists arises from God; the other, that nothing does exist except God. This last appears to be the prevailing doctrine among the modern Vedântis, though probably not of the founders and early followers of the school.\*

Both parties agree in supposing the impression produced on the mind to be regular and systematic, so that the ideal sensations about cause and effect exactly in the same manner as those who believe in the reality of the apparent world.

Both allow volition to God, and do not conceive that there is anything in the nature of matter, or in his own relations, to fetter his will.

Both agree in asserting that the soul was originally part of God, and is again to return to him; but neither explains how separation is effected; the idealists, in particular, fail entirely in explaining how God could detach part of himself into a world of its own separate existence, and of its being noted as a local external world, when in truth it is only a partial part of himself existing internally.

\* The Vedântis are not unanimous in their opinions. Some of them, as the *Prâkṣa* school, maintain that God creates matter out of his own essence, and will resume it into his essence at the consummation of all things. Others, as the *Advaita* school, maintain that God does not create matter, nor does matter exist; but that he does, and continually does, produce directly on the soul a series of impressions such as the other party supposes to be produced by the material world. The *Prâkṣa* school is the most regular of the school, and maintains the doctrine of divine grace, and restricts free will. The *Advaita* school is the most prevalent, and maintains the doctrine of the eternity of matter, and ascribes the existence of the universe to the energy and volition of God.

*Logical Schools.*

Logic is a favourite study of the Bramins, and an infinity of volumes have been produced by them on this subject. Some of them have been by eminent authors, and various schools have sprung up in consequence; all, however, are supposed to originate in those of Gótama and Canáda. The first of these has attended to the metaphysics of logic; the second, to physics, or to sensible objects. Though these schools differ in some particulars, they generally agree on the points treated on by both, and may be considered as parts of one system, each supplying the other's deficiencies.

The school thus formed has been compared to that of Aristotle.<sup>34</sup>

It resembles it in its attention to classification, method, and arrangement, and it furnishes a rude form of the syllogism, consisting of five propositions, two of which are obviously superfluous.<sup>35</sup>

In the logic of Canáda's school there is also an enumeration of what is translated "predicaments" (*padártha*), which are six:—substance, quality, action, community, particularity, and aggregation or intimate relation:<sup>36</sup> some add a seventh, privation. The three first are among the predicaments of Aristotle, the others are not, and seven of Aristotle's are omitted.<sup>37</sup>

The subjects treated of in the two Hindú systems are naturally

<sup>34</sup> Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 19; *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1834, p. 363.

<sup>35</sup> As, 1. The hill is fiery (the proposition);

2. For it smokes (the reason);

3. What smokes is fiery, as a culinary hearth (the example);

4. Accordingly, the hill is smoking (the application);

5. Therefore, it is fiery (the conclusion).

The Hindús had also the regular syllogism, which seems a very natural step from the above; but as it was at a later period, the improvement might have been borrowed from the Greeks. [Dr. Ballantyne has pointed out that this is the rhetorical, as opposed to the strictly logical, syllogism, or as the Hindús express it, it is the inference for the sake of another, not for one's self. See Prof. Max Müller's Appendix on Indian logic, subjoined to the *Laws of Thought*, by the Archbishop of York. But the usual form of a Hindú syllogism is rather composed of two propositions, "The mountain has fire-pervaded

smoke, therefore it has fire." It is this notion of *vyápti* or pervasion which forms the peculiarity of the Hindú syllogism; and though of course it amounts to the same thing as our Western distribution and universality, it expresses it in an original way. In truth, the true interest of the Nyáya lies not in its result, but rather in the fact that it is the only logical system in the world not derived from Aristotle.—ED.]

<sup>36</sup> [Community is our genus or species, and is considered to be eternal; particularity (*visesha*, whence the name of the system) is the eternal individual essence of ether, time, space, soul, and mind (which last is considered as atomic) and of the several atoms of earth, water, fire, and air. Intimate relation (or *samaváya*) is the relation which exists between a whole and its parts,—a genus or species and its individuals,—an action or quality and its subject,—and particularity and the eternal substances mentioned above.—ED.]

<sup>37</sup> Viz. passion, relation, quantity, when, where, situation, and habit.

often the same as those of Aristotle: the senses, the elements, the soul and its different faculties, time, space, etc.; but many that are of the first importance in Aristotle's system are omitted by the Hindûs and *vice versa*. The definitions of the subjects often differ, and the general arrangement is entirely dissimilar.

One of the most remarkable coincidences is that all the Hindû schools constantly join to the five senses a sixth internal sense (which they call mind), which connects the other five, and answers exactly to the common, or internal, sense of Aristotle.

The arrangement of Gôtama's school is much more complete and comprehensive than that of Canîka, and some specimens of it may serve to give an idea of the minuteness to which their classification is attempted to be carried.

The first distribution of subjects is into sixteen heads or topics.\* I can discover no principle on which it is made, except that it comprises the instruments, modes, and some of the subjects, of disputation. It is as follows:—

1. Proof. 2. That which is to be known and proven. 3. Doubt. 4. Motive. 5. Instance. 6. Demonstrated truth. 7. Member of a regular argument or syllogism. 8. Reasoning by reduction to absurdity. 9. Determination or ascertainment. 10. Thesis or disquisition. 11. Controversy. 12. Objection. 13. Fallacious reason. 14. Perversion. 15. Futility. 16. Confutation.

The subdivisions are more natural and systematic.

Proof (or evidence) is of four kinds: perception, inference, comparison,† and affirmation (or testimony).

Inference is again subdivided into antecedent, which discovers an effect from its cause; consequent, which deduces a cause from its effect; and analogous.‡

Objects of proof are twelve in number: 1. Soul. 2. Body. 3. The organs of sensation. 4. The objects of sense. 5. Intellect. 6. Mind. 7. Activity. 8. Fault. 9. Transmigration. 10. Fruit of deeds. 11. Pain, or physical evil. 12. Liberation.

1. The first object of proof is soul; and a full exposition is given of its nature and faculties, and of the proofs

\* These are the sixteen *pramânas* given in the *Sânkhya* system. The *Sânkhya* system is the only one in which the general is inferred from the particular. The *Sânkhya* system is the only one in which the general is inferred from the particular. The *Sânkhya* system is the only one in which the general is inferred from the particular.

† This is the *anupamân*, or comparison. It is the only one in which the general is inferred from the particular. The *Sânkhya* system is the only one in which the general is inferred from the particular. The *Sânkhya* system is the only one in which the general is inferred from the particular.

‡ This is the *anupamân*, or comparison. It is the only one in which the general is inferred from the particular. The *Sânkhya* system is the only one in which the general is inferred from the particular. The *Sânkhya* system is the only one in which the general is inferred from the particular.

of its existence. It has fourteen qualities :—number, quantity, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, intellect, pain, pleasure, desire, aversion, volition, merit, demerit, and the faculty of imagination.

2. The second object of proof is body; which is still more fully discussed and analyzed; not without some mixture of 2. *Body*. what belongs more properly to physical science.

3. Next follow the organs of sense, which are said not to spring from consciousness, as is advanced by the Sāṅkhya school; but which are conjoined with the sixth internal sense, as in that school; while the five organs of action (which make up the eleven brought together by the Sāṅkhya) are not separately recognised here.

4. The next of the subdivisions of the second head consists of the objects of sense, among which are the terms which form the predicaments of Canāda.

The first of these is substance, and is divided into nine sorts: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, place, soul, mind. The qualities of each of these substances are fully examined; after which the author passes on to the second predicament, quality. There are twenty-four qualities. Sixteen are qualities of body; namely,—colour, savour, odour, feel, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity, viscosity, and sound: and eight of soul; namely,—pain, desire, aversion, volition, virtue, vice, and faculty. Every one of these is examined at great length; and, sometimes, as well as by the Grecian schools.<sup>40</sup>

The remaining five predicaments are then defined, which completes the objects of sense. Each of the six remaining objects of proof is then examined in the same manner, which exhausts the second head or topic.

The third head or topic, doubt, is then taken in hand, and so on to the end of the sixteenth; but enough has already been said to show the method of proceeding, and much detail would be required to afford any information beyond that.

The discussion of the above topics involves many opinions, both on physical and metaphysical subjects; thus the immateriality, independent existence, and eternity of the soul

<sup>40</sup> Levity, for instance, is merely noticed as the absence of gravity; while in Aristotle it is held to be a separate principle, having a tendency to rise as gravity has to descend. Sound is said to be propagated by undulation, wave after wave proceeding from a centre. [The eight qualities

peculiar to soul are intelligence, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, volition, virtue, and vice. Faculty comprises velocity, elasticity, and mental impression, i.e. it is the self-reproductive power. It and some of the fifteen qualities of material substances are found also in soul.—Ed.]



dead, to the eternal source from which it first proceeded. The mind (*θυμος*) is distinct from the soul (*φρην*).<sup>46</sup> God is the universal soul diffused through all things, the first principle of the universe; invisible, incorruptible, only to be comprehended by the mind.<sup>47</sup> Intermediate between God and mankind are a host of aerial beings, formed into classes, and exercising different influences on the affairs of the world.<sup>48</sup>

These are precisely the metaphysical doctrines of India; and when to them we join the aversion of Pythagoras for animal food, and his prohibition of it unless when offered in sacrifices,<sup>49</sup> his injunctions to his disciples not to kill or hurt plants,<sup>50</sup> the long probation of his disciples, and their mysterious initiation, it is difficult to conceive that so remarkable an agreement can be produced by anything short of direct imitation.

Further coincidences might be mentioned, equally striking, though less important than those already adduced: such are the affinity between God and light, the arbitrary importance assigned to the sphere of the moon as the limit of earthly changes, etc.: and all derive additional importance from their dissimilarity to the opinions of all the Grecian schools that subsisted in the time of Pythagoras.<sup>51</sup>

Some of the tenets of both schools are said to have existed among the ancient Egyptians, and may be supposed to have been derived from that source both by Pythagoras and the Bramins. But our accounts of these doctrines in Egypt are only found in books written long after they had reached Greece through other channels. The only *early* authority is Herodotus, who lived after the philosophy of Pythagoras had been universally diffused. If, however, these doctrines existed among the Egyptians, they were scattered opinions in the midst of an independent system; and in Greece they are obviously adscititious, and not received in their integrity by any other of the philosophers except by the Pythagoreans. In India, on the contrary, they are the main principles on which the religion of the people is founded, to

<sup>46</sup> Enfield's *History of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 397.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* p. 393.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* p. 395. See also Stanley's *History of Philosophy*.

<sup>49</sup> Enfield, vol. i. p. 377, and Stanley's *School of Philosophy*, p. 520.

<sup>50</sup> Stanley, p. 520.

<sup>51</sup> See, for the Hindú notions on light, the various interpretations of, and comments on, the Gáyatri, especially Sir W. Jones's *Works*, vol. vi. pp. 417, 421; Colebrooke's *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 400,

and note; Rám Mohun Roy's translation of the Védas, p. 114; Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 26, and other places. For Pythagoras, see Enfield, vol. i. p. 394, and Stanley, p. 547; in both of which places he is said to have learned his doctrine from the magi or oriental philosophers. The opinions of both the Hindús and Pythagoras about the moon and aerial regions, are stated by Mr. Colebrooke, in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 578; for those of Pythagoras, see Stanley, p. 551.



which all the schools of philosophy refer, and on which every theory in physics and every maxim in morality depends.

It is well argued by Mr. Colebrooke, that the Indian philosophy resembles that of the earlier rather than of the later Greeks; and that if the Hindûs had been capable of learning the first doctrines from a foreign nation, there was no reason why they should not in like manner have acquired a knowledge of the subsequent improvements. From which he infers "the Hindûs were, in this instance, the teachers and not learners."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 579. It may, perhaps, be observed that the doctrines of Pythagoras appear to belong to a period later than Menu. The formation of a society living in common and receiving common initia-

tion, together with the practice of burying the dead instead of burning them, as refer to the rules of the monastic or while the strictness regarding animals has also a resemblance to the tenets of later times.

## BOOK III.

### STATE OF THE HINDŪS IN LATER TIMES, CONTINUED.

FEW of the subjects which follow are noticed by Menu; we can, therefore, no longer attempt to mark the changes effected since his time, but must endeavour from other sources to trace the rise and describe the present state of each branch of inquiry as it occurs.

## CHAPTER I.

### ASTRONOMY AND MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE.

THE antiquity and the originality of the Indian astronomy form subjects of considerable interest.<sup>1</sup>

The first point has been discussed by some of the Antiquity of the Hindū astronomy. greatest astronomers in Europe, and is still unsettled.

Cassini, Bailly, and Playfair, maintain that observations taken upwards of 3,000 years before Christ are still extant, and prove a considerable degree of progress already made at that period.

Several men, eminent for science (among whom are La Place and De Lambre), deny the authenticity of the observations, and, consequently, the validity of the conclusion.

The argument is conducted entirely on astronomical principles, and can only be decided by astronomers: as far as it can be understood by a person entirely unacquainted with mathematical science, it does not appear to authorize an award, to the extent that is claimed, in favour of the Hindūs.

All astronomers, however, admit the great antiquity of the Hindū observations; and it seems indisputable, that the exactness of the mean motions that they have assigned to the sun and moon could only have been attained by a comparison of modern observations with others made in remote antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Even Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Much information on these subjects, but generally with views unfavourable to the Hindūs, is given in the illustrations, by different hands, annexed to Mr. Hugh Murray's *Historical and Descriptive Account of British India*, a work of great

ability and value. [The best works on Hindū mathematics and astronomy are Colebrooke's *Algebra* and Burgess's translation of the *Sūrya Siddhanta*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> See Pond's *La Place System of the World*, vol. ii. p. 252.



From this cause, the data from which their tables were computed are never quoted; and there is no record of a regular series of observations among them.

If this system be an obstruction to our inquiries, it must have been much more so to the progress of science. The art of making observations was probably taught to few; still fewer would be disposed to employ an instrument which could not confirm, but might impair, the faith due to divine truths. They had none of the skill which would have been taught, nor of the emulation which would have been excited, by the labours of their predecessors; and when the increasing errors of the revealed tables forced them at length on observations and corrections, so far from expecting applause for their improvements, they were obliged, by the state of public opinion, to endeavour to make it appear that no alteration had been made.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of these disadvantages, they appear to have made considerable advances in astronomy. As they have left no complete system which can be presented in a popular form, and compared with those of other nations, they must be judged of by mathematicians from the skill they have shown in treating the points on which they have touched. The opinions formed on this subject appear to be divided; but it seems to be generally admitted that great marks of imperfection are combined, in their astronomical writings, with proofs of very extraordinary proficiency.

The progress made in other branches of mathematical knowledge was still more remarkable than in astronomy. In the

by one who was more deeply versed in the subject than may be at first imagined, and who knew more than he thought it necessary to communicate. It is probably a compendium formed by some ancient adept in geometry for the use of others who were mere practical calculators." Of their arithmetic the *Edinburgh Review* says (vol. xxix. p. 147): "All this is done in verse. The question is usually propounded with enigmatical conciseness; the rule for the computation is given in terms somewhat less obscure; but it is not till the example, which comes in the third place, has been studied, that all ambiguity is removed. No demonstration nor reasoning, either analytical or synthetical, is enjoined; but, on examination, the rules are found not only to be exact, but to be nearly as simple as they can be made, even in the present state of analytical investigation." The same observation is applied to their algebra. Ibid. p. 151.

<sup>6</sup> The commentator on the *Sûrya Sid-*

*dhanta* (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 239) shows strongly the embarrassment that was felt by those who tried to correct errors sanctioned by religious authority. In the same essay (p. 257) it appears that although the rational system had been established from time immemorial, it was still thought almost impious to oppose it to the mythological one. A single writer, indeed, avows that the earth is self-balanced in infinite space, and cannot be supported by a succession of animals; but the others display no such controversial spirit, and seem only anxious to show that their own rational opinions were consistent with the previously established fables. In the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. x. p. 459) there is a forcible illustration of the effect of the system of religious fraud in retarding the progress of science; and from this is deduced a well-founded argument, for the early period at which the first discoveries must have been made.

"*Sūrya Siddhānta*," written, according to Mr. Bentley A.D. 1091, at the latest, but generally assigned to the fifth or sixth century;<sup>7</sup> is contained a system of trigonometry, not only goes far beyond anything known to the Greeks, involves theorems which were not discovered in Europe till the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Their geometrical skill is shown, among other forms, by geometry—demonstrations of various properties of triangles, especially one which expresses the area in the terms of the sides, and was unknown in Europe till published by Clavius (the sixteenth century);<sup>9</sup> and by their knowledge of the position of the radius to the circumference of a circle, which they express in a mode peculiar to themselves, by applying measure and one unit to the radius and circumference, proportion, which is confirmed by the most approved later Europeans, was not known out of India, until modern times.

The Hindūs are distinguished in arithmetic by the acknowledged invention of the decimal notation; and it is to be the possession of this discovery which has given them great an advantage over the Greeks in the science of numbers.

But it is in algebra that the Bramins appear to have excelled their contemporaries. Our accounts of discoveries in that science are obtained from the word Brahma Gupta (who lived in the sixth century), and Bha Achiārya (in the twelfth century),<sup>10</sup> but both drew their mat-

<sup>7</sup> See Mr. Colebrooke *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 26, note for the position of the decimal system when the *Sūrya Siddhānta* was written, and Sir W. Jones *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 392 for the period when the decimal system was constituted. Mr. Colebrooke thinks it contemporary with Brahma Gupta, who he afterwards traces about the end of the sixth century.

<sup>8</sup> Such is that of Arya, printed out by Professor Playfair in his edition sent to the Asiatic Society. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 392. Professor Playfair has printed it in connection with the *Hindoo trigonometry*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 141. It is a translation of the original Sanskrit, which is preserved in the MSS. of Professor Wallis, with the following passage, "The ratio of the diameter to the circumference is given in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 392.

<sup>9</sup> It was not until the sixteenth century that the ratio of the diameter to the circumference was given in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. It is a translation of the original Sanskrit, which is preserved in the MSS. of Professor Wallis, with the following passage, "The ratio of the diameter to the circumference is given in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 392.

of the sides, involving a reference to the ratio of the diameter to the circumference, in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, probably written in the fifth century. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 392. It is a translation of the original Sanskrit, which is preserved in the MSS. of Professor Wallis, with the following passage, "The ratio of the diameter to the circumference is given in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 392.

<sup>9</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xiii. p. 1. The ratio of the diameter to the circumference is given in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, probably written in the fifth century. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 392. It is a translation of the original Sanskrit, which is preserved in the MSS. of Professor Wallis, with the following passage, "The ratio of the diameter to the circumference is given in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 392.

<sup>10</sup> A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xiii. p. 1, who, having noticed the system of great facility for the Bramins to make an error, has preserved it, and much enlarged on it. He says that the position of the radius to the circumference is not a very old discovery, and that the Bramins, in their time, had not yet discovered it. Pythagoras, it is said, was the first to discover it. *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xiii. p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Bentley, in his last work, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 392, has given a list of the

from Ārya Bhata, in whose time the science seems to have been at its height ; and who, though not clearly traced further back than the fifth century, may, in Mr. Colebrooke's opinion, not improbably have lived nearly as early as Diophantus, the first Greek writer on algebra ; that is, about A.D. 360.<sup>13</sup>

But, whichever may have been the more ancient, there is no question of the superiority of the Hindús over their rivals in the perfection to which they brought the science. Not only is Ārya Bhata superior to Diophantus (as is shown by his knowledge of the resolution of equations involving several unknown quantities, and in a general method of resolving all indeterminate problems of at least the first degree),<sup>14</sup> but he and his successors press hard upon the discoveries of algebraists who lived almost in our own time. Nor is Ārya Bhata the inventor of algebra among the Hindús ; for there seems every reason to believe that the science was in his time in such a state, as it required the lapse of ages, and many repeated efforts of invention to produce.<sup>15</sup> It was in his time, indeed, or in the fifth century, at latest, that Indian science appears to have attained its highest perfection.<sup>16</sup>

tion, that Bhāscara wrote in the reign of Akber (A.D. 1556) ; but the date in the text is mentioned in a Persian translation of one of his works presented to that very emperor by the celebrated Feizi, whose inquiries into Hindú science form the most conspicuous part of the literature of that age. (See Book IX. Ch. iii.) Bhāscara is likewise quoted by many authors anterior to Akber, whose authenticity Mr. Bentley is therefore obliged to deny.

<sup>13</sup> [The date of Āryabhata's birth has been fixed as A.D. 476 by Dr. Bhāu Dājī, (*Journ. R.A.S.*, new series, vol. i. p. 405), from a passage in one of his works. In the same paper Brahma Gupta is proved to have been born in A.D. 598, and Bhāskara Āchārya in A.D. 1114 ; the date of the death of Varāha Mihira is also fixed as A.D. 587.—ED.]

<sup>14</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. p. 142.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p. 143.

<sup>16</sup> In the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. xxi. p. 372) is a striking history of a problem (to find  $x$  so that  $a x^2 + b$  shall be a square number). The first step towards a solution is made by Diophantus ; it is extended by Fermat, and sent as a defiance to the English algebraists in the seventeenth century ; but was only carried to its full extent by Euler ; who arrives exactly at the point before attained by Bhāscara in A.D. 1150. Another occurs in the same *Review* (vol. xxix. p. 153), where it is

stated, from Mr. Colebrooke, that a particular solution given by Bhāscara (A.D. 1150) is exactly the same that was hit on by Lord Brounker, in 1657 ; and that the general solution of the same problem was unsuccessfully attempted by Euler, and only accomplished by De la Grange, A.D. 1767 ; although it had been as completely given by Brahma Gupta in the sixth century of our era. But the superiority of the Hindús over the Greek algebraists is scarcely so conspicuous in their discoveries as in the excellence of their method, which is altogether dissimilar to that of Diophantus (Strachey's *Bija Ganita*, quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxi. pp. 374, 375), and in the perfection of their algorithm, or notation. (Colebrooke, *Indian Algebra*, quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. p. 162.) One of their most favourite processes (that called *cuttaca*) was not known in Europe till published by Bachet de Mezeriac, about the year 1624, and is virtually the same as that explained by Euler. (*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. p. 151.) Their application of algebra to astronomical investigations and geometrical demonstrations is also an invention of their own ; and their manner of conducting it is, even now, entitled to admiration. (Colebrooke, quoted by Professor Wallace. *ubi supra*, pp. 403, 409 ; and *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. p. 158.) [The *cuttaca* is "a quantity such that a given number

Of the originality of Hindû science some opinions must have been formed from what has been already said. The originality of Hindû science, their astronomy, the absence of a general theory, the unequal refinement of the different portions of science which have been presented to us, the want of demonstrations and recorded observations, the rudeness of the instruments used by the Bramins; and their inaccuracy in observing, together with the suspension of all progress at a certain point, are very strong arguments in favour of their having derived their knowledge from a foreign source. But on the other hand, in the first place of their progress, all other nations were in still greater ignorance than they; and in the more advanced stages, where they were more likely to have borrowed, not only is their mode of proceeding peculiar to themselves, but it is often founded on principles with which no other ancient people were acquainted and shows a knowledge of discoveries not made, even in Europe till within the course of the last two centuries. As far as their astronomical conclusions depend on those discoveries, it is self-evident that they cannot have been borrowed; and even where there is no such dependence, it cannot fairly be presumed that persons who had such resources within themselves must necessarily have relied on the aid of other nations.

It seems probable that, if the Hindûs borrowed at all, it was after their own astronomy had made considerable progress; and from the want of exact resemblance between the parts of their system and that of other nations, where they approach the nearest it would rather seem as if they had taken up hints of improvement than implicitly copied the doctrines of their instructors.

That they did borrow in this manner from the Greeks of Alexandria does not appear improbable; and the reason cannot be better stated than in the words of Mr. Colebrooke, who has discussed the question with his usual learning, judgment, and impartiality. After showing that the Hindû writers of the fifth century speak with respect of the astronomy of the Yavanas (Greeks), he observes, "It is a reasonable inference, that the Hindûs were acquainted with the astronomy of the Greeks, and that a tract was composed by their own authors entitled *Rasakosha* (Siddhanta) comprehending the principles and system of the western or Hellenic astronomy, which was translated into Sanscrit by the astronomer Varahamihira, and is still extant." It is not necessary to observe, that this inference is hardly to be drawn from the evidence of the Hindû astronomy, without supposing

<sup>1</sup> The Sanscrit word *Yavanas* is the name of the Greeks, and is derived from *Yava*, which signifies wheat, and is the name of the grain which the Greeks introduced into India.

ratus of eccentrics and epicycles, bears in many respects to that of the Greeks, be thought to authorize a belief that the Hindús received from the Greeks that knowledge which enabled them to correct and improve their own imperfect astronomy, I shall not feel inclined to dissent from the opinion. There does appear ground for more than a conjecture that the Hindús had obtained a knowledge of Grecian astronomy before the Arabs began to cultivate the science."

In another place<sup>17</sup> Mr. Colebrooke intimates his opinion that it is not improbable that the Hindús may have taken the hint of their solar zodiac from the Greeks,<sup>18</sup> but adapted it to their own ancient division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven parts.<sup>19</sup> Their astrology, he thinks, is almost entirely borrowed from the West.<sup>20</sup>

From what has been already said, it seems very improbable that the Indian geometry and arithmetic have been borrowed from the Greeks, and there is no other nation which can contest the priority in those sciences. The peculiarity of their method gives every appearance of originality to their discoveries in algebra also.

In this last science the claims of the Arabs have been set up against them: but Mr. Colebrooke has fully established that algebra had attained the highest perfection it ever reached in India before it was known to the Arabians, and indeed before the first dawn of the culture of the sciences among that people.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 347.

<sup>18</sup> [The names and figures of the twelve zodiacal signs were only gradually invented by the Greeks. Cleostratus (in the sixth century, B.C.) added the ram and the archer, and the balance was introduced in the time of the Ptolemies (see Letronne, *Journ. des Savans*, 1839). The oldest mention of these signs in Sanskrit is the passage from Baudháyana's Sûtras, quoted by Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. i. p.

202. Dr. Bháu Dâji, *Jour. R.A.S.*, new series, vol. i. p. 409) quotes a couplet from Varāhamihira (who died A.D. 587), giving all the Greek names in a corrupted form. Besides these we find many other Greek astronomical terms in his works, as *heli* for *ἥλιος*, *jyōmitra* for diameter, *hord*, *kendra*, *lipā* (as a minute of a degree), etc. See also Dr. Kern's preface to his ed. of the *Bṛihat Sanhitā*.—ED.]

<sup>19</sup> [The Hindú origin of the twenty-seven *nakshatras* has been lately disputed, and several writers have endeavoured to prove that they were borrowed from the Chinese or Chaldeans.—ED.]

<sup>20</sup> In addition to the points already mentioned, in which the Hindús have gone beyond the other ancient nations, Mr. Colebrooke mentions two in astronomy: one is in their notions regarding the precession of the equinoxes, in which they were more correct than Ptolemy, and as much so as the Arabs, who did not attain to their degree of improvement till a later period; the other relates to the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, which the Bramins discuss in the fifth century, and which, although formerly suggested in ancient times by Heraclitus, had been long laid aside by the Greeks, and was never revived in Europe until the days of Copernicus.

<sup>21</sup> Colebrooke's *Algebra, Arithmetic, etc.* [The first Arabian mathematician translated a Hindú book in the reign of the Khalif Almansúr, A.D. 773. Leonardo of Pisa first introduced algebra into Europe; he learned it at Bugia, in Barbary, where his father was a scribe in the customhouse by appointment from Pisa; his book is dated A.D. 1202.—ED.]



Whatever the Arabs possessed in common with the Hindû there are good grounds for thinking that they received from the latter nation; and however great their subsequent attainments and discoveries, it is to be remembered that they did not beg till the eighth century, when they first gained access to the treasures of the Greeks.

On these subjects, however, as on all connected with the learning of the Bramins, the decisions of the most learned can only be considered as opinions *on the facts at present before us* and they must all be regarded as open to question until an increased acquaintance with Sanscrit literature shall qualify us to pronounce a final judgment.

The history of science, after all, is chiefly interesting from the means it affords of judging of the character of the nation possessed of it; and in this view we find the Bramins as remarkable as ever for diligence and acuteness, but with the same want of manliness and precision as in other departments, and the same disposition to delude everything by a mixture of falsehood and by sacrifice of the truth to the supposed interests of the sacerdotal order.

## CHAPTER II.

### GEOGRAPHY.

THE Hindûs have made less progress in this than in any other science.

According to their system, Mount Mên occupies the centre of the world.<sup>1</sup> It is a lofty mountain of a conical shape, the sides composed of precious stones, and the top forming a sort of terrestrial paradise. It may have been suggested by the lofty mountains to the north of India, but seems no part of that chain, or of any other that exists out of the fancy of the mythologists.

It is surrounded by seven concentric belts or circles of land, divided by seven seas.

The innermost of these circles is called Jambudwîp, which includes India, and is surrounded by a sea of salt water:

<sup>1</sup> See the account of Mount Mên in the *Wâkya*, *Arctic Knowledge*, &c. &c. Northampton, 1790. The *Arctic Knowledge*, &c. &c. is a very curious work.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of the system of the Hindûs in the *Wâkya*, &c. &c.

The other six belts are separated from each other by seas of milk, wine, sugar-cane juice, etc., and appear to be entirely fabulous.

The name of Jambudwip is sometimes confined to India, which at other times is called Bhārata.<sup>3</sup>

That country, and some of those nearest to it, appear to be the only part of the earth at all known to the Hindús.

Within India, their ancient books furnish geographical divisions, with lists of the towns, mountains, and rivers in each; so that, though indistinct and destitute of arrangement, many modern divisions, cities, and natural features can be recognised.

But all beyond India is plunged in a darkness from which the boldest speculations of modern geographers have failed to rescue it.<sup>4</sup>

It is remarkable that scarcely one Sanscrit name of a place beyond the Indus coincides with those of Alexander's historians, though many on the Indian side do. It would seem, therefore, as if the Hindús had, in early times, been as averse to travelling as most of them are still; and that they would have remained for ever unconnected with the rest of the world if all mankind had been as exempt from restlessness and curiosity as themselves.

The existence of Indian nations in two places beyond the Indus furnishes no argument against this observation. Those near the sea coast were probably driven by political convulsions from their own country, and settled on the nearest spot they could find. (See Appendix III.) Of those in the northern mountains we cannot guess the history; but although both seem, in Alexander's time, to have lost their connection with India, and to have differed in many respects from the natives of that country, yet they do not appear to have formed any sort of acquaintance

<sup>3</sup> [*Bhārata varsha*, or "Bharata's varsha or continent." is the usual Hindú name; *Hindustán* is a Persian word, and was introduced by the Mohammedans. The latter name is an interesting relic of Vaidik times. The "land of the seven rivers" (*sapta-rindharas*), which is mentioned in the *Rig Veda*, reappears as the *Hapta-Hendu* of the *Zend*. The Greeks obtained their *Ἰνδία* and *Ἰνδία* from the Persians (the word first occurs in *Æschylus*); and from them the name became known to the Romans. Similarly the Jews in Babylon learned the *Hoddú* (for *Hondú*) of Esther i. 1.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> The ill success with which this has been attempted may be judged of by an

examination of Col. Wilford's *Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West*, especially the first part (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 267); while the superiority of the materials for a similar inquiry within India is shown by the same author's *Essay on Gangetic Hindostan* (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv. p. 373), as well as by an essay in the *Oriental Magazine*, vol. ii. See also the four first chapters of the second book of the *Vishnu Purána*, p. 161. [It is not impossible, however, that the *Śwetadwípa* of the *Mahábh.* (xii. § 340), where *Nārada* finds a nation of *ekantínah*, or worshippers of the Supreme, may refer to some intercourse with Alexandria.—Ed.]



century; and the king of Magadha is attested, by Chinese authors, to have sent embassies to China in the second and subsequent centuries. There is a people called China mentioned in Menu, but they are placed among the tribes on the north-west of India; and, moreover, the name of Chin was not adopted in the country to which it belongs till long after Menu's age.<sup>9</sup>

Unless we put faith in the very learned and ingenious deductions of Colonel Wilford, it will be difficult to find, in the essays on geographical subjects which have been drawn from Sanscrit sources, any signs of an acquaintance with Egypt; although the trade carried on for centuries by Greek and Roman navigators from that country might have been expected to have brought it into notice.

### CHAPTER III.

#### CHRONOLOGY.

THE greater periods employed in the computation of time by the Hindús need scarcely be discussed. Though founded <sup>Mythologi-</sup> on astronomical data, they are purely mythological, <sup>cal periods.</sup> and do not deserve the attention they have attracted from European scholars.

A complete revolution of the nodes and apsides, which they suppose to be performed in 4,320,000,000 years, forms a calpa or day of Brahmá. In this are included fourteen manwantaras, or periods during each of which the world is under the control of one Menu. Each manwantara is composed of seventy-one mahá yugas, or great ages, and each mahá yuga contains four yugas, or ages, of unequal length. The last bear some resemblance to the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages of the Greeks.

This last division alone has any reference to the affairs of mankind.<sup>1</sup> The first, or satya yuga, extends through 1,728,000 years. The second, or tretá yuga, through 1,296,000 years. The third, called dwápara yuga, through 864,000 years; and the last, or cali yuga, through 432,000 years. Of the last or cali

<sup>9</sup> [It has been conjectured that the name arose from the Tsin dynasty which ruled in China B.C. 249-206, but this is very doubtful. The Tsin family appear to have reigned for more than six centuries in the west of China before they

seized the empire, and thus the name may have easily spread among the neighbouring nations. See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, art. *Sinim*.—Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Davis, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. pp. 228-231.

yuga of the present manwantara, 4,941 years have elapsed within that period most historical events are acknowledged to have occurred. Some, however, are placed at earlier and would be beyond the reach of chronology, if they be brought within more credible limits.<sup>1</sup>

We must, therefore, discard the yugas, along with the impossibility and manwantaras, and must endeavour to construct a chronology of the Hindûs from such other sources as they have themselves presented to us.

It has been shown that the Vêdas were probably collected fourteen centuries before Christ; but no historical event with any certainty be connected with that date. The sage Parâsura may perhaps have lived in the fourteenth century at the commencement of our era; and with him, as with Vyâsa, the compiler of the Vêdas, many historical or mythical persons are connected; but, in both cases, some of those made contemporary with the authors in question appear remote from each other; and the extravagant duration of the lives of all holy persons, prevents the participation of them from contributing to settle the date of a transaction.

The next ground on which we might hope to establish Hindû chronology is furnished by lists given in the Purânas of two parallel lines of kings (the race of the sun and moon), which are supposed to have reigned in the tract between the Jumna and Ganges respectively, and from one or other of which all the royal families of India were descended. These lists, according to the computation of Sir W. Jones, would carry us back to 3,500 years before Christ. But the lists themselves are so contradictory as to preclude confidence in either. The heads of the two are contained in the same period in which the solar has but four names in the same period in which the lunar has nine, and Crishna, whom the Purânas themselves make long anterior to Râma, is fiftieth in the lunar race, while Râma is sixteenth in the solar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In fixing the date of the Institutes of Menu, which are said to have been written less than 100 years before Christ, the Hindûs have suggested the following estimate of the duration of the manwantara period, manwantara, a period extending 4,941 years, multiplied by six times seven, the number of the yugas, and 12,000,000, the number of the manwantaras, a period extending 35,700,000 years. The Sanskrit is written in the fifth century of the Christian era, and is not a modern date, but being received in the

text of the Satya yuga, may indicate a date of from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 years.

<sup>2</sup> Râma, who is said to be a prehistoric event, at the end of 4 ages, near 1,000,000 years ago.

<sup>3</sup> For the most improved estimate, see Principles of Hindu Mythology, by the Rev. James Prinsep, Esq., in the previous discussion, and also Asiatic Researches, vol. 1, p. 100. W. and A. Smith, London.

The various attempts made to reconcile the lists have only served to increase the discrepancy. The narrative by which they are accompanied in the Purānas discredits them still further by absurdities and puerilities; and although many of the kings named may have reigned, and some of the tales related may be allusions to real history, yet no part of either, down to the time of Crishna and the war of the Mahá Bhárata, affords the least basis on which to found a system of chronology.

From the time of the Mahá Bhárata we have numerous lists of kings in different parts of India, which present individually an appearance of probability, and are in several instances confirmed by extraneous testimony.

More frequently they are authenticated or illustrated by religious inscriptions and grants of land. These last, in particular, are sculptured on stone or engraved on copper-plates; the latter very common and generally in good preservation. They not only record the date with great care and minuteness, but almost always contain the names of some of the predecessors of the prince who confers the grant. If sufficient numbers should be found, they may fix the dates of whole series of kings; but, at present, they are unconnected fragments, which are of use in local histories, but give little help to general chronology.

The line of Magadha alone, besides receiving striking confirmations from various quarters, presents a connected chain of kings from the war of the Mahá Bhárata to the fifth century after Christ, and thus admits of an approximation to the principal epochs within that period.

Sahadéva was king of Magadha at the end of the war of the Mahá Bhárata.

The thirty-fifth king in succession from him was Ajáta Satru, in whose reign Sákya or Gótama, the founder of the Buddha religion, flourished. There can be little doubt that Sákya died about 550 before Christ.<sup>4</sup> We have, therefore, the testimonies of the Burmese, Ceylonese, Siamese, and some other Bauddha chronicles, written out of India, by which to settle the era of Ajáta Satru.

The sixth in succession from Ajáta Satru, inclusive, was Nanda, on whose date many others depend. The ninth from Nanda was Chandra Gupta; and the third from him was Asóca, a prince celebrated among the Bauddhas of all countries, as

table opposite p. 241, and p. 287. Mr. Ward, vol. i. p. 14; Dr. Hamilton Buchanan's *Hindoo Genealogies* (a separate work); consult likewise Professor Wilson's

Preface to the *Vishnu Purāna*, p. lxiv., etc., and the *Purāna* itself, Book IV. chaps. i. and ii. p. 347.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 120; [or B.C. 477 ?—Ed.]



the term applied by Hindú geographers to the tract in which Magadha is situated; and of his capital, which the Greeks call Pahlbothra, while the Hindús call that of Chandragupta Pátali-putra. Subsequent discoveries, from Braminical sources, fixed the date of Chandragupta with somewhat more precision: Wilford placed him in 350 B.C., and Wilson in 315, and they received an unexpected confirmation from the chronological tables of the Bauddhas, procured from the distant countries of Ava and Ceylon. The first of these (from Crawford's "Ava"<sup>10</sup>) places his reign between the years 392 and 376 B.C.; and the other (in Turnour's "Maháwanso"<sup>11</sup>) between the years 381 and 347 B.C.; while the Greek accounts lead us to fix it between the accession of Seleucus in 312, and his death in 280 B.C.<sup>12</sup> The difference between the Bauddha and Greek dates, amounting to thirty or forty years,<sup>13</sup> is ascribed by Mr. Turnour to a wilful fraud on the part of the priests of Buddha, who, though entirely free from the extravagances of Bramin chronology, have been tempted on this occasion to accommodate their historical dates to one which had been assumed in their religious traditions. The effect of this inconsistency would not be sufficient to prevent our retaining a strong conviction of the identity of Chandragupta and Sandracottus, even if no further proof had been obtained. All doubt, however, has been removed and Asóca with Antiochus. by a discovery which promises to throw light on other obscure parts of Indian history. Many caves, rocks, and pillars, in different parts of India, are covered with inscriptions in a character which neither European nor native had been able to decipher, and which tantalized the spectators like the hieroglyphics of Egypt; until Mr. Prinsep, who had long made them his study, without being able to find a key to them, happened to notice the brevity and insulated position of all the inscriptions sent from a particular temple; and seizing on this circumstance, which he combined with a modern practice of the Bauddhas, he inferred that each probably recorded the gift of some votary. At the same time when he made this ingenious conjecture, he was struck with the fact that all the inscriptions ended in the same two letters; and, following up his theory, he assumed that those letters were D and N, the two radical letters in the Sanscrit name for a donation. The frequent recurrence

<sup>10</sup> See Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 132.

<sup>11</sup> Introduction, p. xlvi.

<sup>12</sup> Clinton's *Fasti*.

<sup>13</sup> As the expedition of Seleucus was undertaken immediately after his reduction of Babylon (312 B.C.), we may suppose

it to have taken place in 310 B.C.; and as Chandragupta (according to the "Maháwanso") died in 347 B.C., there will be a discrepancy to the extent of thirty-seven years, even if the last act of Chandragupta's life was to sign the treaty.



of another letter suggested its representing S, the sign genitive in Sanscrit ; and, having now got hold of the c soon completed his alphabet. He found that the language was pure Sanscrit, but Pali, the dialect in which the sacred works of the Bauddhas are composed ; and by means of these discoveries he proceeded to read the hitherto illegible inscriptions, and to make out the names of the kings on one series of the coins. He met with an agreeable confirmation of his theory a fact observed simultaneously by himself and Professor of Bonn : that the names of Agathocles and Pantaleon, appeared in Greek on one side of a medal, were exactly reversed on the reverse in the newly discovered alphabet.

He now applied the powerful engine he had gained from the inscription on Firôz Shâh's column at Delhi, which has attracted the curiosity of orientalists, as well as to three columns in Gangetic India, and found them all give way out difficulty. They proved all to contain certain old Asiatic : " and as he proceeded with other inscriptions, he found two relating to similar mandates of the same monarch. One of these was found by the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, President of the Literary Society of Bombay, engraved on a rock at Gûptâ, a sacred mountain of the Bauddhas, in the peninsula of Guzerat, and the other by Lieutenant Kittoe, on a rock at Dha Gattac, on the opposite coast of India. One of them contained eleven, and the other fourteen edicts : all those of the pillar included in both, and the two rock inscriptions agreed in ten on the whole. One of those, found on both the rocks, related to the erection of hospitals and other charitable foundations which were to be established as well in Asia's own provinces as in others occupied by the faithful of four of whom are mentioned as far as Tambapanni (Taprobane or Ceylon) ; moreover, within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek, (Yûka Yûka Râja), of which Antiochus's generals are the rulers.

A subsequent edict, on one of the rocks, is in a shattered and has not been perfectly made out ; but seems to be a declaration in the extension of Asia's doctrines, especially toward forbearing to kill animals in any foreign country.

<sup>1</sup> The first inscription, on the rock at Gûptâ, is in Sanscrit, and is the work of a Brahmin. The second, on the rock at Dha Gattac, is in Pali, and is the work of a Buddhist. The third, on the rock at Gûptâ, is in Greek, and is the work of a Greek. The fourth, on the rock at Dha Gattac, is in Greek, and is the work of a Greek. The fifth, on the rock at Gûptâ, is in Greek, and is the work of a Greek. The sixth, on the rock at Dha Gattac, is in Greek, and is the work of a Greek. The seventh, on the rock at Gûptâ, is in Greek, and is the work of a Greek. The eighth, on the rock at Dha Gattac, is in Greek, and is the work of a Greek. The ninth, on the rock at Gûptâ, is in Greek, and is the work of a Greek. The tenth, on the rock at Dha Gattac, is in Greek, and is the work of a Greek. The eleventh, on the rock at Gûptâ, is in Greek, and is the work of a Greek. The twelfth, on the rock at Dha Gattac, is in Greek, and is the work of a Greek. 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well as in his own. It contains the following fragment: "and the Greek king besides, by whom the *chapta* (?) kings Turamáyo, Gongakena, and Maga."<sup>17</sup>

Two of these names Mr. Prinsep conceives to refer to Ptolemaios and Magas, and regards their occurrence as a proof that Asóca was not without acquaintance and intercourse with Egypt; a conclusion which may be adopted without hesitation, as the extent of the India trade, under the first Ptolemies, is a well-known fact in history. Mr. Prinsep's opinion, that the Ptolemy referred to was Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had a brother, named Magas, married to a daughter of Antiochus I., appears also to be highly probable; and would establish that the Antiochus mentioned in the other edict is either the first or second of the name: that is, either the son or grandson of Seleucus.<sup>18</sup>

The synchronism between the grandson of Chandragupta and one of the early successors of Seleucus leaves no doubt of the contemporary existence of the elder princes; and fixes an epoch in Hindú chronology, to which the dates of former events may with confidence be referred.

The first date to fix is that of Nanda. Though there were eight kings between him and Chandragupta, it is not known whether they were in lineal or collateral suc-Date of Nanda's reign.cession, one account making them all brothers; but four of the Puránas agree in assigning only 100 years to the whole nine, including Nanda. We may therefore suppose Nanda to have come to the throne 100 years before Sandracottus, or 400 years before Christ.

The sixth king, counting back from Nanda inclusive, is Ajáta Satru, in whose reign Sákya died. The date of that event has been shown, on authorities independent of Date of the death of Buddha.the Hindús, to be about 550 B.C.; and as five reigns interposed between that and 400 would only allow thirty years to each, there is no irreconcilable discrepancy between the epochs.

<sup>17</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. vii. p. 224. [These names have since been determined more accurately as Turamara (or Turamáyo), Antikona, Mako (or Magá), and Alikasunari—respectively identified as Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander—the *chapta* of the text is now read *chaptáro* or *chaturó*, "four." The Antigonus may be Antigonus Gonatus of Macedon (B.C. 276-243), and the Alexander may be Alexander II. of Epirus (B.C. 272-254); Magas of Cyrene ruled B.C. 308-258. Thus all these princes would be contemporary with Antiochus II.

But it is at least equally probable that "the record aimed at a vague selection of the more generally known Greek names to complete the list." See Prinsep's *Essays* (edited by Thomas), vol. ii. pp. 18-30.—ED.]

<sup>18</sup> [Antiochus I. Soter, son of Seleucus Nicator, reigned B.C. 280-261; Antiochus II. Theos, 261-246; Antiochus III., or the Great, reigned 223-187. The last invaded India and formed an alliance with an Indian king named Sophagasena (Subhasena?); but his date is too late for Asoka to have been his contemporary.—ED.]

Between Nanda and the war of the Mahá Bháráta, the probable date of the war of the Mahá Bháráta, been three dynasties; and the number of years which each reigned is given in four Puránas. The aggregate is 1,500 years; but the longest list only forty-seven kings; and the same four Puránas in a place give, with equal confidence, a different number of years. One makes the interval between Nanda and the war of the Mahá Bháráta 1,915 years; two others, 1,950; and the third, 1,115. Now, the shortest of these periods, divided among forty-seven kings, gives upwards of twenty-one years to a king to make out 1,500 years, would require more than thirty years to each reign. Such a duration through forty-seven reigns is so unlikely, that we can scarcely help prefer the medium between the shorter periods, and decide, as depends on the evidence of the Puránas, that the war of the Mahá Bháráta ended 1,950 years before Nanda, or 1,450 years before Christ. If we adopt the belief of the Hindús, that the Puránas were compiled in their present form, during that century, must place the war in the fourteenth century before Christ, upwards of fifty years later than the date given by the Puránas. This alteration is recommended by the circumstance, that it would still further reduce the length of the reigns. It would place the war of the Mahá Bháráta about 200 years before the siege of Troy. But even the longest period of 1,915 years before Nanda would still leave ample room since the commencement of the calyuga, or since the flood, to dispose of the few collateral events in Hindú history. Supposing the flood, or the commencement of the calyuga, to be about the same time as many opinions place it, there would be considerably more than 1,400 years for the epoch to the war of the Mahá Bháráta.

Two Puránas give the period from Nanda forwards, passing over the fifth dynasty, from him, or forty-seven kings. Sanchiastri, the well-known inscriber, says, or says that Nanda, in 416 or 417, was the last of this dynasty. And thus, according to power, adds to the reign of four emperors with the inscription, *Pratishat*, or six hundred years, the period of the last of this same dynasty, and says, *Pratishat*, or six hundred years, of the same dynasty. But, according to the inscription of Ashoka, the first of the Mauryas, the period of the last of this dynasty is only four hundred years. But, according to the inscription of Ashoka, the first of the Mauryas, the period of the last of this dynasty is only four hundred years. But, according to the inscription of Ashoka, the first of the Mauryas, the period of the last of this dynasty is only four hundred years.

The other two Puránas, the *Skandha* and the *Padma*, give the period of the last of this dynasty as only four hundred years. But, according to the inscription of Ashoka, the first of the Mauryas, the period of the last of this dynasty is only four hundred years.

the birth-place and capital of Buddha, which the Chinese have put for all Magadha. Yue-guai again bears some resemblance to Yaj-nasri, or Yajna, the king actually on the throne of the Andhras at the period referred to. The Andhras end in Pulimat, or Pulomárchish, A.D. 436; and from thence forward the chronology of Magadha relapses into a confusion nearly equal to that before the war of the Mahá Bhárata.

Coincidence  
with the  
Chinese  
annals.

An embassy is indeed mentioned in the Chinese annals, as arriving in A.D. 641, from Ho-lo-mien, of the family of Kie-li-tie, a great king in India. M. de Guignes supposes his kingdom to have been Magadha; but neither the king's name nor that of the dynasty bears the least resemblance to any in the Puránas.<sup>19</sup>

The Vishnu Purána states (in the prophetic tone which, as a professed work of Vyása, it is compelled to assume, in speaking of events subsequent to that sage's death) that "after these" [Andhras] there will reign—

Obscurity  
after A.D.  
436.

7 Ábhíras,

10 Gardabhas,

16 Sakas,

8 Yavanas,

14 Tusháras,

13 Múndas, and

11 Mannas;<sup>20</sup> who will be sovereigns of the whole earth for

<sup>19</sup> The note in which M. de Guignes offers this opinion is curious, as showing, from a Chinese work which he quotes, that Magadha was called Mo-kia-to, and its capital recognised by both its Hindú names Kusumapúra, for which the Chinese wrote Kia-so-mo-pou-lo, and Pátaliputra, out of which they made Po-to-li-tse, by translating Putra, which means a son in Sanscrit, into their own corresponding word tse. The ambassadors in A.D. 641 could not, however, have come from Pátaliputra, which had long before been deserted for Rajgriha (or Behúr); for the capital was at the latter place when visited by the Chinese traveller, in the beginning of the fifth century (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. v. p. 132); and another Chinese, who wrote in A.D. 640, states that Pátaliputra was a mass of ruins when he had seen it on his travels.

<sup>20</sup> ["These are not continuous, but nearly contemporary dynasties; and if they comprise, as they probably do, the Greek and Scythian princes of the West of India, the periods may not be very

wide of the truth. . . . Col. Wilford has attempted a verification of these dynasties; in some instances, perhaps, with success, though certainly not in all. The Ábhíras he calls the Shepherd Kings of the North of India; they were more probably Greeks or Scythians or Parthians along the Lower Indus; traces of the name occur in the Abiria of Ptolemy, and the Áhirs as a distinct race still exist in Guzerat. The Sakas are the Sacæ, and the duration of their reign is not unlikely to be near the truth. The eight Yavana kings may be, as he supposes, Greek princes of Bactria or rather Western India. The Tusháras, he makes the Parthians. If the Bhágvata has the preferable reading, Tushkáras, they were the Tochari, a Scythian race. The Múndas, or, as he has it, Maurúndas, he considers to be a tribe of Huns, the Morundæ of Ptolemy. According to the Matsya Pur. they were of Mlechchha origin, Mlechchha-sambhava. The Vayu calls them Arya-Mlechchhas; qv. Barbarians of Ariana? Wilford regards the Mannas as also a tribe of Huns; and the



for all events after their commencement ; and they are of the greatest use in fixing the dates of grants of land which are so important a part of our materials for history. But the fictitious era of the Puránas prevents their being employed in those collections, and there are no other chronicles in which they might be made use of. On the whole we must admit the insufficiency of the Hindú chronology, and confess that, with the few exceptions specified, we must be content with guesses, until the arrival of the Mussulmans at length put us in possession of a regular succession of events, with their dates.

## CHAPTER IV.

### MEDICINE.

THE earliest medical writers extant are Charaka and Susruta. We do not know the date of either of them ; but there is a commentary on the second and later of the two, which was written in Cashmír in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and does not seem to have been the first.<sup>1</sup>

These authors were translated into Arabic, and probably soon after that nation turned its attention to literature. The Arab writers openly acknowledge their obligations to the medical writers of India, and place their knowledge on a level with that of the Greeks. It helps to fix the date of their becoming known to the Arabs, to find that two Hindús, named Manka and Saleh, were physicians to Hárún al Rashíd in the eighth century.<sup>2</sup>

Their acquaintance with medicine seems to have been very extensive. We are not surprised at their knowledge of simples, in which they gave early lessons to Europe, and more recently taught us the benefit of smoking datura in asthma, and the use of cowitch against worms : their chemical skill is a fact more striking and more unexpected.

They knew how to prepare sulphuric acid, nitric acid, and muriatic acid ; the oxide of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge), tin and zinc ; the sulphuret of iron, copper, mercury, antimony, and arsenic ; the sulphate of copper, zinc, and iron ; and carbonates of lead and iron. Their

<sup>1</sup> Most of the information in this chapter is taken from a essay on the antiquity of the Indian materia medica, by Dr. Royle, Professor of King's College, London. The additions are from Ward's *Hindoos* (vol. ii.

p. 337, etc.), and Mr. Coats, *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Dietz, quoted by Dr. Royle, p. 64.



## CHAPTER V.

## LANGUAGE.

THE Sanscrit language has been pronounced by one whose extensive acquaintance with those of other ancient and Sanscrit. modern nations entitles his opinion to respect, to be "of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."<sup>1</sup>

The language so highly commended seems always to have received the attention it deserved. Pānini, the earliest extant writer on its grammar, is so ancient as to be mixed up with the fabulous ages. His works and those of his successors have established a system of grammar the most complete that ever was employed in arranging the elements of human speech.

I should not, if I were able, enter on its details in this place; but some explanation of them is accessible to the English reader in an essay of Mr. Colebrooke.<sup>2</sup>

Besides innumerable grammars and dictionaries, there are, in Sanscrit, treatises on rhetoric and composition, proportioned in number to the extent of Hindú literature in every branch.<sup>3</sup> Sanscrit is still carefully cultivated; and, though it has long been a dead language, the learned are able even now to converse in it, probably with as much ease as those in Europe found in Latin before the general diffusion of the knowledge of modern tongues. It would be curious to ascertain when it ceased to be the language of the people, and how far it ever was so in its highly polished form.

Sanscrit has of late become an object of more interest to us from the discovery of its close connection (amounting in some cases to identity) with Greek and Latin. This fact has long

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 422.

<sup>2</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 199. Among many marks of high polish, is one which must have particularly promoted the melody of its versification. This consists in what Mr. Colebrooke calls its "euphonical orthography" (*Sandhi*), by which letters are changed, not only so as to avoid harsh combinations in particular words, but so as to preserve a similar harmony throughout the whole length of each of their almost interminable compounds, and even to contribute to the

music of whole periods, which are generally subjected to those modifications, for the sake of euphony, which in other languages are confined to single words.

<sup>3</sup> Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 205, etc. [The rhetoric of the Hindús, in its analysis of the phenomena of taste and style, is inferior to that of no other nation; but it is interesting to observe the influence of national freedom in developing the full sense of the Greek *ῥητορικὴ*, as contrasted with the Hindú *alankāra*.—Ed.]





that tongue in the same manner that Latin has been ingrafted on English, or Arabic on Hindi. Of these three, Tamil is so much the most pure, that it is sometimes thought to be the source of the other two. Têlugu, though it preserves its own structure, is much mixed with Sanscrit words.<sup>5</sup>

Of the remaining two, the language of Orissa (or the Uriya), though probably of the Tamil family, is so much indebted to Sanscrit as to lead Mr. Wilson to say that "if the Sanscrit vocables were excluded, it could not pretend to be a language." It is, indeed, often counted (instead of Guzerâti) among the five languages of the north.

Mahârâshtra, or Maratta, is considered by Mr. Wilson to belong to the northern family, though always counted among those of the south. The people must therefore be a branch of those beyond the Vindhya mountains, but no guess can be made at the period of their immigration.<sup>6</sup>

## CHAPTER VI.

### LITERATURE.

#### *Poetry.*

A PERSON unacquainted with Sanscrit scarcely possesses the means of forming an opinion on the poetry of the Hindûs.

The singular attention to harmony which characterises the Sanscrit must give it a charm that is lost in translation; and the unbounded facility of forming compounds, which adds so much to the richness of the original, unavoidably occasions stiff and unnatural combinations in a language of a different genius.

Even the originality of Hindû poetry diminishes our enjoyment of it, by depriving it of all aid from our poetical associations. The peculiarity of the ideas and recollections of the people renders it difficult for us to enter into their spirit: while the difference of

\* [These three, Tamil, Têlugu, and Canarese, with the addition of Malayâlam, the language of Malabar (which is closely connected with Tamil), are called the Dravidian branch. However they may borrow Sanskrit words in their vocabulary, they are essentially non-Sanskrit in their grammatical structure, and belong to the Scythian, not the Indo-European, family. The dialects of most of the various mountain tribes in South and Central India, as the Gonds, Khonds, etc., belong to the same stock, and perhaps some of those in

North India; and thus the Dravidian tribes appear to represent the aboriginal inhabitants of India previous to the immigration of the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans. See Dr. Caldwell's *Dravidian Comparative Grammar*.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> The remarks on the southern languages are taken, with a very few exceptions, from Mr. Wilson's Preface to the *Mackenzie Papers*, and from the writings of Mr. Ellis and Mr. Babington quoted in that dissertation.

all natural appearances and productions deprives their imagery of half its beauty, and makes that a source of obscurity to us, which to a native of the East would give additional vividness to every expression. What ideas can we derive from being told that a maiden's lips are a *bandhujiva* flower, and that the lustre of the *mudhica* beams on her cheeks? or, in other circumstances, that her cheek is like the *champa* leaf? Yet those figures may be as expressive, to those who understand the allusions, as our own comparisons of a youthful beauty to an opening rose, or one that pines for love to a neglected primrose.

With all these disadvantages, the few specimens of Sanscrit poetry to which we have access present considerable beauties.

Their drama, in particular, which is the department with which we are best acquainted, rises to a high pitch of excellence. *Sacountalâ* has long been known to Europeans by the classical version of Sir W. Jones, and our acquaintance with the principal of the remaining dramas has now become familiar through the admirable translations of Mr. Wilson.

Though we possess plays written at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era, and one which was composed in Bengal within these fifty years, yet the whole number extant does not exceed sixty. This is probably owing to the manner in which they were at first produced, being only acted once on some particular festival in the great hall or inner court of a palace, and consequently losing all the popularity which plays in our times derive from repeated representations in different cities and in public theatres. Many must also have been lost, owing to the neglect of the learned;<sup>1</sup> for the taste for this species of poetry seems corrupted, if not extinct, among the Bramins; and although some of the least deserving specimens are still favourites, yet Professor Wilson assures us that he has met with but one Bramin who could be considered as conversant with the dramatic literature of his country.<sup>2</sup>

Of these dramas we possess translations of eight, and abstracts mixed with specimens of twenty-four more.

Though there are no tragedies among the number, none at least that terminate unhappily, yet these plays exhibit a variety not

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's Preface to the *Theatre of the Hindus*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> That the Hindu drama is only partially represented by these existing specimens is proved by the fact that one of the earliest of these plays, the *Varman*, recited by Kâlidâsa refers to the sage Bharata as the author of the drama, and the

long lost *Purâna* of this Hindu Aristæon, in thirty-four chapters, have been recently discovered by Dr. Hal. Many plays must have been composed before a critic could have written as copiously on the theatre as he.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix to the *Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 97.

surpassed on any other stage. Besides the different classes of dramas, farces, moralities, and short pieces such as we should call interludes, the diversity arising from the subjects seems to have been almost unlimited. A play translated by Dr. Taylor of Bombay is a lively, and sometimes humorous, illustration of the tenets of the different schools of philosophy.<sup>4</sup> Of the more regular dramas, some relate to the actions of heroes; some, to the wars and loves of kings; others to the intrigues of ministers; and others are strictly confined to the incidents of private life.

The characters are as different as the subjects. In some there is not a trace of supernatural agency or an allusion to religion. In others, nymphs of paradise are attached to earthly lovers; gods and demons appear in others; enchantments, unconnected with religion, influence the fate of some; and in one, almost the whole Hindú Pantheon is brought on the stage to attest the innocence of the heroine.

In general, however, even in the cases where the gods afford their assistance, the interest of the drama turns entirely on human feelings and natural situations, over which the superior beings have no direct influence.

The number of acts is not fixed, and extends in practice from one to ten.

The division seems to be made when the stage becomes vacant, or when an interval is required between two parts of the action.

In general, unity of time is not much violated (though in one case twelve years passes between the first and second acts); unity of place is less attended to; but the more important point of unity of action is as well preserved as in most modern performances.

The plots are generally interesting; the dialogue lively, though somewhat prolonged; and considerable skill is sometimes shown in preparing the reader to enter fully into the feelings of the persons in the situations in which they are about to be placed.

Some judgment of the actors may be formed from the specimens still seen. Regular dramas are very rarely performed; when they are, the tone is grave and declamatory. The dresses are such as we see represented on ancient sculptures; and the high caps, or rather crowns, of the superior characters, composed of dark azure and gold, of the form peculiar to Hindú sculpture, give an air of much greater dignity than the modern turban. Mimics, buffoons, and actors of a sort of partly extemporary

<sup>4</sup> This will suggest *The Clouds* of Aristophanes, but it is more like some of the moralities of the middle ages.



obliged to make up by hyperbolical description for the want of that ardent spirit which a Greek or Roman poet could easily transfer into the bosom of his hero, while it glowed with all its fervour in his own.<sup>6</sup>

The great strength of the Sanscrit poets, as well as their great delight, is in description.<sup>7</sup> Their most frequent subjects are scenes of repose and meditation, amidst sequestered woods and flowery banks, fanned by fragrant gales and cooled by limpid waters; but they are not unsuccessful in cheerful and animated landscape. Such is the description of the country round Ujein in the ninth act of "*Málati and Mádhava*"; where mountains, rocks, woods, villages, and glittering rivulets combine to form an extensive and a varied prospect. The city occupies the centre of the view; its towers, temples, pinnacles, and gates are reflected on the clear stream beneath; while the groves on the banks refreshed with early rain, and the meadows brightening with the recent shower, afford a luxuriant resting-place to the heavy-uddered kine. Sometimes, also, they raise their efforts to the frowning mountain and the gathering tempest. Bhavabhúti, in particular, excels in this higher sort of description. His touches of wild mountain scenery in different places, and his description of the romantic rocks and solemn forests round the source of the Godáverí, are full of grandeur and sublimity. Among his most impressive descriptions is one where his hero repairs at midnight to a field of tombs, scarcely lighted by the flames of funeral pyres, and evokes the demons of the place, whose appearance, filling the air with their shrill cries and unearthly forms, is painted in dark and powerful colours; while the solitude, the moaning of the winds, the hoarse sound of the brook, the wailing owl, and the long-drawn howl of the jackal, which succeed on the sudden disappearance of the spirits, almost surpass in effect the presence of their supernatural terrors.<sup>8</sup>

This taste for description is more striking from its contrast with the practice of some of their neighbours.

<sup>6</sup> The following speech of a stripling in one of Bhavabhúti's plays, however, reminds us of the "joys of combat" which delighted the northern warrior:—

"*Boys.* The soldiers raise their bows and point their shafts  
Against you, and the hermitage is still remote.  
Fly! etc.

"*Lava.* Let the shafts fall. Oh! this is glorious!"

<sup>7</sup> [Cf. Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. ii. pp. 403—408 (Otte's transl.), where he treats of the descriptive poetry of the ancient, as compared with that of the modern,

world.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> *Málati and Mádhava*, Act V., in Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindoos*.

In Persian poets, for instance, a long description of inanimate nature is rarely met with. Their genius is for the expression of deep feelings or of sublime conceptions; and, in their brief and indistinct attempts at description, they attend exclusively to the sentiment excited by objects in the mind, quite neglecting the impression which they make on the senses.

But a Sanserit poet, without omitting the characteristic emotion, presents all the elements from which it springs, delineates the peculiar features of the scene, and exhibits the whole in so picturesque a manner, that a stranger, even with his ignorance of the names of plants and animals, might easily form a notion of the nature of an Indian landscape.

Thus, in a description of a Persian garden, the opening buds smile, the rose spreads forth all her charms to the intoxicated nightingale; the breeze brings the recollections of youth, and the spring invites the youths and damsels to his bridal pavilion. But the lover is without enjoyment in this festival of nature. The passing rill recalls the flight of time; the nightingale seems to lament the inconstancy of the rose, and to remember that the wintry blast will soon scatter her now blooming leaves. He calls on the heavens to join their tears to his, and on the wind to bear his sighs to his obscurate fair.

A Hindû poet, on the other hand, represents, perhaps, the deep shade of a grove, where the dark tamûla mixes its branches with the pale foliage of the nimba, and the mangoe tree extends its ancient arms among the quivering leaves of the lofty pîpala, some creeper twines round the jumbû, and flings out its floating tendrils from the topmost bough. The asoka hangs down the long clusters of its glowing flowers, the mâlinavi exhibits its snow-white petals, and other trees pour showers of blossoms from their loaded branches. The air is filled with fragrance, and is still, but for the hum of bees and the rippling of the passing rill. The note of the rîd is from time to time heard at a distance, or the low murmur of the turtle-dove on some neighbouring tree. The lover wanders forth into such a scene, and indulges his melancholy in this congenial seclusion. He is soothed by the south wind, and soothed by the languid odour of the mango blossoms, till he sinks down, overpowered in an arbour of jessamine, and abandons himself to the thoughts of his absent mistress.

The images employed by the two nations partake of this contrast; those of the Persians are conventional hints, which would scarcely convey an idea to a person unaccustomed to them. A beautiful woman's form is a cypress; her looks are musk.

blackness); her eyes a languid narcissus; and the dimple in her chin a well; but the Sanscrit similes, in which they deal more than in metaphors, are in general new and appropriate, and are sufficient, without previous knowledge, to place the points of resemblance in a vivid light.

The Sanscrit poets have, no doubt, commonplaces, and some of them as fanciful as those of the Persians<sup>9</sup> but in general the topics seem drawn from the writer's memory and imagination, and not adopted from a common stock which has supplied the wants of a succession of former authors. Having said so much of the Hindú drama, and having anticipated the general character of Sanscrit poetry, I shall be more brief with what remains.

The most voluminous as well as the most ancient and important portion of Hindú verse consists of the sacred and the epic or heroic poems. On the sacred poems Sacred poetry. Mr. Colebrooke has pronounced,<sup>10</sup> that their "general style is flat, diffuse, and no less deficient in ornament than abundant in repetitions." The specimens which have been translated give no ground for questioning this decision.

Of the Védas, the first part, consisting of hymns, etc., can alone be classed with poetry; and however sublime their doctrines, it appears that the same praise cannot be extended to their composition.

The extracts translated by Mr. Colebrooke, Rám Móhan Rái, and Sir W. Jones, and the large specimen in the *Oriental Magazine* for December, 1825, afford no sign of imagination, and no example of vigour of thought or felicity of diction.

The same, with a few exceptions, applies to the prayers and hymns in Colebrooke's "Treatise on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindús."<sup>11</sup>

Next in succession to the Védas comes the great heroic poem of the "Rámáyana," which commemorates the conquest of Ceylon.<sup>12</sup> The author Válmíki, is said to have been contemporary with the event; but not even Heroic poems.  
The "Rámáyana." a poet would invest a living warrior with supernatural powers,

<sup>9</sup> [Hindú writers on rhetoric give lists of these stock epithets for the instruction of their readers: see *Sihitya Drapana*, vii. 590.—Ed.]

<sup>10</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. p. 425.

<sup>11</sup> A cursory view of the portion of the *Rig Veda*, translated by Mr. Rosen, does not raise our opinion of those works. It seems to be a collection of short hymns addressed to the gods of

the elements and the heavenly bodies, conveying praises and petitions, little varied, and but rarely showing signs of a poetic spirit. The topics of praise appear to be confined to the effect of each god's power on the material world; and the prayers are even less spiritual, being, in a great majority of instances, for wealth alone.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 99, and Book IV. Ch. i.





we learn the simplicity and originality of the composition; the sublimity, grace, and pathos of particular passages; the natural dignity of the actors; the holy purity of the manners, and the inexhaustible fertility of imagination in the authors. From such evidence, and not from translations in prose, we should form our opinions of the originals. If we were obliged to judge from such of those literal versions as we possess in English (which are mostly from the "Rámáyana"), we should be unable to discover any of the beauties dwelt on, except simplicity; and should conceive the poems to be chiefly characterised by extreme flatness and prolixity. Some of the poetical translations exhibit portions more worthy of the encomiums bestowed on them. The specimens of the "Mahá Bhárata" which appeared, in blank verse, in the *Oriental Magazine*,<sup>17</sup> are of this last description. It is true that, though selections, and improved by compression, they are still tediously diffuse; but they contain many spirited and poetical passages: the similes, in particular, are short, simple, and picturesque: and, on the whole, the author must be acknowledged to tread, at whatever distance, on the path of Homer.

The episode of "Nala and Damayanti," in the same poem,<sup>18</sup> being a domestic story, is better fitted than battles to the Hindú genius; and is a model of beautiful simplicity. Among the other episodes in the same poem (as it now stands) is the "Bhagavad Gítá," which is supposed to be the work of a much later age.<sup>19</sup> It is a poetical exposition of the doctrines of a particular school of theology, and has been admired for the clearness and beauty of the language and illustrations. Whatever may be its merits as to clearness, it deserves high praise for the skill with which it is adapted to the original epic, and for the tenderness and elegance of the narrative by means of which it is introduced.

The legendary part of the Puránas may be regarded as belonging to this description of poetry. Some of the extracts introduced by Colonel Kennedy in his "Researches into Hindú Mythology" are spirited and poetical.

The portion of the "Rámáyana" of Bódháyana, translated by Mr. Ellis in the *Oriental Magazine* for September, 1826, is more comformable to European taste than the other translations; but it seems doubtful, from the note in page 8, whether it is

<sup>17</sup> For December, 1824, and March and September, 1825. [These have been since republished in Professor Wilson's *Collected Works*, vol. iii. pp. 290—341.—Ed.]

<sup>18</sup> Translated by the Rev. H. H. Milman.

<sup>19</sup> Translated by Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Wilkins, in 1784.

designed to be a literal translation; and, consequently, it cannot safely be taken as a specimen of Hindû poetry.

The "*Meghadûta*"<sup>2</sup> is an excellent example of purely narrative descriptive poetry. A spirit banished from heaven charges a cloud with a message to his celestial mate, and describes the countries over which it will have to pass.

The poet avails himself of the favourite Hindû topic of the setting in of the rainy season, amidst assembled clouds and muttering thunder, the revival of nature from its previous languor, the rejoicing of some animals at the approach of rain, and the long lines of cranes and other migratory birds that appear in the higher regions of the sky; he describes the varied landscape and the numerous cities over which the cloud is to pass, interspersing allusions to the tales which are associated with the different scenes.

Intermixed with the whole are the lamentations of the exile himself, and his recollections of all the beauties and enjoyments from which he is excluded.

The description is less exuberant than in most poems, but it does not escape the tameness which has been elsewhere ascribed to Sanscrit verse.

The "*Gîta Gôvinda*, or Songs of Jaya Dêva,"<sup>3</sup> are the only *pastora* specimens I know of pure pastoral. They exhibit, in perfection, the luxuriant imagery, the voluptuous softness, and the want of vigour and interest which form the beauties and defects of the Hindû school.

They are distinguished also by the use of conceits; which, as the author lived as late as the fourteenth century, are, perhaps, marks of the taste introduced by the Mahometans.

I have seen no specimen of Hindû satire. Some of their serious dramatic performances seem to partake of this character.<sup>4</sup> Judging from the heaviness of the ludicrous parts occasionally introduced into the regular plays, I should not expect to find much success in this department.

Though there are several other poetical works translated, enough has, perhaps, been said on this subject, considering the little value of opinions formed on such grounds. An important part of the Hindû literature, however, still remains to be noticed, in their tales and fables; in both of which species of composition they appear to have been the instructors of all

<sup>2</sup> Translated by Professor Wilson, and published with the original Sanscrit, in 1810.

<sup>3</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> See Wilson's *Hindoo Drama*, vol. ii. p. 97 et seq. of the Appendix.

the rest of mankind. The most ancient fables (those of Bīdpāi) have been found almost unchanged in their Sanscrit dress ; and to them almost all the fabulous relations of other countries have been clearly traced.<sup>23</sup> The complicated scheme of story-telling, tale within tale, like the "Arabian Nights," seems also to be of their invention, as are the subjects of many well-known tales and romances, both Oriental and European. In their native form, they are told with simplicity, and not without spirit and interest. It is remarkable, however, that the taste for description seems here to have changed sides, the Hindú stories having none of those gorgeons and picturesque accompaniments which are so captivating in the Arabian and Persian tales.<sup>24</sup>

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE FINE ARTS.

#### *Music.*

THE Hindú music appears, from the account of Sir W. Jones<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Paterson,<sup>2</sup> to be systematic and refined.

They have eighty-four modes,<sup>3</sup> of which thirty-six are in general use, and each of which, it appears, has a peculiar expression, and the power of moving some particular sentiment or affection.

They are named from the seasons of the year and the hours of the day and night, and are each considered to possess some quality appropriate to the time.

Musical science is said to have declined, like all others ; and, certainly, the present airs do not give to an unlearned ear the impression of any such variety or complication. They are

<sup>23</sup> By Mr. Colebrooke, the Baron de Sacy, and Professor Wilson.

<sup>24</sup> As a guide to further inquiry into the Indian origin of European fictions, consult the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 156. [This is Professor Wilson's paper on the Panchatantra, reprinted in his *Collected Works*, vol. iv. pp. 1—80. See also his papers on the Kathá sarit Ságara of Somadeva, *Collected Works*, vol. iii. pp. 156—268 ; vol. iv. pp. 81—159.—ED.]

<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 445.

<sup>3</sup> Sir W. Jones explains that these modes

are not to be confounded with our modern modes which result from the system of accords now established in Europe. The Indian modes are formed partly "by giving the lead to one or other of our twelve sounds, and varying, in seven different ways, the position of the semitones." This gives the number of eighty-four, which has been retained, although many of the original, or rather possible, modes have been dispensed with, and the number made up by aids drawn "from the association of ideas, and the mutilation of the regular scales."

almost all of one sort, remarkably sweet and plaintive, and distinguishable at once from the melodies of any other nation. To do them justice, however, they should be heard from a single voice, or accompanied by the *vin*, which has been called the Indian lyre.

The usual performance is by a band of fiddles and drums beaten with the fingers. It is loud and unmusical, and would drown the voices of the singers if they were not exerted to a pitch that is fatal to all delicacy or softness.<sup>4</sup>

### *Painting.*

Painting is still in the lowest stage. Walls of houses are often painted in water colours, and sometimes in oils. The subjects are mythology, battles, processions, wrestlers, male and female figures, and animals, with no landscape, or at best a tree or two, or a building stuck in without any knowledge of perspective or any attention to light and shade. Of the works of other nations they most resemble the paintings on the walls of Egyptian tombs. They have also pictures of a small size in a sort of distemper, which, in addition to the above subjects, include likenesses of individuals.

The Hindûs have often beautifully illuminated manuscripts, but the other ornaments are better executed than the figures. If portraits were not spoken of as common in the dramas, I should suspect that they had learned this art from the Mussulmans, to whom (in spite of the discouragement given by the Mahometan religion) they are very far surpassed.

### *Sculpture.*

One would expect that sculpture would be carried to high perfection among a people so devoted to polytheism; and it certainly is not for want of employment that it has failed to attain to excellence. Besides innumerable images, all caves and temples are covered with statues and reliefs; and the latter are often bold, including complicated groups, and expressing various passions. They are sometimes very spirited, and neither the sculptures nor paintings fail to produce very fine specimens of grace in figure and attitude; but there is a total ignorance

<sup>4</sup> The Hindûs have a great variety of songs, and a great variety of instruments, but the music is not so good as that of the Persians. The Hindûs have a great variety of songs, and a great variety of instruments, but the music is not so good as that of the Persians. The Hindûs have a great variety of songs, and a great variety of instruments, but the music is not so good as that of the Persians.

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of anatomy, and an inattention even to the obvious appearances of the limbs and muscles, together with a disregard of proportion between different figures, and a want of skill in grouping, which must entirely exclude the best of the Hindú sculpture from coming into the most remote comparison with European works of art.

### *Architecture.*

The numerous edifices erected by the Hindús attest their knowledge of the practice of architecture; and, if any confidence can be given to the claims of the books of which fragments still remain, they seem early to have been acquainted with the science.

A candid and judicious review of the extant works on architecture is contained in a late essay by an intelligent native, where also the system taught by them is ably developed.<sup>6</sup>

The principles of the art seem, by this essay, to have been well understood; and numerous rules appear to have been derived from them.

The various mouldings, twelve in number, are described; some (the cyma, toro, cavetto, etc.) are the same as our own, and a few are peculiar. The forms and proportions of pedestals, bases, shafts, capitals, and entablatures are given; how fully, in some cases, may be conjectured from there being sixty-four sorts of bases. There are no fixed orders, but the height of a column may vary from six to ten diameters, and its proportions regulate, though not strictly, those of the capitals, intercolumniations, etc. This place does not admit of any specification of the rules of architecture, or anything beyond a general notion of the native buildings which are now to be seen in India. The style of those structures has been supposed to resemble those of Egypt. It does so only in the massy character both of the buildings and the materials, and in the quantity of sculpture on some descriptions of edifices. The practice of building high towers at gateways is also similar, but in Egypt there is one on each side, and in India only one over the gateway.

Some few of the Egyptian columns bear a resemblance to some in the cave temples; but these are all the points in which any similarity can be discovered.

The two most striking features in Egyptian architecture are, the use of pyramids, and the manner in which the sides of

<sup>6</sup> *Essay on Hindú Architecture*, by Rám Ráz, published by the Oriental Translation Fund.

every building slope inwards until they reach the top, where they meet a flat roof with a particularly bold and deep cornice. Neither of these characteristics is to be found in India. Pyramidal roofs to the halls before temples are not uncommon, but they are hollow within, and supported by walls or pillars. Solid pyramids are unknown; and even the roofs are decorated on the outside with acroteria and other ornaments, that take away all resemblance to the Egyptian pyramids. Walls are always perpendicular; and though towers of temples diminish gradually, yet they do so in a manner peculiar to themselves, and bear as much resemblance to our slender steeples as to the broad masses of Egyptian architecture. They, in fact, hold an intermediate place between both, but have little likeness to either.

In the south they are generally a succession of stories, each narrower than the one below it; and north of the Ganges they more frequently taper upwards, but with an outward curve in the side, by means of which there is a greater swell near the middle than even at the base. They do not come quite to a point, but are crowned by a flattened dome, or some other fanciful termination, over which is, in all cases, a high pile of metal gilt, or else a trident, or other emblem peculiar to the god. Though plainer than the rest of the temple, the towers are never quite plain, and are often stuck over with paintings, and covered with other ornaments of every description.

The sanctuary is always a small, nearly cubical chamber, scarcely lighted by one small door, at which the worshipper presents his offering and prays his supplication. In very small temples this is the whole building; but in others it is surmounted by the tower, is approached through spacious halls, and is surrounded by courts and colonnades, including other temples and religious buildings. At Seringam there are seven different enclosures, and the outer one is near four miles in circumference. The colonnades which line the interior of the courts, or form approaches to the temple, are often so deep as to require many rows of pillars, which are generally high, slender, and delicately but thickly set. Gothic arches have been compared to avenues of oaks, and these might be likened to groves of palm trees.

There are often lower colonnades, in which, and in many other places, are highly-wrought columns, round, square, and octagonal, or mixing all three; sometimes cut into the shape of

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vases, and hung with chains or garlands; sometimes decorated with the forms of animals, and sometimes partly composed of groups of human figures.

Clusters of columns and pilasters are frequent in the more solid parts of the building; where, also, the number of salient and retiring angles, and the corresponding breaks in the entablature, increase the richness and complexity of the effect. The posts and lintels of the doors, the panels and other spaces, are enclosed and almost covered by deep borders of mouldings, and a profusion of arabesques of plants, flowers, fruits, men, animals, and imaginary beings; in short, of every species of embellishment that the most fertile fancy could devise. These arabesques, the running patterns of plants and creepers in particular, are often of an elegance scarcely equalled in any other part of the world.

The walls are often filled with sculptures in relief; exhibiting animated pictures of the wars of the gods and other legends. Groups of mythological figures, likewise, often run along the frieze, and add great richness to the entablature.<sup>7</sup>

Temples, such as have been described, are sometimes found assembled in considerable numbers. At the ruins of Bhuvanésvara, in Orissa, for instance, it is impossible to turn the eye in any direction from the great tower without taking into the view upwards of forty or fifty stone towers of temples, none less than fifty or sixty, and some from 150 to 180 feet high.<sup>8</sup>

Those of Bijayanagar, near the left bank of the river Tumbadra, are of still more magnificent dimensions.

But, notwithstanding their prodigious scale, the effect produced by the Hindú pagodas never equals the simple majesty and symmetry of a Grecian temple, nor even the grandeur arising from the swelling domes and lofty arches of a mosque. The extensive parts of the building want height, and the high ones are deficient in breadth; there is no combination between the different parts; and the general result produces a conviction that, in this art, as in most other things, the Hindús display more richness and beauty in details than greatness in the conception of the whole. The cave temples, alone, exhibit boldness and grandeur of design.

The impression made on the spectator by favourable specimens

<sup>7</sup> There are some beautiful specimens of Hindú architecture in Tod's *Rájastán*. The work of Rám Ráz shows the details everywhere employed, as well as the general architecture of the south; but the

splendid works of the Daniells exhibit in perfection every species of cave or temple in all the wide range of India.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 307.

of temples, is that of great antiquity and sanctity, accompanied with a sort of romantic mystery, which neither the nature of the religion itself, nor the familiarity occasioned by the daily sight of its ceremonies, seems suited to inspire.

Though in temples of recent formation there is sometimes a mixture of the Mahometan style, yet the general character of these buildings is strikingly original, and unlike the structures of other nations. We may infer from this that the principles of the art were established in early times; but we have no reason to think that any of the great works which now attract admiration are of very ancient date. Even the caves have no claim to great antiquity. The inscriptions, in a character which was in use at least three centuries before Christ, and which has long been obsolete, would lead us to believe that the Bauddha caves must be older than the Christian era;<sup>2</sup> but those of the Hindûs are shown beyond doubt, from the mythological subjects on their walls, to be at least as modern as the eighth or ninth century.<sup>3</sup> The sculptured works at Mahâ Balipuram, south of Madras, have been carried back to the remotest era; but the accounts on the spot assign their construction to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries after Christ, and the sculptures on the walls afford a perfect confirmation of the tradition.<sup>4</sup>

Some of the most celebrated *built* temples are of very modern date. The pagoda of Jagannâth (of which we have heard so much), and the Black Pagoda in the same district, have been mentioned as among the most ancient of Hindû temples; yet the first is well known to have been completed in A.D. 1199, and the second in A.D. 1241.<sup>5</sup> Many of the other great temples are doubtless much older than this; but there are no proofs of the great antiquity of any of them, and some presumptions to the contrary.

The palaces are more likely to adopt innovations than the temples; but many retain the Hindû character, though constructed in comparatively recent times.

The oldest of these show little plan, or else have been so often added to, that the original plan is lost. Being generally of solid construction, and with terraced roofs, the facility is great of building one house on the roof of another; so that, besides

<sup>2</sup> An extensive Bauddha cave is now situated at the entrance into the very beginning of the 19th century, and is at present a ruin, as it is the fourth of the great caves of the Bauddha sect.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Drake, *Travels in the*

*Eastern Coast of Hindia*, vol. I. p. 100.

Wilson, *Madras Papers*, Preface, p. 123.

Professor Wilson, *Madras Papers*.

Herodotus, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> See the *Madras Papers*, *Madras Papers*, vol. I. p. 100.

spreading towards the sides, they are piled upwards to a great height, and with great irregularity.

They generally contain small courts surrounded with high buildings ; sometimes open, and sometimes shaded with the trees best adapted for that purpose. There is always a deep colonnade round each court.

The great rooms of state are upstairs, closed round like ours, not running to the whole height of the house and open at one side like Mahometan divans. The stairs are narrow and steep, and cut out of the thickness of the wall.

The same remarks apply to the private houses, which are hardly entitled to come under the head of architecture.

Those of rich people have a small court or two, with buildings round, almost always terraced, sometimes left in the full glare of the white stucco, sometimes coloured of a dusky red, and the walls sometimes painted with trees or mythological and other stories. All are as crowded and ill-arranged as can be imagined.

Perhaps the greatest of all the Hindú works are the tanks, which are reservoirs for water, of which there are two kinds; one dug out of the earth, and the other formed by damming up the mouth of a valley. In the former case there are stone or other steps all round, down to the water, generally the whole length of each face, and in many instances temples round the edge, and little shrines down the steps. In the other sort these additions are confined to the embankment. The dug tanks are often near towns, for bathing, etc., but they are also made use of for irrigation. The dams are always for the latter purpose. Many of them are of vast extent, and the embankments are magnificent works, both in respect to their elevation and solidity. Some of them form lakes, many miles in circumference, and water great tracts of country.

One species of Hindú well is also remarkable. It is frequently of great depth and of considerable breadth. The late ones are often round, but the more ancient, square. They are surrounded, for their whole depth, with galleries, in the rich and massy style of Hindú works, and have often a broad flight of steps, which commences at some distance from the well, and passes under part of the galleries down to the water.

The most characteristic of the Hindú bridges are composed of stone posts, several of which form a pier, and which are connected by stone beams. Such bridges are common in the south of India. Others are on thick piers of masonry, with narrow Gothic arches; but their antiquity is doubtful, nor does it appear

that the early Hindûs knew the arch, or could construct vaults or domes, otherwise than by layers of stone, projecting beyond those beneath, as in the Treasury of Atreus in Mycenæ.

Among other species of architecture must be mentioned the columns and arches, or rather gateways, erected in honour of victories. There is a highly-wrought example of the column, 120 feet high, at Chitôr, which is represented in Tod's "*Râjasthân*."<sup>1</sup> Of the triumphal arches (if that term may be applied to square openings), the finest example is at Baranagar, in the north of Guzerât. It is indeed among the richest specimens of Hindû art.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OTHER ARTS.

Of the Indian manufactures, the most remarkable is that of weaving—cotton cloth, the beauty and delicacy of which was so long admired, and which in fineness of texture has never yet been approached in any other country.

Their silk manufactures were also excellent, and very probably known to them, as well as the art of obtaining the material, at a very early period.<sup>3</sup>

Gold and silver brocade were also favourite, and perhaps, original, manufactures of India.

The brilliancy and permanency of many of their dyes has not yet been equalled in Europe.

Their taste for minute ornament fitted them to excel in goldsmiths' work.

Their taste for jewels originated more in the bounty of nature than in their own skill; for their taste is so bad that they give a preference to yellow pearls and table diamonds; and their setting is comparatively rude, though they often combine their jewellery into very gorgeous ornaments.

Their way of working at all trades is very simple, and their tools few and portable. A smith brings his small anvil, and the peculiar sort of bellows which he uses, to the house where he is wanted. A carpenter does so with more ease, working on the floor, and securing any object with his toes as easily as with his hands.

<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Briggs has worked up the plan of Mr. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 291.

## CHAPTER IX.

## AGRICULTURE.

THE nature of the soil and climate makes agriculture a simple art. A light plough, which he daily carries on his shoulder to the field, is sufficient, with the help of two small oxen, to enable the husbandman to make a shallow furrow in the surface, in which to deposit the grain. Sowing is often performed by a sort of drill (it is scarcely entitled to the addition of plough), which sheds the seed through five or six hollow canes ; and a board on which a man stands, serves for a harrow. A hoe, a mattock, and a few other articles, complete the implements of husbandry. Reaping is performed with the sickle : the grain is trodden out by cattle, brought home in carts, and kept in large dry pits under ground. The fields, though the bounds of each are carefully marked, are generally unenclosed ; and nothing interrupts their continuity, except occasional varieties in the crops.

But although the Indian agriculture has such a character of simplicity, there are some peculiarities in it which call forth certain sorts of skill and industry not required elsewhere, and there are some descriptions of cultivation to which the former character does not at all apply.

The summer harvest is sufficiently watered by the rains, but a great part of the winter crop requires artificial irrigation. This is afforded by rivers, brooks, and ponds ; but chiefly by wells. In the best parts of the country there is a well in every field, from which water is conveyed in channels, and received in little beds, divided by low ridges of earth. It is raised by oxen in a large bucket, or rather *bag*, of pliant leather, which has often an ingenious contrivance, by which it empties itself when drawn up.

In some soils it is necessary, every three or four years, to eradicate the weeds by deep ploughing, which is done with a heavy plough, drawn by buffaloes, at a season when the ground is saturated with moisture. Manure is little used for general cultivation, but is required in quantities for sugar cane, and many other sorts of produce. Many sorts also require to be fenced ; and are sometimes surrounded by mud walls, but usually by high and impenetrable hedges of cactus, euphorbium,

aloe, and other strong prickly plants, as well as by other thorny bushes and creepers.

One great labour is to scare away the flocks of birds, which devour a great part of the harvest in spite of all precautions. Scarecrows have some effect, but the chief dependence is on a man, who stands on a high wooden stage overlooking the field, shouting, and throwing stones from a sling, which is so contrived as to make a loud crack at every discharge.

The Indians understood rotation of crops, though their almost inexhaustible soil renders it often unnecessary. They class the soils with great minuteness, and are well informed about the produce for which each is best, and the mode of cultivation which it requires. They have the injudicious practice of mixing different kinds of grain in one field, sometimes to come up together, and sometimes in succession.

Some of the facts mentioned affect armies and travellers. At particular seasons, the whole face of the country is as open and passable as the road, except near villages and streams, where the high enclosures form narrow lanes, and are great obstructions to bodies of passengers. Large water-courses, or ducts, by which water is drawn from rivers or ponds, also form serious obstacles.

These remarks are always liable to exceptions from varieties in different parts of India; and in the rice countries, as Bengal and the coast of Coromandel, they are almost inapplicable. There, the rice must be completely flooded, often requires to be transplanted at a certain stage, and is a particularly laborious and disagreeable sort of cultivation.

## CHAPTER X.

### COMMERCE.

The principal articles of luxury are mentioned in *Mémoires*; but it does not appear that any of them were the produce of the foreign countries. Their abundance, however, prove that there was an open trade between the different parts of India.

There is one passage in the *Code* in which interest is mentioned, but no risk is said to be fixed by "men well acquainted with sea-voyages, or journeys by land." As the word

used in the original for *sea* is not applicable to any inland waters, the fact may be considered as established, that the Hindûs navigated the ocean as early as the age of the Code, but it is probable that their enterprise was confined to a coasting trade. An intercourse with the Mediterranean no doubt took place at a still earlier period; but it is uncertain whether it was carried on by land, or partly by sea; and, in either case, whether the natives of India took a share in it beyond their own limits.<sup>2</sup> It seems not improbable that it was in the hands of the Arabs, and that part crossed the narrow sea from the coast on the west of Sind to Muscat, and then passed through Arabia to Egypt and Syria; while another branch might go by land, or along the coast to Babylon and Persia.<sup>3</sup> Our first clear accounts of the seas west of India give no signs of trade carried on by Indians in that direction. Nearchus, who commanded Alexander's fleet (in 326 B.C.), did not meet a single ship in coasting from the Indus to the Euphrates; and expressly says that fishing boats were the only vessels he saw, and those only in particular places, and in small numbers. Even in the Indus, though there were boats, they were few and small; for, by Arrian's account, Alexander was obliged to build most of his fleet himself, including all the larger vessels, and to man them with sailors from the Mediterranean.<sup>4</sup> The same author, in enumerating the Indian classes, says of the fourth class (that of tradesmen and artisans), "of this class also are the ship-builders and the sailors, as many as navigate the rivers:"<sup>5</sup> from which we may infer that, as far as his knowledge went, there were no Indians employed on the sea.

The next accounts that throw light on the western trade of India are furnished by a writer of the second century before Christ,<sup>6</sup> whose knowledge only extended to the intercourse between Egypt and the south of Arabia, but who mentions cinnamon and cassia as among the articles imported,

Trade from  
the west  
coast.

<sup>2</sup> [Whether Ophir is to be looked for in India, or, as seems more probable, in the "Golden Chersonese" or Malacca, it is almost certain that some of the articles brought by the Phœnician and Jewish fleets in Solomon's days came from India (see 1 Kings x. 22). The Hebrew words are evidently of foreign, and probably of Indian, origin; thus *kof*, "ape," seems to be the Sanskrit *kapi*; *thukki*, "a peacock," is probably the Tamil *tokei*, and *shen-habbim*, "ivory," is explained by Gesenius as a contraction for *shen-â-hibbim*, the

latter part being the Sanskrit *ibha*, "an elephant," with the Hebrew article prefixed.—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. pp. 357—370.

<sup>4</sup> See *Expediitio Alexandri*, book vi. pp. 235, 236, ed. 1704, and *Indica*, chap. xviii. p. 332, of the same edition.

<sup>5</sup> *Indica*, chap. xii. p. 325.

<sup>6</sup> Agatharchides preserved in Diodorus and Photius. See Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. p. 25.



and who, moreover, expressly states that ships came from India to the ports of Sabæa (the modern Yemen). From all that appears in this author we should conclude that the trade was entirely in the hands of the Arabs.

It is not till the first century after Christ that we obtain a distinct account of the course of this trade, and a complete enumeration of the commodities which were the objects of it. This is given in the "*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*," apparently the work of an experienced practical sailor in that part of the ocean. He describes the whole coast of the Red Sea, and of the south-east of Arabia, and that of India, from the Indus round Cape Comorin, to a point high up on the coast of Coromandel; and gives accounts of the commerce carried on within those limits, and in some places beyond them. From this writer it appears that, nearly until this time, the ships from India continued to cross the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and creep along the shore of Arabia to the mouth of the Red Sea; but that, at a recent period, the Greeks from Egypt, if not all navigators, used to quit the coast soon after leaving the Red Sea, and stretch across the Indian Ocean to the coast of Malabar.

The trade thus carried on was very extensive, but appears to have been conducted by Greeks and Arabs. Arabia is described as a country filled with pilots, sailors, and persons concerned in commercial business; but no mention is made of any similar description of persons among the Indians, nor is there any allusion to Indians out of their own country except that they are mentioned with the Arabs and Greeks, as forming a mixed population, who were settled in small numbers on an island near the mouth of the Red Sea, supposed to be Socotra. So much, indeed, were the Arabs the carriers of the Indian trade, that in Pliny's time their settlers filled the western shores of Ceylon, and were also found established on the coast of Malabar. But in the same work (the "*Periplus*") the Indians are represented as actively engaged in the traffic on their own coast. There were boats at the Indus to receive the cargoes of the ships which were unable to enter the river on account of the bar at its mouth; fishing boats were kept in employ near the opening of the Gulf of Cambay to pilot vessels coming to Barigaza, or Barischa; where, then as now, they were exposed to danger from the extensive banks of

mud, and from the rapid rise of the tides. From Baróch southward, the coast was studded with ports, which the author calls *local* emporia, and which, we may infer, were visited by vessels employed in the coasting trade; but it is not till the author has got to the coast on the east of Cape Comorin, that he first speaks of large vessels which crossed the Bay of Bengal to the Ganges and to Chryse, which is probably Sumatra, or the Malay peninsula. This last circumstance is in complete accordance with the accounts derived from the east, <sup>Trade from the east coast.</sup> by which the inhabitants of the coast of Coromandel seem early to have been distinguished by their maritime enterprise from their countrymen on the west of India. It is probable, from the nature of the countries which they water, that at the same time when Nearchus saw so little sign of commerce on the Indus, the Ganges may have been covered with boats, as it is at this moment, and as the number of ancient and civilized kingdoms on its shores would lead us to anticipate. The commodities supplied by so rich and extensive a region could not but engage the attention of the less advanced countries in the Deckan; and as the communication between that part of India and the Ganges was interrupted by forests, and plundering tribes, both probably even wilder than they are now, a strong temptation was held out to the sailors on the eastern coast to encounter the lesser danger of making the direct passage over the Bay of Bengal: on which, without being often out of sight of land, they would be beyond the reach of the inhabitants of the shore.

This practice once established, it would be an easy effort to cross the upper part of the bay, and before long, the broadest portion of it also, which is bounded by the Malay peninsula and Sumatra. But, whatever gave the impulse to the inhabitants of the coast of Coromandel, it is from the north part of the tract that we first hear of the Indians who sailed boldly into the open sea. The histories of Java give a distinct account of a numerous body of Hindús from Clinga (Calinga), <sup>Hindú settlements in Java and other eastern islands.</sup> who landed on their island, civilized the inhabitants, and who fixed the date of their arrival by establishing the era still subsisting, the first year of which fell in the seventy-fifth year before Christ. The truth of this narrative is proved beyond doubt by the numerous and magnificent Hindú remains that still exist in Java, and by the fact that, although the common language is Malay, the sacred language, that of historical and poetical compositions, and of most inscriptions, is a dialect of Sanscrit. The early date is almost as decisively proved by the

journal of the Chinese pilgrim in the end of the fourth century, who found Java entirely peopled by Hindûs, and who sailed from the Ganges to Ceylon, from Ceylon to Java, and from Java to China, in ships manned by crews professing the Braminical religion.\* The Hindû religion in Java was afterwards superseded by that of Buddha; but the Indian government subsisted till the end of the fourteenth century; when it was subverted by Mahometan proselytes, converted by Arab missionaries in the course of the preceding century. The island of Bâli, close to the east of Java, is still inhabited by Hindûs, who have Malay or Tartar features, but profess to be of the four Hindû classes. It is not impossible that they may be so descended, notwithstanding the alteration in their features; but it is more probable that their pure descent is a fiction, as we have an example of a still more daring imposture in the poets of Java, who have transferred the whole scene of the "Mahâ Bhârata," with all the cities, kings, and heroes of the Jumna and Ganges, to their own island.

The accounts of voyagers and travellers in times subsequent to the "Periplus" speak of an extensive commerce with India, but afford no information respecting the part taken in it by the Indians, unless it be by their silence; for while they mention Arab and Chinese ships as frequenting the ports of India, they never allude to any voyage as having been made by a vessel of the latter country.†

Marco Polo, indeed, speaks of pirates on the coast of Malabar, who *crused* for the whole summer; but it appears, afterwards, that their practice was to lie at anchor, and consequently close to the shore, only getting under weigh on the approach of a prize. When Vasco da Gama reached the coast of Malabar, he found the trade exclusively in the hands of the Moors, and it was to their rivalry that he and his successors owed most of the opposition they encountered.

The exports from India to the West do not seem, at the time of the "Periplus," to have been very different from those which at A. D. 1498 were now: cotton, cloth, muslin, and cloths of various kinds; silk cloth, and thread; indigo, and other dyes; cinnamon, and other spices; sugar; diamonds; pearls;

\* See the Chinese pilgrim's *Record of the Eastern Kingdoms*, translated by H. H. Johnston, London, 1905. The pilgrim's account of the Indian government is very interesting.

† See the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, translated by H. H. Johnston, London, 1905.

and pearls, and pepper to the West Indies. The principal articles of import from India were cotton goods, sugar, various spices, and hardware. The native Indian manufactures have everywhere given way to the English competition. See

emeralds, and many inferior stones ; steel ; drugs ; aromatics ; and sometimes, female slaves.<sup>11</sup>

The imports were—coarse and fine cloth (probably woollen) ; brass ; tin ; lead ; coral ; glass ; antimony ; some few Imports. perfumes not known in the country ; wines (of which that from Italy was preferred) ; together with a considerable quantity of specie and bullion.

The great facility of transport afforded by the Ganges and its numerous branches has been alluded to ; but, as few of Inland trade—the other rivers are navigable far from the sea, the internal trade must always have been mostly carried on by land. Oxen would be the principal means of conveyance ; but, as from the earliest Hindú times to the decline of the Mogul empire, the great roads were objects of much attention to the government, we may, perhaps, presume that carts were much more in use formerly than of later years.

## CHAPTER XI.

### MANNERS AND CHARACTER.

It has been stated that Hindostan and the Deccan are equal, in extent, to all Europe ; except the Russian part of it, and the countries north of the Baltic.<sup>1</sup> Difference of Indian nations.

Ten different civilized nations are found within the above space. All these nations differ from each other, in manners and language,<sup>2</sup> nearly as much as those inhabiting the corresponding portion of Europe.

They have, also, about the same degree of general resemblance which is observable among the nations of Christendom, and which is so great that a stranger from India cannot, at first, perceive any material difference between an Italian and an

<sup>11</sup> [Some of the Indian exports retained their native names in Greek and Latin : thus *δρυφα* probably comes from the Sanskrit *rrihi* ; *καρπασος* and *carbasus* (cf. Heb. *karpas*) from *kárpása* ; *σακχαρ* and *saccharon* from *śarkarā* ; *πέπερι* and *piper* from *pippali* ; *zingiberi* from *śringarera* ; *agallochum* (cf. Heb. *ahdim* and the modern *lignum aquilæ*) from *agaru* ; *σάνταλον* or *sándaroron*, and *sandalum* from *chandana* ;

*κόστος* from *kushtha* ; *νάβος* from *nalada* ; *μαλάβαθρον* and *malobathrum* from *tamálapatru* ; *κασσίτερος* from *kastira*, etc. See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i. pp. 245—290. The derivation of *elephant* is uncertain ; but the name indigo (*indicum*) tells its own story.—ED.]

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, pp. 3, 4, note.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 162, 163.

Englishman. In like manner Europeans do not at once distinguish between the most dissimilar of the nations of India.

The greatest difference is between the inhabitants of Hindostan proper and of the Deekan.

The neighbouring parts of these two great divisions naturally resemble each other ; but in the extremities of the north and south, the languages have no resemblance, except from a common mixture of Sanscrit ; the religious sects are different ; the architecture, as has been mentioned elsewhere, is of different characters ; the dress differs in many respects, and the people differ in appearance ; those of the north being tall and fair, and the other small and dark. The northern people live much on wheat, and those of the south on *râgi*, a grain almost as unknown in Hindostan as in England. Many of the points of difference arise from the unequal degrees in which the two tracts were conquered and occupied, first, by the people professing the Braminical religion, and, afterwards, by the Mussulmans ; but more must depend on peculiarities of place and climate, and, perhaps, on varieties of race. Bengal and Gangetic Hindostan, for instance, are contiguous countries, and were both early subjected to the same governments ; but Bengal is moist, liable to inundation, and has all the characteristics of an alluvial soil ; while Hindostan, though fertile, is comparatively dry, both in soil and climate. This difference may, by forming a diversity of habits, have led to a great dissimilitude between the people ; the common origin of the languages appears, in this case, to forbid all suspicion of a difference of race.

From whatever causes it originates, the contrast is most striking. The Hindostâns on the Ganges are the tallest, fairest, and most warlike and manly of the Indians ; they wear the turban, and a dress resembling that of the Mahometans ; their houses are tiled, and built in compact villages in open tracts ; their food is unleavened wheaten bread.

The Bengalese, on the contrary, though good-looking, are small, black, and effeminate in appearance ; remarkable for timidity and superstition, as well as for subtlety and art. Their villages are composed of thatched cottages, scattered through woods of bamboos or of palms ; their dress is the old Hindoo, formed by one scarf round the middle and another thrown over the shoulders. They have the practice, unknown in Hindostan, of rubbing their limbs with oil after bathing, which gives their skins a sleek and glossy appearance, and protects

them from the effect of their damp climate. They live almost entirely on rice ; and although the two idioms are more nearly allied than English and German, their language is quite unintelligible to a native of Hindostan.

Yet these two nations resemble each other so much in their religion and all the innumerable points of habits and manners which it involves, in their literature, their notions on government and general subjects, their ceremonies and way of life, that a European, not previously apprised of the distinction, might very possibly pass the boundary that divides them, without at once perceiving the change that had taken place.

The distinction between the different nations will appear as each comes on the stage in the course of the following history. All that has hitherto been said, and all that is about to follow, is intended to apply to the whole Hindú people.

Notwithstanding the abundance of large towns in India, the great majority of the population is agricultural. The villages. peasants live assembled in villages ; going out to their fields to labour, and returning, with their cattle, to the village at night.

Villages vary much in different parts of the country : in many parts they are walled, and capable of a short defence against the light troops of a hostile army ; and in some disturbed tracts, even against their neighbours, and against the government officers : others are open ; and others only closed by a fence and gate, to keep in the cattle at night.

The houses of a Bengal and Hindostan village have been contrasted. The cottage of Bengal, with its thin curved thatched roof and cane walls, is the best looking in India. Those of Hindostan are tiled, and built of clay or unburnt bricks ; and, though equally convenient, have less neatness of appearance. The mud or stone huts and terraced roofs of the Deckan village look as if they were mere uncovered ruins, and are the least pleasing to the eye of any. Further south, though the material is the same, the execution is much better ; and the walls, being painted in broad perpendicular streaks of white and red, have an appearance of neatness and cleanness.

Each village has its *bázár*, composed of shops for the sale of grain, tobacco, sweetmeats, coarse cloth, and other articles of village consumption. Each has its market day, and its annual fairs and festivals ; and each, in most parts of India, has at least one temple, and one house or shed for lodging strangers. All villages make an allowance for giving food for charity to religious mendicants, and levy a fund for this and other expenses, including

public festivities on particular holidays. The house for strangers sometimes contains also the shrine of a god, and is generally used as the town house; though there are usually some shady trees in every village, under which the heads of the village and others meet to transact their business. No benches or tables are required on any occasion.

In houses, also, there is no furniture but a mat for sitting on, <sup>habits of</sup> and some earthen and brass pots and dishes, a <sup>villagers</sup> ~~lath~~ mill, pestle and mortar, an iron plate for baking cakes on, and some such articles. The bed, which requires neither bedding nor curtains, is set upright against the wall during the day; and cooking is carried on under a shed, or out of doors. The huts, though bare, are clean and neat.

There is scarcely more furniture in the houses of the richer inhabitants of the village. Their distinction is, that they are two stories high and have a court-yard.

The condition of the country people is not, in general, prosperous. They usually borrow money to pay their rent, and consequently get involved in accounts and debts, through which they are so liable to imposition, that they can scarcely get extricated. They are also, in general, so improvident, that if they were clear, they would omit to lay up money for their necessary payments, and soon be in debt again. Some, however, are prudent, and acquire property. Their villages are sometimes disturbed by factions against the headman, or by oppression on his part, or that of the government; and they have more litigation among themselves than the same class in England; but violence of all sorts is extremely rare, drunkenness scarcely known, and, on the whole, the country people are remarkably quiet, well-behaved, and, for their circumstances, happy and contented.

The husbandman rises with the earliest dawn; washes, and says a prayer; then sets out with his cattle to his distant field. After an hour or two, he eats some remnants of his yesterday's fare for breakfast, and goes on with his labour till noon, when his wife brings out his hot dinner; he eats it by a brook or under a tree, takes and sleeps till two o'clock, while his cattle also feed and repose. From two till sunset he labours again; then drives his cattle home, feeds them, latches, eats some supper, smokes, and spends the rest of the evening in amusement with his wife and children, or his neighbours. The women fetch water, grind the corn, cook, and do the house-odd work, besides spinning, and such occupations.

Hindoo towns are formed of mud-brick or stone houses, with a

few small and high-placed windows, over very narrow streets, which are paved (if paved at all) with large uneven Towns. slabs of stone. They are crowded with people moving to and fro; processions, palankeens, and carriages drawn by oxen; running footmen with sword and buckler, religious mendicants, soldiers out of service smoking or lounging; and sacred bulls, that can scarcely be made to move their unwieldy bulk out of the way of the passenger, or to desist from feeding on the grain exposed for sale.

The most conspicuous shops are those of confectioners, fruiterers, grainsellers, braziers, druggists, and tobacconists: sellers of cloth, shawls, and other stuffs, keep their goods in bales; and those of more precious articles do not expose them. They are quite open towards the street, and often are merely the veranda in front of the house; the customers standing and making their purchases in the street.

Towns are often walled, and capable of defence.

They have not hereditary headmen and officers, like villages, but are generally the residence of the government agent in charge of the district, who manages them, with the help of an establishment for police and revenue. They are divided into wards for the purposes of police; and each cast has its own elected head, who communicates between the government and its members. These casts, being in general trades also, are attended with all the good and bad consequences of such combinations.

The principal inhabitants are bankers and merchants, and people connected with the government.

Bankers and merchants generally combine both trades, and farm the public revenues besides. They make great profits, and often without much risk. In transactions with governments they frequently secure a mortgage on the revenue, or the guarantee of some powerful person, for the discharge of their debt. They lend money on an immense premium, and with very high compound interest, which increases so rapidly, that the repayment is always a compromise, in which the lender gives up a great part of his demand, still retaining an ample profit. They live plainly and frugally, and often spend vast sums on domestic festivals or public works.

The great men about the government will be spoken of hereafter, but the innumerable clerks and hangers-on in lower stations must not be passed over without mention. Not only has every office numbers of these men, but every department, however small, must have one; a company of soldiers would not be



complete without its clerk. Every nobleman (besides those employed in collections and accounts) has clerks of the kitchen, of the stable, the hawking establishment, &c. Intercourse of business and civility is carried on through these people, who also furnish the newswriters; and, after all, great numbers are unemployed, and are ready agents in every sort of plot and intrigue.

The food of the common people, both in the country and in towns, is unleavened bread with boiled vegetables, clarified butter or oil, and spices. Smoking tobacco is almost the only luxury. Some few smoke intoxicating drugs; and the lowest casts alone, and even they rarely, get drunk with spirits. Drunkenness is confined to damp countries, such as Bengal, the Concan, and some parts of the south of India. It increases in our territories, where spirits are taxed; but it is so little of a natural propensity, that the absolute prohibition of spirits, which exists in most native states, is sufficient to keep it down. Opium, which is used to great excess in the west of Hindostan, is peculiar to the Rájpûts, and does not affect the lower classes. All but the poorest people chew *bétel* (a pungent aromatic leaf) with the hard nut of the *areca*, mixed with a sort of lime made from shells, and with various spices, according to the person's means. Some kinds of fruit are cheap and common.

The upper classes, at least the Bramin part of them, have very little more variety; it consists in the greater number of kinds of vegetables and spices, and in the cookery. *Assafetida* is a favourite ingredient, as giving to some of their richer dishes something of the flavour of flesh. The caution used against eating out of dishes or on carpets defiled by other casts, gives rise to some curious customs. At a great Bramin dinner, where twenty or thirty different dishes and condiments are placed before each individual, all are served in vessels made of leaves sewed together. These are placed on the bare floor, which, as a substitute for a table cloth, is decorated for a certain distance in front of the guests, with patterns of flowers, &c., very prettily laid out in lively-coloured sorts of sand, spread through frames in which the patterns are cut, and swept away after the dinner. The poorer casts of Hindûs eat meat, and care less about the vessel; metal, especially, can always be purified by scouring. In all classes, however, the difference of cast leads to a want of sociability. A soldier, or any one away from his family, cooks his solitary meal for himself, and finishes it without a companion, or even of the pleasures of the table, but those derived from

taking the necessary supply of food. All eat with their fingers, and scrupulously wash before and after meals.

Though they have chess, a game played with tables and dice as backgammon is, and cards (which are circular, in many suits, and painted with Hindú gods, etc., instead of kings, queens, and knaves), yet the great in-door amusement is to listen to singing interspersed with slow movements, which can scarcely be called dancing. The attitudes are not ungraceful, and the songs, as has been mentioned, are pleasing; but it is, after all, a languid and monotonous entertainment; and it is astonishing to see the delight that all ranks take in it; the lower orders, in particular, often *standing* for whole nights to enjoy this unvaried amusement.

These exhibitions are now often illuminated, when in rooms, by English chandeliers; but the true Hindú way of lighting them up is by torches held by men, who feed the flame with oil from a sort of bottle constructed for the purpose. For ordinary household purposes they use lamps of earthenware or metal.

In the houses of the rich, the doorways are hung with quilted silk curtains; and the doors, the arches, and other wood-work in the rooms are highly carved. The floor is entirely covered with a thin mattress of cotton, over which is spread a clean white cloth to sit on; but there is no other furniture of any description. Equals sit in opposite rows down the room. A prince or great chief has a seat at the head of the room between the rows, very slightly raised by an additional mattress, and covered with a small carpet of embroidered silk. This, with a high round embroidered bolster behind, forms what is called a *masnad* or *gádi*, and serves as a throne for sovereigns under the rank of king.

Great attention is paid to ceremony. A person of distinction is met a mile or two before he enters the city; and a visitor is received (according to his rank) at the outer gate of the house, at the door of the room, or by merely rising from the seat. Friends embrace if they have not met for some time. Bramins are saluted by joining the palms, and raising them twice or thrice to the forehead: with others the salute with one hand is used, so well known by the Mahometan name of *salám*. Bramins have a peculiar phrase of salutation for each other. Other Hindús, on meeting, repeat twice the name of the god *Ráma*. Visitors are seated with strict attention to their rank, which, on public occasions, it often takes much previous

negotiation to settle. Hindûs of rank are remarkable for their politeness to inferiors, generally addressing them by some civil or familiar term, and scarcely ever being provoked to abusive or harsh language.

The lower classes are courteous in their general manners among themselves, but by no means so scrupulous in their language when irritated.

All visits end by the master of the house presenting betel leaf with areca nut, etc., to the guest : it is accompanied by attar of roses, or some other perfume put on the handkerchief, and rose-water sprinkled over the person : and this is the signal for taking leave.

At first meetings, and at entertainments, trays of shawls and other materials for dresses are presented to the guests, together with pearl necklaces, bracelets, and ornaments for the turban of jewels : a sword, a horse, and an elephant, are added when both parties are men of high rank. I do not know how much of this custom is ancient, but presents of bracelets, etc., are frequent in the oldest dramas.

Such presents are also given to meritorious servants, to soldiers who have distinguished themselves, and to poets or learned men : they are showered on favourite singers and dancers.

At formal meetings nobody speaks but the principal persons, but in other companies there is a great deal of unrestrained conversation. The manner of the Hindûs is polite, and their language obsequious. They abound in compliments and expressions of humility even to their equals, and when they have no object to gain. They seldom show much desire of knowledge, or disposition to extend their thoughts beyond their ordinary habits. Within that sphere, however, their conversation is shrewd and intelligent, often mixed with lively and satirical observations.

The rich rise at the same hour as the common people, or, perhaps, not quite so early : perform their devotions in their own temples ; despatch private and other business with their immediate officers and dependents ; bathe, dine, and sleep. At two or three they dress, and appear in their public apartments, where they receive visits and transact business till very late at night. Some, also, listen to music till late ; but these occupations are confined to the rich, and, in general, a Hindû town is all quiet soon after dark.

Entertainments, besides occasions of rare occurrence, as marriages, etc., are given on particular festivals, and sometimes to

show attention to particular friends. Among themselves they commence with a dinner; but the essential part of the entertainment is dancing and singing, sometimes diversified with jugglers and buffoons; during which time perfumes are burnt, and the guests are dressed with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers: presents, as above described, are no less essential.

Entertain-  
ments and  
pomp of the  
rich.

At courts there are certain days on which all the great and all public officers wait on the prince to pay their duty; and, on those occasions, the crowd in attendance is equal to that of a birthday levee in Europe.

All go up to the prince in succession, and present him with a nazzar, which is one or more pieces of money laid on a napkin, and which it is usual to offer to superiors on all formal meetings. The amount depends on the rank of the offerer, the lowest in general is a rupee, yet poor people sometimes present a flower, and shopkeepers often some article of their traffic or manufacture. A dress of some sort is, on most occasions, given in return. The price of one dress is equal to many nazzers. The highest regular nazzar is 100 ashrefis, equal to 150 or 170 guineas; but people have been known to present jewels of high value, and it is by no means uncommon, when a prince visits a person of inferior rank, to construct a low base for his masnad of bags, containing in all 100,000 rupees (or 10,000*l.*), which are all considered part of the nazzar. So much is that a form, that it has been done when the Nizám visited the Resident at Hyderábád, though that prince was little more than a dependent on our government. I mention this as a general custom at present, though not sure that it is originally Hindú.

The religious festivals are of a less doubtful character. In them a great hall is fitted up in honour of the deity of the day. His image, richly adorned, and surrounded by gilded balustrades, occupies the centre of one end of the apartment, while the prince and his court, in splendid dresses and jewels, are arranged along one side of the room as guests or attendants. The rest of the ceremony is like other entertainments. The songs may, perhaps, be appropriate; but the incense, the chaplets of flowers, and other presents, are as on ordinary occasions: the bítel leaf and attar, indeed, are brought from before the idol, and distributed as if from him to his visitors.

Among the most striking of these religious exhibitions is that of the capture of Lanká, in honour of Ráma, which is necessarily performed out of doors.

Lankā is represented by a spacious castle with towers and battlements, which are assailed by an army dressed like Rāma and his followers, with Hanumat and his monkey allies. The combat ends in the destruction of Lankā, amidst a blaze of fireworks which would excite admiration in any part of the world, and in a triumphal procession sometimes conducted in a style of grandeur which might become a more important occasion.

The festival is celebrated in another manner, and with still greater splendour, among the Marattas. It is the day on which they always commence their military operations; and the particular event which they commemorate is Rāma's devotions and his plucking a branch from a certain tree, before he set out on his expedition.

A tree of this sort is planted in an open plain near the camp or city; and all the infantry and guns, and as many of the cavalry as do not accompany the prince, are drawn up on each side of the spot, or form a wide street leading up to it. The rest of the plain is filled with innumerable spectators. The procession, though less regular than those of Mahometan princes, is one of the finest displays of the sort in India. The chief advances on his elephant, preceded by flags and gold and silver sticks or maces, and by a phalanx of men on foot bearing pikes of fifteen or sixteen feet long. On each side are his nobles and military leaders on horseback, with sumptuous dresses and caparisons, and each with some attendants selected for their martial appearance; behind are long trains of elephants with their sweeping housings, some with flags of immense size, and glittering with gold and embroidery; some bearing howdahs, open or roofed, often of silver, plain or gilt, and of forms peculiarly oriental; around and behind is a cloud of horsemen, their trappings glancing in the sun, and their scarfs of cloth of gold fluttering in the wind, all overtopped by sloping spears and waving banners; those on the flanks dashing out, and returning after displaying some evolutions of horsemanship; the whole moving, mixing, and continually shifting its form as it advances, and presenting one of the most animating and most gorgeous spectacles that is ever seen, even in that land of barbarous magnificence. As the chief approaches, the guns are fired, the infantry discharge their pieces, and the procession moves on with accelerated speed, exhibiting a lively picture of an attack by a great body of cavalry on an army drawn up to receive them.

When the prince has performed his devotions and plucked the bough, his example is followed by those around him: a fresh

salvo of guns is fired : and, at the signal, the troops break off, and each man snatches some leaves, from one of the fields of tall grain which is grown for the purpose near the spot : each sticks his prize in his turban, and all exchange compliments and congratulations. A grand darbár, at which all the court and military officers attend, closes the day.

There is less grandeur, but scarcely less interest, in <sup>Fairs, pilgrimages, etc.</sup> the fairs and festivals of the common people.

These have a strong resemblance to fairs in England, and exhibit the same whirling machines, and the same amusements and occupations. But no assemblage in England can give a notion of the lively effect produced by the prodigious concourse of people in white dresses and bright-coloured scarfs and turbans, so unlike the black head-dresses and dusky habits of the North. Their taste for gaudy shows and processions, and the mixture of arms and flags, give also a different character to the Indian fairs. The Hindús enter into the amusements of these meetings with infinite relish, and show every sign of peaceful festivity and enjoyment. They may, on all these occasions, have some religious ceremony to go through, but it does not take up a moment, and seldom occupies a thought. At the pilgrimages, indeed, the long anticipation of the worship to be performed, the example of other pilgrims invoking the god aloud, and the sanctity of the place, concur to produce stronger feelings of devotion. There are also more ceremonies to be gone through, and sometimes these are joined in by the whole assembly, when the thousands of eyes directed to one point, and of voices shouting one name, is often impressive even to the least interested spectator.

But, even at pilgrimages, the feeling of amusement is much stronger than that of religious zeal ; and many such places are also among the most celebrated marts for the transfer of merchandise, and for all the purposes of a fair.

Among the enjoyments of the upper classes, I should not omit their gardens, which, though always formal, are nevertheless often pleasing. They are divided by broad alleys, with <sup>Gardens and natural scenery.</sup> long and narrow ponds or canals, enclosed with regular stone and stucco work, running up the centre, and on each side, straight walks between borders of poppies of all colours, or of flowers in uniform beds or in patterns. Their summer-houses are of white stucco, and though somewhat less heavy and inelegant than their ordinary dwellings, do not much relieve the formality of the garden : but there is still something rich and oriental in the groves of orange and citron trees, the mixture of dark

cypresses with trees covered with flowers or blossoms, the tall and graceful palms, the golden fruits, and highly-scented flowers. In the heats of summer, too, the trellised walks, closely covered with vines, and the slender stems and impervious shades of the arborescent tree, afford dark and cool retreats from the intolerable glare of the sun, made still more pleasant by the gushing of the little rills that water the garden, and by the profound silence and repose that reign in that overpowering hour.

I have great doubts whether the present kind of gardens has not been introduced by the Mussulmans, especially as I remember no description in the poets which are translated which suggests this sort of formality.

The flowers and trees of Indian gardens are neither collected with the industry, nor improved with the care, of those in Europe: and it is amidst the natural scenery that we see both in the greatest perfection. The country is often scattered with old mangoe trees and lofty tamarinds and pipals, which, in Guzerat especially, are accompanied with undulations of the ground that give to extensive tracts the varied beauties of an English park. In other parts, as in Röhileund, a perfectly flat and incredible fertile plain is scattered with mangoe orchards, and delights us with its extent and prosperity, until at last it wearies with its monotony. In some parts of Bengal the traveller enters on a similar flat, covered with one sheet of rice, but without a tree, except at a distance on every side, where appears a thick bamboo-jungle, such as might be expected to harbour wild beasts. When this jungle is reached, it proves to be a narrow belt, filled with villages and teeming with population: and when it is passed another bare flat succeeds, again encircled with bamboo-jungle almost at the extremity of the horizon.

The central part of the Deccan is composed of waving downs, which at one time presents, for hundreds of miles, one unbroken sheet of green harvests, high enough to conceal a man or horse; but in the hot season bears the appearance of a desert baked and brown, without a tree or shrub to relieve its gloomy sameness. In many places, especially in the west, are woods of old trees filled with scented creepers, some bearing flowers of the most splendid colours, and others twining among the branches or stretching boldly from tree to tree, with stems as thick as a man's thigh. The forests in the east, and the centre of India

<sup>1</sup> See the *Plants of the Deccan*, by H. B. Thwaites.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Plants of the Deccan*, by H. B. Thwaites.

<sup>3</sup> The forest that has this appearance is found in Bengal, and the Black Mountains, and other parts.

and near one part of the western Gháts,<sup>7</sup> are composed of trees of prodigious magnitude, almost undisturbed by habitations, and imperfectly traversed by narrow roads, like the wildest parts of America.

In the midst of the best cultivated country are often found spaces of several days' journey across, covered with the palás or dák tree, which in spring loses all its leaves and is entirely covered with large red and orange flowers, which make the whole of the hills seem in a blaze.

The noblest scenery in India is under Himálaya, where the ridges are broken into every form of the picturesque, with abrupt rocks, mossy banks, and slopes covered with gigantic pines and other trees, on the same vast scale, mixed with the most beautiful of our flowering shrubs and the best of our fruits in their state of nature. Over the whole towers the majestic chain of Himálaya covered with eternal snow; a sight which the soberest traveller has never described without kindling into enthusiasm, and which, if once seen, leaves an impression that can never be equalled or effaced. The western Gháts present the charms of mountain scenery on a smaller scale, but it is no exaggeration of their merits to say that they strongly resemble the valleys of the Neda and the Ladon, which have long been the boast of Arcadia and of Europe.

The beauty of the Gháts, however, depends entirely on the season when they are seen; in summer, when stripped of their clouds and deprived of their rich carpet of verdure and their innumerable cascades, the height of the mountains is not sufficient to compensate by its grandeur for their general sterility, and the only pleasure they afford is derived from the stately forests which still clothe their sides.

The day of the poor in towns is spent much like that of the villagers, except that they go to their shop instead of the field, and to the bázár for amusement and society. The villagers have some active games; but the out-of-door amusements of the townspeople are confined to those at fairs and festivals; some also perform their complicated system of gymnastic exercise, and practise wrestling; but there are certain seasons which have their appropriate sports, in which all descriptions of people eagerly join.

Manner of  
life of the  
towns-  
people, and  
festivals of  
all classes.

Perhaps the chief of these is the hólí, a festival in honour of the spring, at which the common people, especially the boys, dance round fires, sing licentious and satirical songs, and give

<sup>7</sup> Malabar, etc.



vent to all sorts of ribaldry against their superiors, by whom it is always taken in good part. The great sport of the occasion, however, consists in sprinkling each other with a yellow liquid, and throwing a crimson powder over each other's persons. The liquid is also squirted through syringes, and the powder is sometimes made up in large balls covered with isinglass, which break as soon as they come in contact with the body. All ranks engage in this sport with enthusiasm, and get more and more into the spirit of the contest, till all parties are completely drenched with the liquid, and so covered with the red powder that they can scarcely be recognised.

A grave prime minister will invite a foreign ambassador to play the holi at his house, and will take his share in the most riotous parts of it with the ardour of a schoolboy.

There are many other festivals of a less marked character; some general, and some local. Of the latter description is the custom among the Marattas of inviting each other to eat the toasted grain of the *bājri* (or *Holcus spicatus*) when the ear first begins to fill. This is a natural luxury among villagers; but the custom extends to the great; the Rājā of Berār, for instance, invites all the principal people of his court, on a succession of days, to this fare, when toasted grain is first served, and is followed by a regular banquet.

The *diwālī* is a general festival, on which every house and temple is illuminated with rows of little lamps along the roofs, windows, and cornices, and on bamboo frames erected for the purpose.

Benāres, seen from the Ganges, used to be very magnificent on this occasion. During the whole of the month in which this feast occurs, lamps are hung up on bamboos, at different villages and private houses, so high as often to make the spectator mistake them for stars in the horizon.

The *jannam ashtout* is a festival at which a sort of opera is performed by boys dressed like *Crishna* and his shepherd-boys, who perform appropriate dances, and sing songs in character.

The military men (that is, all the upper class not engaged in commerce or religion) are fond of hunting, running down wolves, deer, hares, etc., with dogs, which they also employ against wild boars, but depending chiefly, on these last occasions, on their own swords or spears. They shoot tigers from elephants, and sometimes attack them on horseback and on foot; even villagers sometimes turn out in a body to attack a tiger that infests their neighbourhood, and conduct themselves with great

resolution. As long as a tiger does not destroy men, however, they never quarrel with him.

The military men, notwithstanding their habitual indolence, are all active and excellent horsemen. The Marattas in particular are celebrated for their management of the horse and lance. They all ride very short, and use tight martingales, and light but very sharp bits. Their horses are always well on their haunches, and are taught to turn suddenly when at speed, in the least possible room. They are also taught to make sudden bounds forward, by which they bring their rider on his adversary's bridle-arm before he has time to counteract the manœuvre.

The skirmishes of two Indian armies mix and contend with their spears in a way that looks very much like play to a European. They wheel round and round each other, and make feigned pushes apparently without any intention of coming in contact, though always nearly within reach. They are in fact straining every nerve to carry their point, but each is thrown out by the dexterous evolutions of his antagonist, until, at length, one being struck through and knocked off his horse, first convinces the spectator that both parties were in earnest.

The Hindús are also good shots with a matchlock from a horse ; but in this they are much excelled by the Mahometans.

Among other instances of activity, great men sometimes drive their own elephants, defending the seeming want of dignity, on the ground that a man should be able to guide his elephant in case his rider should be killed in battle. In early days this art was a valued accomplishment of the heroes.

The regular dress of all Hindús is probably that which has been mentioned as used in Bengal, and which is worn by all Dress. strict Bramins. It consists of two long pieces of white cotton cloth, one of which is wrapped round the middle, and tucked up between the legs, while part hangs down a good deal below the knees ; the other is worn over the shoulders, and occasionally stretched over the head which has no other covering.\* The head and beard are shaved, but a long tuft of hair is left on the crown. Mustachios are also worn, except perhaps by strict Bramins. Except in Bengal, all Hindús, who do not affect strictness, now wear the lower piece of cloth smaller and tighter, and over it a white cotton, or chintz, or silk tunic, a coloured muslin sash round the middle, and a scarf of the same material over the shoulders, with a turban ; some wear loose drawers like the Mahometans.

The full dress is a long white gown of almost transparent

\* This is exactly the Hindú dress described by Arrian, *Indica*, cap. xvi.

muslin close over the body, but in innumerable loose folds below the waist. This, with the sash and turban, bracelets, necklaces, and other jewels and ornaments, make the dress complete. As this dress is partly borrowed from the Mahometans, and cannot be very ancient, it is singular that it should be accurately represented in some of the figures of kings on the tombs at Thebes in Egypt, where the features, attitudes, and everything else are, by a remarkable coincidence (for it can be nothing more), exactly what is seen in a Hindû Râja of the present day.

The dress of the women is nearly the same as that first described for the men ; but both the pieces of cloth are much larger and longer, and they are of various bright colours as well as white. Both sexes wear many ornaments. Men even of the lower orders wear earrings, bracelets, and necklaces. They are sometimes worn as a convenient way of keeping all the money the owner has ; but the necklaces are sometimes made of a particular berry that hardens into a rough but handsome dark brown bead, and sometimes of particular kinds of wood turned ; and these are mixed alternately with beads of gold or coral. The neck and legs are bare ; but on going out, embroidered slippers with a long point curling up are put on, and are laid aside again on entering a room or a palankeen. Children are loaded with gold ornaments, which gives frequent temptation to child-murder.

Women, under the ancient Hindûs, appear to have been more reserved and retired than with us ; but the complete seclusion of them has come in with the Mussulmans, and is even now confined to the military classes. The Bramins do not observe it at all. The Peshwâ's consort used to walk to temples, and ride or go in an open palankeen through the streets with perfect publicity, and with a retinue becoming her rank.

Women, however, do not join in the society of men, and are not admitted to an equality with them. In the lower orders, the wife, who cooks and serves the dinner, waits till the husband is finished before she begins. When persons of different sexes walk together, the woman always follows the man, even where there is no obstacle to their walking abreast. Striking a woman is not so disgraceful with the lower orders as with us. But, spite of the low place systematically assigned to them, ladies affect to command reason, restore them to their rights ; their husband confides in them, and consults with them on their affairs, and as is so often the subject to their ascendancy as in many other countries.

Another reproach to Hindú civilization, though more real than that just mentioned, falls very short of the idea it at first sight suggests. Domestic slavery in a mild form is almost slavery. universal. The slaves are home-born, or children sold by their parents during famine, and sometimes children kidnapped by Ban-járas, a tribe of wandering herdsmen, who gain their subsistence by conveying grain and merchandise from one part of the country to another. Such a crime is, of course, liable to punishment; but from its being only occasionally practised, it is even more difficult to detect than slave-trading among ourselves.

Domestic slaves are treated exactly like servants, except that they are more regarded as belonging to the family. I doubt if they are ever sold; and they attract little observation, as there is nothing apparent to distinguish them from freemen. But slavery is nowhere exempted from its curse. The female children kidnapped are often sold to keepers of brothels to be brought up for public prostitution, and in other cases are exposed to the passions of their masters and the jealous cruelty of their mistresses.

In some parts of India slaves are not confined to the great and rich, but are found even in the families of cultivators, where they are treated exactly like the other members. Among the ancient Hindús it will have been observed, from Menu, that there were no slaves attached to the soil. As the Hindús spread to the south, however, they appear in some places to have found, or to have established, prædial servitude. In some forest tracts there are slaves attached to the soil, but in so loose a way, that they are entitled to wages, and, in fact, are under little restraint. In the south of India they are attached to and sold with the land; and in Malabar (where they seem in the most abject condition), even without the land. The number in Malabar and the extreme south is guessed at different amounts, from 100,000 to 400,000. They exist also in some parts of Bengal and Behár, and in hilly tracts like those in the south-east of Guzerát. Their proportion to the people of India is, however, insignificant: and in most parts of that country the very name of prædial slavery is unknown.

Marriages are performed with many ceremonies, few of which are interesting; among them are joining the hands of the bride and bridegroom, and tying them together with a <sup>Ceremonies of marriage.</sup> blade of sacred grass; but the essential part of the ceremony is when the bride steps seven steps, a particular text being repeated for each. When the seventh step is taken, the marriage is indis-

soluble.<sup>10</sup> This is the only form of marriage now allowed, the other seven being obsolete.<sup>11</sup>

The prohibition, so often repeated in Menu, against the receipt by the bride's father of any present from the bridegroom, is now more strictly observed than it was in his time. The point of honour in this respect is carried so far, that it is reckoned disgraceful to receive any assistance in after life from a son-in-law or brother-in-law. It is indispensable that the bridegroom should come to the house of the father-in-law to sue for the bride, and the marriage must also be performed there.

At the visit of the suitor, the ancient modes of hospitality are maintained according to a prescribed form. The sort of entertainment still appears in the production of a cow to be killed for the feast; but the suitor now intercedes for her life, and she is turned loose at his request.<sup>12</sup>

In the case of princes, where the bride comes from another country, a temporary building is erected with great magnificence and expense, as a house for the bride's father; and in all cases the procession in which the bride is taken home after the marriage is as showy as the parties can afford.

In Bengal these processions are particularly sumptuous, and marriages there have been known to cost lacs of rupees.<sup>13</sup> The parties are generally children; the bride must always be under the age of puberty, and both are usually under ten. These premature marriages, instead of producing attachment, often cause early and lasting disagreements.

Hindû parents are remarkable for their affection for their children while they are young; but they not unfrequently have disputes with grown-up sons, the source of which predilection lies in the legal restrictions on the father's control over his property.

Boys of family are brought into company dressed like men with little swords, &c., and behave with all the propriety, and almost all the formality, of grown-up people.

The children of the common people sprawl about the streets, pelt each other with dust, and are less restrained even than children in England. At this age they are generally very handsome.

<sup>10</sup> See *Book about Rites*, &c., &c., *Chand. 1. 1. 1.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> See *Book about Rites*, &c., &c., *Chand. 1. 1. 1.* 259, 260. See also the *Chand. 1. 1. 1.* 259, 260.

<sup>13</sup> A visitor, that agha is called a *Samsat*, term for a guest. (The word, however, never occurs in the word *Samsat*, it is only given in the grammarian's *El.*)

<sup>14</sup> Ward, vol. 4, p. 170.

The education of the common people does not extend beyond writing and the elements of arithmetic. There are <sup>Education.</sup> schools in all towns, and in some villages, paid by small fees; the expense for each boy in the south of India is estimated at from 15s. to 16s. a year:<sup>14</sup> but it must be very much less in other places. In Bengal and Behár the fee is often only a small portion of grain or uncooked vegetables.<sup>15</sup>

They are taught, with the aid of monitors, in the manner introduced from Madras into England.

The number of children educated at public schools under the Madras presidency (according to an estimate of Sir T. Munro) is less than one in three; but, low as it is, he justly remarks, this is a higher rate than existed, till very lately, in most countries in Europe. It is probable that the proportion under the other presidencies is not greater than under Madras.<sup>16</sup> I should doubt, indeed, whether the average was not a good deal too high. Women are everywhere almost entirely uneducated

People in good circumstances seldom send their children to school, but have them taught at home by Bramins retained for the purpose. The higher branches of learning are taught gratuitously; the teachers maintaining themselves, and often a portion of their scholars, by means of presents received from princes and opulent individuals.

There is now no learning, except among the Bramins, and with them it is at a low ebb.

The remains of ancient literature sufficiently show the far higher pitch to which it had attained in former times. There is no such proof of the greater *diffusion* of knowledge in those days; but when three of the four classes were encouraged to read the Védas, it is probable that they were more generally well informed than now.

More must be said of Indian names than the intrinsic importance of the subject deserves, to obviate the difficulty of <sup>Names.</sup> recognising individuals named in different histories.

Few of the Hindú nations have family names. The Marattas have them exactly as in Europe. The Rájputs have names of clans or tribes, but too extensive completely to supply the place

<sup>14</sup> Captain Harkness, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> Mr. Adams's *Report on Education* (Calcutta, 1838).

<sup>16</sup> [Mr. Adams (*ibid.* 1835) states that on an average there was probably a village school for every thirty-one or thirty-two

boys in Bengal and Behár; but the incompetency of the instructors, and the early age at which the boys were removed, neutralised all the benefit. Of course the recent progress of education, especially in Bengal, has introduced an entirely new order of things.—ED.]

of family names; and the same is the case with the Bramins of the north of India.

In the south of India it is usual to prefix the name of the city or place of which the person is an inhabitant to his proper name (as Carpa Candi Ráo, Candi Ráo of Carpa, or Caddayac). The most general practice on formal occasions is that common in most parts of Asia, of adding the father's name to that of the son; but this practice may, perhaps, have been borrowed from the Mussulmans.

A European reader might be led to call a person indifferently by either of his names, or to take the first or last for shortness; but the first might be the name of a town, and the last the name of the person's father, or of his cast, and not his own.

Another difficulty arises, chiefly among the Mahometans, from their frequent change of title; as is the case with our own nobility.

The Hindús in general burn their dead, but men of the religious orders are buried in a sitting posture cross-legged. A dying man is laid out of doors, on a bed of sacred grass. Hymns and prayers are recited to him, and leaves of the holy basil scattered over him. If near the Ganges, he is, if possible, carried to the side of that river. It is said that persons so carried to the river, if they recover, do not return to their families; and there are certainly villages on the Ganges which are pointed out as being entirely inhabited by such people and their descendants; but the existence of such a custom is denied by those likely to be best informed; and the story has probably originated in some misconception. After death, the body is bathed, perfumed, decked with flowers, and immediately carried out to the pyre. It is enjoined to be preceded by music, which is still observed in the south of India. There, also, the corpse is exposed on a bed, and the face painted with crimson powder. In other parts, on the contrary, the body is carefully covered up. Except in the south, the corpse is carried without music, but with short exclamations of sorrow from the attendants.

The funeral pile for an ordinary person is not above four or five feet high; it is decorated with flowers, and clarified butter and scented oils are poured upon the flames. The pyre is lighted by a relation, after many ceremonies and oblations; and the relations, after other observances, purify themselves in a stream, and sit down on a bank to wait the progress of the fire. They present a melancholy spectacle on such occasions, wrapped up

in their wet garments, and looking sorrowfully on the pyre. Neither the wet dress nor the sorrow is required by their religion; on the contrary, they are enjoined to alleviate their grief by repeating certain verses, and to refrain from tears and lamentations.<sup>18</sup>

The Hindús seldom erect tombs, except to men who fall in battle, or widows who burn with their husbands. Their tombs resemble small square altars.

The obsequies performed periodically to the dead<sup>19</sup> have been fully explained in another place. I may mention here the prodigious expense sometimes incurred on those occasions. A Hindú family in Calcutta were stated, in the newspapers for June, 1824, to have expended, besides numerous and most costly gifts to distinguished Bramins, the immense sum of 500,000 rupees (£50,000) in alms to the poor, including, I suppose, 20,000 rupees, which it is mentioned that they pay to release debtors.<sup>20</sup>

It is well known that Indian widows sometimes sacrifice themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, and that *Satis*. such victims are called *Satis*. The period at which this barbarous custom was introduced is uncertain. It is not alluded to by Menu, who treats of the conduct proper for faithful and devoted widows, as if there were no doubt about their surviving their husbands.<sup>21</sup> It is thought by some to have been recognised in ancient authorities, particularly in the Rig Véda; but others deny this construction of the text.<sup>22</sup> It certainly is of great antiquity, as an instance is described by Diodorus (who wrote before the birth of Christ), and is stated to have occurred in the army of Eumenes upwards of 300 years before our era.<sup>23</sup> The claim of the elder wife to preference over the younger, the Indian law against the burning of pregnant women, and other similar circumstances mentioned in his narrative, are too consistent with Hindú institutions, and the ceremonies are too correctly described.

<sup>18</sup> The following are among the verses:—

" Foolish is he who seeks permanence in the human state, unsolid like the stem of the plantain tree, transient like the foam of the sea."

" All that is low must finally perish; all that is elevated must ultimately fall."

" Unwillingly do the Manes taste the tears and rheum shed by their kinsmen: then do not wail, but diligently perform the obsequies of the dead."—Colebrooke, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 244.

<sup>19</sup> Book I. p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> *Quarterly Oriental Magazine* for September, 1824. p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> Ch. v. 156, etc.

<sup>22</sup> See *Translations* by Rájá Rám Móhan Roy, pp. 200—266. See also Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. p. 205, and Professor Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 19. [See *supra*, p. 50.—Ed.]

<sup>23</sup> Diodorus Siculus lib. xiv. cap. ii. The custom is also mentioned, but much less distinctly, by Strabo, on the authority of Aristobulus and Onesicritus.



to leave the least doubt that Diodorus's account is authentic, and that the custom was as fully, though probably not so extensively, established in the time of Eumenes as at present.

The practice is ascribed by Diodorus, as it still is by missionaries, to the degraded condition to which a woman who outlives her husband is condemned. If the motive were one of so general an influence, the practice would scarcely be so rare. It is more probable that the hopes of immediately entering on the enjoyment of heaven, and of entitling the husband to the same felicity, as well as the glory attending such a voluntary sacrifice, are sufficient to excite the few enthusiastic spirits who go through this awful trial.

It has been said that the relations encourage self-immolation for the purpose of obtaining the property of the widow. It would be judging too harshly of human nature to think such conduct frequent, even in proportion to the number of cases where the widow has property to leave; and in fact, it may be confidently relied on, that the relations are almost in all, if not in all cases, sincerely desirous of dissuading the sacrifice. For this purpose, in addition to their own entreaties, and those of the infant children, when there are such, they procure the intervention of friends of the family, and of persons in authority. If the case be in a family of high rank, the sovereign himself goes to console and dissuade the widow. It is reckoned a bad omen for a government to have many satis. One common expedient is, to engage the widow's attention by such visits, while the body is removed and burnt.

The mode of consecration is various: in Bengal, the living and dead bodies are stretched on a pile where strong ropes and bamboos are thrown across them so as to prevent any attempt to rise. In Orissa, the woman throws herself into the pyre, which is below the level of the ground. In the Deccan, the woman sits down on the pyre with her husband's head in her lap, and remains there till suffocated, or crushed by the fall of a heavy roof of logs of wood, which is fixed by cords to posts at the corners of the pile.

The sight of a widow burning is a most painful one; but it is hard to say whether the spectator is most afflicted by pity or admiration. The more than human serenity of the victim, and the respect which she receives from those around her, as manifested by her gentle demeanour, and her care to set things in distributing her last presents, and paying the usual marks of courtesy to the bystanders; while the cruel death that

awaits her is doubly felt from her own apparent insensibility to its terrors. The reflections which succeed are of a different character, and one is humiliated to think that so feeble a being can be elevated by superstition to a self-devotion not surpassed by the noblest examples of patriots or martyrs.

I have heard that, in Guzerát, women about to burn are often stupefied with opium. In most other parts this is certainly not the case. Women go through all the ceremonies with astonishing composure and presence of mind, and have been seen seated, unconfined, among the flames, apparently praying, and raising their joined hands to their heads with as little agitation as at their ordinary devotions. On the other hand, frightful instances have occurred of women bursting from amidst the flames, and being thrust back by the assistants. One of these diabolical attempts was made in Bengal, when an English gentleman happened to be among the spectators, and succeeded in preventing the accomplishment of the tragedy; but, next day, he was surprised to encounter the bitterest reproaches from the woman, for having been the occasion of her disgrace, and the obstacle to her being then in heaven enjoying the company of her husband, and the blessings of those she had left behind.

The practice is by no means universal in India. It never occurs to the south of the river Kishna; and under the Bombay presidency, including the former sovereignty of the Bramin Peshwas, it amounts to thirty-two in a year. In the rest of the Deckan it is probably more rare. In Hindostan and Bengal it is so common, that some hundreds are officially reported as burning annually within the British dominions alone.

Self-immolation by men also is not uncommon, but it is generally performed by persons lingering under incurable disorders. It is done by leaping into fire, by burning alive, by plunging into a river, or by other modes, such as throwing oneself before the sacred car at Jagannáth. During the four years of Mr. Stirling's attendance at Jagannáth, three persons perished under the car; one case he ascribed to accident, and the other two persons had long suffered under excruciating disorders.<sup>24</sup>

The Hindús have some peculiarities that do not admit of classification. As they have casts for all the trades, they have also casts for thieves, and men are brought up to consider robbing as their hereditary occupation. Most of the hill tribes, bordering on cultivated countries, are of this description; and even throughout the plains there are casts

<sup>24</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 324.

more notorious for theft and robbery than gipsies used to be for pilfering in Europe.

In their case hereditary professions seem favourable to skill, for there are nowhere such dexterous thieves as in India. Travellers are full of stories of the patience, perseverance, and address with which they will steal, unperceived, through the midst of guards, and carry off their prize in the most dangerous situations. Some dig holes in the earth, and come up within the wall of a well-closed house; others, by whatever way they enter, always open a door or two to secure a retreat; and proceed to plunder, naked, smeared with oil, and armed with a dagger; so that it is as dangerous to seize them as it is difficult to hold.

One great class, called Thugs, continually travel about the country, assuming different disguises, an art in which they are perfect masters. Their practice is to insinuate themselves into the society of travellers whom they hear to be possessed of property, and to accompany them till they have an opportunity of administering a stupefying drug, or of throwing a noose over the neck of their unsuspecting companion. He is then murdered without blood being shed, and buried so skilfully that a long time elapses before his fate is suspected. The Thugs invoke Bhawânî, and vow a portion of their spoil to her. This mixture of religion and crime might of itself be mentioned as a peculiarity; but it is paralleled by the vows of pirates and banditti to the Madonna; and in the case of Mussulmans, who form the largest portion of the Thugs, it is like the compacts with the devil, which were believed in days of superstition.

It need scarcely be said that the longest descent of the thieves' casts gives them no claim on the sympathy of the rest of the community, who look on them as equally obnoxious to punishment, both in this world and the next, as if their ancestors had belonged to the most virtuous classes.

The hired watchmen are generally of these casts, and are faithful and efficient. Their presence alone is a protection against their own class; and their skill and vigilance, against strangers. Citizên is famous for one class of people of this sort, whose business it is to trace thieves by their footsteps. In a dry country a bare foot leaves little print to common eyes; but one of these people will perceive all its peculiarities so as to recognise it in all circumstances, and will pursue a robber by these vestiges for a distance that seems incredible.

<sup>1</sup> The same is reported to have been done by a regimental horse at Kara, he rode at full gallop off the horse of a thief, and ran to Ahmedabad, twelve or fourteen

In another instance, a cast seems to employ its privilege exclusively for the protection of property. These are the <sup>Bhāts and Chāraṇs.</sup> Bhāts and Chāraṇs of the west of India, who are revered as bards, and in some measure as heralds, among the Rājput tribes. In Rājputāna they conduct caravans, which are not only protected from plunder, but from legal duties. In Guzerāt they carry large sums in bullion, through tracts where a strong escort would be insufficient to protect it. They are also guarantees of all agreements of chiefs among themselves, and even with the government.

Their power is derived from the sanctity of their character and their desperate resolution. If a man carrying treasure is approached, he announces that he will commit trāga, as it is called : or if an engagement is not complied with, he issues the same threat unless it is fulfilled. If he is not attended to, he proceeds to gash his limbs with a dagger, which, if all other means fail, he will plunge into his heart ; or he will first strike off the head of his child ; or different guarantees to the agreement will cast lots who is to be first beheaded by his companions. The disgrace of these proceedings, and the fear of having a bard's blood on their head, generally reduce the most obstinate to reason. Their fidelity is exemplary, and they never hesitate to sacrifice their lives to keep up an ascendancy on which the importance of their cast depends.<sup>26</sup>

Of the same nature with this is the custom by which Bramins seat themselves with a dagger or with poison at a man's door and threaten to make away with themselves if the owner eats before he has complied with their demands. Common creditors also resort to this practice (which is called dharnā) ; but without threats of self-murder. They prevent their debtor's eating by an appeal to his honour, and also by stopping his supplies ; and they fast, themselves, during all the time that they compel their debtor to do so. This sort of compulsion is used even against princes, and must not be resisted by force. It is a very common mode employed by troops to procure payment of arrears, and is then directed either against the paymaster, the prime minister, or the sovereign himself.

The practice of sworn friendship is remarkable, though not peculiar to the Hindūs. Persons take a vow of friendship and

miles, lost him among the well-trodden streets of that city, but recovered his traces on reaching the opposite gate ; and, though long foiled by the fugitive's running up the water of a rivulet, he at last came

up with him, and recovered the property, after a chase of from twenty to thirty miles.

<sup>26</sup> See Tod's *Rājasthān*, and Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. ii. p. 130.

mutual support with certain forms : and, even in a community little remarkable for faith, it is infamous to break this oath.<sup>7</sup>

The hills and forests in the centre of India are inhabited by a <sup>Mountaineers</sup> ~~race~~ <sup>and forest</sup> ~~tribes~~ of people differing widely from those who occupy the plains. They are small, black, slender, but active, with peculiar features, and a quick and restless eye. They wear few clothes, are armed with bows and arrows, make open profession of plunder, and, unless the government is strong, are always at war with all their neighbours. When invaded, they conduct their operations with secrecy and celerity, and shower their arrows from rocks and thickets, whence they can escape before they can be attacked, and often before they can be seen.

They live in scattered, and sometimes movable hamlets, are divided into small communities, and allow great power to their chiefs. They subsist on the produce of their own imperfect cultivation, and on what they obtain by exchanges or plunder from the plains. They occasionally kill game, but do not depend on that for their support. In many parts the berries of the mahoe tree form an important part of their food. Besides one or two of the Hindû gods, they have many of their own, who dispense particular blessings or calamities. The one who presides over the small-pox is, in most places, looked on with peculiar awe.

They sacrifice fowls, pour libations before eating, are guided by inspired magicians, and not by priests, bury their dead, and have some ceremonies on the birth of children, marriages, and funerals, in common. They are all much addicted to spirituous liquors ; and most of them kill and eat oxen. Their great abode is in the Vindhya mountains, which run east and west from the Ganges to Guzerât, and the broad tract of forest which extends north and south from the neighbourhood of Allahabad to the latitude of Masulipatam, and, with interruptions, almost to Cape Comorin. In some places the forest has been encroached on by cultivation, and the inhabitants have remained in the plains as village watchmen, hunters, and other trades suited to their habits. In a few places their devastations have restored the clear country to the forest : and the remains of villages are seen among the haunts of wild beasts.

The points of resemblance above mentioned lead to the opinion that all these rude tribes form one people : but they differ in other particulars, and each has a separate name : so that it is only by comparing their languages (where they retain a distinct

<sup>7</sup> Part of the ceremony is dividing a cake by each party, and from this comes a proverb, a cake split, half of which is kept. — (See the chapter.)

language) that we can hope to see the question of their identity settled.

These people, at Bágalpúr, are called paháris, or mountaineers. Under the name of Cólis they occupy a great tract of wild country in the west of Bengal and Behár, and extend into the Vindhya mountains, near Mirzápúr. In the adjoining part of the Vindhya range, and in the centre and south of the great forest, they are called Gónds; farther west, in the Vindhya chain, they are called Bhils; and in all the western hills, Cólis; which name probably has some connection with the Cólis of Behár, and may possibly have some with the Cólaris, a similar tribe in the extreme south. The Cólis stretch westward along the hills and forests in Guzerát, nearly to the desert; on the south they take in part of the range of Gháts.

These tribes are known by different names in other parts of the country; but the above are by far the most considerable.

Their early history is uncertain. In the Deckan they were in their present state at the time of the Hindú invasion; and probably some of them were those allies of Ráma whom tradition and fiction have turned into a nation of monkeys.

That whole country was then a forest; and the present tribes are in those portions of it which have not yet been brought into cultivation. The great tract of forest, called Góndwána, lying between the rich countries of Berár and Cattac, and occasionally broken in upon by patches of cultivation, gives a clear idea of the original state of the Deckan, and the progress of its improvement.

In Hindostan they may be the unsubdued part of the nation from whom the servile class was formed; or, if it be true that even there their language is mixed with Tamil, they may possibly be the remains of some aboriginal people anterior even to those conquered by the Hindús.

There are other tribes of mountaineers in the north-eastern hills, and the lower branches of Himálaya; but they all differ widely from those above described, and partake more of the features and appearance of the nations between them and China.

No separate mention is made of the mountain tribes by the Greeks; but Pliny more than once speaks of such communities.

Englishmen in India have less opportunity than might be expected of forming opinions of the native character. *Character.* Even in England few know much of the people beyond their own class, and what they do know they learn from newspapers and publications of a description which does not exist in India.

In that country, also, religion and manners put bars to our intimacy with the natives, and limit the number of transactions as well as the free communication of opinions. We know nothing of the interior of families but by report; and have no share in those numerous occurrences of life in which the amiable parts of character are most exhibited.

Missionaries of a different religion, judges, police magistrates, officers of revenue or customs, and even diplomatists, do not see the most virtuous portion of a nation, nor any portion, unless when influenced by passion, or occupied by some personal interest. What we do see we judge by our own standard. We conclude that a man who cries like a child on slight occasions, must always be incapable of acting or suffering with dignity; and that one who allows himself to be called a liar would not be ashamed of any baseness. Our writers also confound the distinctions of time and place: they combine in one character the Maratta and the Bengalese; and tax the present generation with the crimes of the heroes of the "*Mahā Bhārata*." It might be argued, in opposition to many unfavourable testimonies, that those who have known the Indians longest have always the best opinion of them; but this is rather a compliment to human nature than to them, since it is true of every other people. It is more in point, that all persons who have retired from India think better of the people they have left after comparing them with others even of the most justly admired nations.

These considerations should make us distrust our own impressions, when unfavourable, but cannot blind us to the fact that the Hindūs have, in reality, some great defects of character. Their defects no doubt arise chiefly from moral causes; but they are also to be ascribed in part to physical constitution, and in part to soil and climate.

Some races are certainly less vigorous than others; and all must degenerate if placed in an enervating atmosphere.

Mere heat may not enervate. If it is unavoidable and unremitting, it even produces a sort of hardness like that arising from the rigours of a northern winter. If sterility be added, and the fruits of hard labour are contested among scattered tribes, the result may be the energy and decision of the Arab.

But, in India, a warm temperature is accompanied by a fertile soil, which renders severe labour unnecessary, and an extent of land that would support an almost indefinite increase of inhabitants. The heat is moderated by rain, and warded off by numerous trees and forests: everything is calculated to produce that state

of listless inactivity, which foreigners find it so difficult to resist. The shades of character that are found in different parts of India tend to confirm this supposition. The inhabitants of the dry countries in the north, which in winter are cold, are comparatively manly and active. The Marattas, inhabiting a mountainous and unfertile region, are hardy and laborious; while the Bengalese, with their moist climate and their double crops of rice, where the cocoa-nut tree and the bamboo furnish all the materials for construction unwrought, are more effeminate than any other people in India. But love of repose, though not sufficient to extinguish industry or repress occasional exertions, may be taken as a characteristic of the whole people. Akin to their indolence is their timidity, which arises more from the dread of being involved in trouble and difficulties than from want of physical courage; and from these two radical influences almost all their vices are derived. Indolence and timidity themselves may be thought to be produced by despotism and superstition, without any aid from nature; but if those causes were alone sufficient, they would have had the same operation on the indefatigable Chinese and the imperturbable Russian; in the present case they are as likely to be effect as cause.

The most prominent vice of the Hindûs is want of veracity, in which they outdo most nations even of the East. They do not even resent the imputation of falsehood; the same man would calmly answer to a doubt by saying, "Why should I tell a lie?" who would shed blood for what he regarded as the slightest infringement of his honour.

Perjury, which is only an aggravated species of falsehood, naturally accompanies other offences of the kind (though it is not more frequent than in other Asiatic countries); and those who pay so little regard to statements about the past, cannot be expected to be scrupulous in promises for the future. Breaches of faith in private life are much more common in India than in England; but even in India, the great majority, of course, are true to their word.

It is in people connected with government that deceit is most common; but in India, this class spreads far; as from the nature of the land revenue, the lowest villager is often obliged to resist force by fraud.

In some cases, the faults of the government produce an opposite effect. Merchants and bankers are generally strict observers of their engagements. If it were otherwise, commerce could not go on where justice is so irregularly administered.



Hindûs are not ill fitted by nature for intrigue and cunning, when their situation calls forth those qualities. Patient, supple, and insinuating, they will penetrate the views of a person with whom they have to deal; watch his humours; soothe or irritate his temper; present things in such a form as suits their designs, and contrive, by indirect manœuvres, to make others even unwillingly contribute to the accomplishment of their ends. But their plots are seldom so daring or flagitious as those of other Asiatic nations, or even of Indian Mussulmans, though these last have been softened by their intercourse with the people among whom they are settled.

It is probably owing to the faults of their government that they are corrupt: to take a bribe in a good cause is almost meritorious; and it is a venial offence to take one when the cause is bad. Pecuniary fraud is not thought very disgraceful, and, if against the public, scarcely disgraceful at all.

It is to their government, also, that we must impute their flattery and their importunity. The first is gross, even after every allowance has been made for the different degrees of force which nations give to the language of civility. The second arises from the indecision of their own rulers; they never consider an answer final, and are never ashamed to prosecute a suit as long as their varied invention, the possible change of circumstances, or the exhausted patience of the person applied to, gives them a hope of carrying their point.

Like all that are slow to actual conflict, they are very litigious, and much addicted to verbal altercation. They will persevere in a lawsuit till they are ruined; and will argue, on other occasions, with a violence so unlike their ordinary demeanour, that one unaccustomed to them expects immediate blows or bloodshed.

The public spirit of Hindûs is either confined to their caste or village, in which cases it is often very strong; or if it extends to the general government, it goes no farther than zeal for its authority on the part of its agents and dependents. Great national spirit is sometimes shown in war, especially when religion is concerned, but allegiance in general sits very low: a subject will take service against his natural sovereign as readily as for him; and always has more regard to the salt he has eaten, than to the land in which he was born.

Although the Hindûs, as has been seen, break through some of the most important rules of morality, we must not suppose that they are devoid of principle. Except in the cases specified, they have all the usual respect for moral obligations; and to see

rules which, in their estimation, are of peculiar importance, they adhere, in spite of every temptation to depart from them. A Bramin will rather starve to death than eat prohibited food: a headman of a village will suffer the torture rather than consent to a contribution laid on the inhabitants by a tyrant, or by banditti; the same servant who cheats his master in his accounts may be trusted with money to any amount in deposit. Even in corrupt transactions, it is seldom that men will not rather undergo a punishment than betray those to whom they have given a bribe.

Their great defect is a want of manliness. Their slavish constitution, their blind superstition, their extravagant mythology, the subtilties and verbal distinctions of their philosophy, the languid softness of their poetry, their effeminate manners, their love of artifice and delay, their submissive temper, their dread of change, the delight they take in puerile fables, and their neglect of rational history, are so many proofs of the absence of the more robust qualities of disposition and intellect throughout the mass of the nation.

But this censure, though true of the whole, when compared with other nations, by no means applies to all classes, or to any at all times. The labouring people are industrious and persevering; and other classes, when stimulated by any strong motive, and sometimes even by mere sport, will go through great hardships and endure long fatigue.

They are not a people habitually to bear up against desperate attacks, and still less against a long course of discouragement and disaster; yet they often display bravery not surpassed by the most warlike nations; and will always throw away their lives for any consideration of religion or honour. Hindú Sepoys in our pay have, in two instances, advanced, after troops of the king's service had been beaten off, and on one of these occasions they were opposed to French soldiers. The sequel of this history will show instances of whole bodies of troops rushing forward to certain death, while, in private life, the lowest do not hesitate to commit suicide if they once conceive their honour tarnished.

Their contempt of death is, indeed, an extraordinary concomitant to their timidity when exposed to lesser evils. When his fate is inevitable, the lowest Hindú encounters it with a coolness that would excite admiration in Europe, converses with his friends with cheerfulness, and awaits the approach of death without any diminution of his usual serenity.

The best specimen of the Hindú character, retaining its peculiarities while divested of many of its defects, is found among

the Rájputs and other military classes in Gangetic Hindostan, from among whom so many of our Sepoys are recruited. It is there we are most likely to gain a clear conception of their high spirit, their enthusiastic courage, and generous self-devotion, so singularly combined with gentleness of manners and softness of heart, together with a boyish playfulness and almost infantine simplicity.

The villagers are everywhere an inoffensive, amiable people, affectionate to their families, kind to their neighbours, and, towards all but the government, honest and sincere.

The townspeople are of a more mixed character; but they are quiet and orderly, seldom disturbing the public peace by tumults, or their own by private broils. On the whole, if we except those connected with the government, they will bear a fair comparison with the people of towns in England. Their advantages in religion and government give a clear superiority to our middle classes; and even among the labouring class, there are many to whom no parallel could be found in any rank in India; but, on the other hand, there is no set of people among the Hindús so depraved as the dregs of our great towns; and the swarms of persons who live by fraud—sharpers, impostors, and adventurers of all descriptions, from those who mix with the higher orders down to those who prey on the common people—are almost unknown in India.

Some of the most conspicuous of the crimes in India exceed those of all other countries in atrocity. The Thugs have been mentioned; and the Dacoits are almost as detestable for their cruelty as the others for their deliberate treachery.

The Dacoits are gangs associated for the purpose of plunder, who assemble by night, fall on an unsuspecting village, kill those who offer resistance, seize on all property, and torture those whom they imagine to have wealth concealed. Next morning they are melted into the population; and such is the dread inspired by them, that even, when known, people can seldom be found to come forward and accuse them. Except in the absence of political feeling, and the greater barbarity of their proceedings, their offence resembles those which have, at times, been committed in Ireland. In India it is the consequence of weak government during the anarchy of the last hundred years, and is rapidly disappearing under the vigorous administration of the British. Both Thugs and Dacoits are at least as often Mahomedans as Hindús.

The horror excited by such enormities leads us at first to

imagine peculiar depravity in the country where they occur; but a further inquiry removes that impression. Including Thags and Dacoits, the mass of crime in India is less than in England. Thags are almost a separate nation, and Dacoits are desperate ruffians who enter into permanent gangs and devote their lives to rapine; but the remaining part of the population is little given to such passions as disturb society. By a series of Reports laid before the House of Commons in 1832,<sup>29</sup> it appears that, on an average of four years, the number of capital sentences *carried into effect* annually in England and Wales was 1 for 203,281 souls; and in the provinces under the Bengal presidency, 1 for 1,004,182;<sup>30</sup> transportation for life in England, 1 for 67,173, and in the Bengal provinces, 1 for 402,010.

We may admit that the proportion of undetected crimes in Bengal is considerably greater than in England; but it would require a most extravagant allowance on that account to bring the amount of great crimes in the two countries to an equality.

Murders are oftener from jealousy, or some such motive, than from gain: and theft is confined to particular classes; so that there is little uneasiness regarding property. Europeans sleep with every door in the house open, and their property scattered about as it lay in the daytime, and seldom have to complain of loss: even with so numerous a body of servants as fills every private house, it is no small proof of habitual confidence to see scarcely anything locked up.

The natives of India are often accused of wanting gratitude; but it does not appear that those who make the charge have done much to inspire such a sentiment. When masters are really kind and considerate, they find as warm a return from Indian servants as any in the world; and there are few who have tried them in sickness, or in difficulties and dangers, who do not bear witness to their sympathy and attachment. Their devotion to their own chiefs is proverbial, and can arise from no other cause than gratitude, unless where cast supplies the place of clannish feeling. The fidelity of our Sepoys to their foreign masters has been shown in instances which it would be difficult to match, even among national troops, in any other country.<sup>31</sup>

Nor is this confined to the lower orders; it is common to see persons who have been patronised by men in power, not only

<sup>29</sup> *Minutes of Evidence* (Judicial) No. iv. p. 103.

<sup>30</sup> The annual number of sentences to death in England was 1,232, and of executions 64. In Bengal, the sentences

were 59, and the executions the same. England is taken at 13,000,000 souls, and the Bengal provinces at 60,000,000.

<sup>31</sup> [This was written in 1841.—ED.]

continue their attachment to them when in disgrace, but even to their families when they have left them in a helpless condition.<sup>2</sup>

Though their character is altered since the mixture with foreigners, the Hindûs are still a mild and gentle people. The cruel massacres that attended all their battles with the Mahometans must have led to sanguinary retaliation; and they no longer act on the generous laws of war which are so conspicuous in Meun. But even now they are more merciful to prisoners than any other Asiatic people, or than their Mussulman countrymen.

Tippoo used to cut off the right hands and noses of the British camp followers that fell into his hands. The last Peshwâ gave to men of the same sort a small quantity of provisions and a rupee each, to enable them to return to their business, after they had been plundered by his troops.

Cold-blooded cruelty is, indeed, imputed to Bramins in power, and it is probably the result of checking the natural outlets for resentment: but the worst of them are averse to causing death, especially when attended with shedding blood. In ordinary circumstances, the Hindûs are compassionate and benevolent; but they are deficient in *active* humanity, partly owing to the unsocial effects of cast, and partly to the apathy which makes them indifferent to their own calamities, as well as to those of their neighbours.

This deficiency appears in their treatment of the poor. All feed Bramins and give alms to religious mendicants; but a beggar from mere want would neither be relieved by the charity of Europe, nor the indiscriminate hospitality of most parts of Asia.

Though improvidence is common among the poor, and ostentatious profusion, on particular occasions, among the rich, the general disposition of the Hindûs is frugal, and even parsimonious. Their ordinary expenses are small, and few of any rank in life hesitate to increase their savings by employing them indirectly in commerce, or by lending them out at high interest.

Hindû children are much more quick and intelligent than European ones. The capacity of boys of twelve and fourteen is

<sup>2</sup> A story of a Hindu instance might be told here of an English gentleman in a confidential situation at Benares, who was discovered by an officer to be assisting a great foreign spy to escape out of the country, and to be carrying to him the had been known to assist him when these are the only persons who are known to which

he would not accept repayment, and for which he could expect no pecuniary return. This generous friend was a Maratta Bramin, a rare case of others who have not sympathy with people of other casts, and who are most hardened and corrupt by power.

often surprising; and not less so is the manner in which their faculties become blunted after the age of puberty. But at all ages they are very intelligent; and this strikes us most in the lower orders, who, in propriety of demeanour, and in command of language, are far less different from their superiors than with us.

Their freedom from gross debauchery is the point in which the Hindús appear to most advantage. It can scarcely be expected, from their climate and its concomitants, that they should be less licentious than other nations; but if we compare them with our own, the absence of drunkenness, and of immodesty in their other vices, will leave the superiority in purity of manners on the side least flattering to our self-esteem.

Their indifference to the grossest terms in conversation appears inconsistent with this praise; but it has been well explained as arising from "that simplicity which conceives that whatever can exist without blame, may be named without offence"; and this view is confirmed by the decorum of their behaviour in other respects.

Though naturally quiet and thoughtful, they are cheerful in society; fond of conversation and amusement, and delighting in anecdote and humour bordering on buffoonery. It has been remarked before, that their conversation is often trifling, and this frivolity extends to their general character, and is combined with a disposition to vanity and ostentation.

In their persons they are, *generally speaking*, lower, and always more slender, than Europeans.<sup>33</sup> They have a better carriage and more grace, less strength, but more free use of their limbs.

They are of a brown colour, between the complexion of the southern European and that of the negro. Their hair is long, rather lank, and always jet black. Their mustachios and (in the few cases in which they wear them) their beards are long and strong. Their women have a large share of beauty and grace, set off by a feminine reserve and timidity.<sup>34</sup>

The cleanliness of the Hindús in their persons is proverbial. They do not change their clothes after each of their frequent ablutions; but even in that respect the lower classes are more cleanly than those of other nations. The public parts of their houses are kept very neat; but they have none of the English

<sup>33</sup> The military classes in Hindostan are much taller than the common run of Englishmen.

<sup>34</sup> The *Laacars*, now so common in the streets of London, are mostly from the

coast near Bombay, or the south-eastern part of Bengal, (both moist and hot rice countries), and present an unfavourable specimen of the natives of India.

delicacy which requires even places out of sight to partake of the general good order.

Before coming to any conclusions from the two views which have been given of the Hindûs, - at the earliest epoch of which we possess accounts, and at the present day, - it will be of advantage to see how they stood at an intermediate period, for which we fortunately possess the means, through the accounts left us by the Greeks, a people uninfluenced by any of our peculiar opinions, and yet one whose views we can understand, and whose judgment we can appreciate.

This question has been fully examined in another place,\* and the results alone need be mentioned here.

From them it appears that the chief changes between the time of Menu's Code and that of Alexander were the complete emancipation of the servile class; the more general occurrence, if not the first instances of the practice of self-immolation by widows; the prohibition of intermarriages between castes; the employment of the Bramins as soldiers, and their inhabiting separate villages; and, perhaps, the commencement of the monastic orders.

The changes from Menu to the present time have already been fully set forth; and if we take a more extensive review (without contrasting two particular periods), we shall find the alterations have generally been for the worse.

The total extinction of the servile condition of the Sûdras is, doubtless, an improvement; but in other respects we find the religion of the Hindûs debased, their restrictions of cast more rigid (except in the interested relaxation of the Bramins), the avowed impost on the land doubled, the courts of justice disused, the laws less liberal towards women, the great works of peace no longer undertaken, and the courtesies of war almost forgotten. We find, also, from their extant works, that the Hindûs once excelled in departments of taste and science in which they never now attempt to write; and that they formerly impressed strangers with a high respect for their conversation, simplicity, and integrity, the qualities in which they now seem to us most deficient.

It is impossible, from all this, not to come to a conclusion, that the Hindûs were once in a higher position, both moral and intellectual, than they are now; and as, even in their present state of depression, they are still on a footing of equality with any people

\* See Appendix III.

out of Europe, it seems to follow that, at one time, they must have attained a state of civilization only surpassed by a few of the most favoured of the nations, either of antiquity or of modern times.

The causes of their decline have already been touched on in different places. Their religion encourages inaction, which is the first step towards decay. The rules of cast check improvement at home, and at the same time prevent its entering from abroad: it is those rules that have kept up the separation between the Hindús and the Mussulmans, and furnished the only instance in which an idolatrous religion has stood out against the comparative purity even of that of Mahomet, when professed by the government. Despotism would doubtless contribute its share to check the progress of society; but it was less oppressive and degrading than in most Asiatic countries.

The minute subdivision of inheritances is not peculiar to the Hindús; and yet it is that which most strikes an inquirer into the causes of the abject condition of the greater part of them. By it the descendants of the greatest landed proprietor must, in time, be broken down to something between a farmer and a labourer, but less independent than either; and without a chance of accumulation to enable them to recover their position. Bankers and merchants may get rich enough to leave all their sons with fortunes; but, as each possessor knows that he can neither found a family, nor dispose of his property by will, he endeavours to gain what pleasure and honour he can from his life-rent, by ostentation in feasts and ceremonies; and by commencing temples, tanks, and groves, which his successors are too poor to complete or to repair.<sup>35</sup>

The effect of equal division on men's minds is as great as on their fortunes. It was resorted to by some ancient republics to prevent the growth of luxury and the disposition to innovation. In India it successfully answers those ends, and stifles all the restless feelings to which men might be led by the ambition of permanently improving their condition. A man who has amassed a fortune by his own labours is not likely to have a turn for literature or the fine arts; and if he had, his collections would be dispersed at his death, and his sons would have to begin their toils anew, without time for acquiring that refinement in taste or elevation of sentiment which is brought about by the improved education of successive generations.

<sup>35</sup> Hence the common opinion among Europeans, that it is thought unlucky for a son to go on with his father's work.



Hence, although rapid rise and sudden fortunes are more common in India than in Europe, they produce no permanent change in the society; all remains on the same dead level, with no conspicuous objects to guide the course of the community, and no barriers to oppose to the arbitrary will of the ruler.\*

Under such discouragements we cannot be surprised at the stagnation and decline of Hindû civilization. The wonder is, how it could ever struggle against them, and how it attained to such a pitch as exists even at this moment.

At what time it had reached its highest point it is not easy to say. Perhaps in institutions and moral character it was at its best just before Alexander; but learning was much longer in reaching its prime. The most flourishing period for literature is represented by Hindû tradition to be that of Vicramāditya, a little before the beginning of our era; but some of the authors who are mentioned as the ornaments of that prince's court appear to belong to later times;† and the good writers, whose works are extant, extend over a long space of time, from the second century before Christ to the eighth of the Christian era. Mathematical science was in most perfection in the fifth century after Christ; but works of merit, both in literature and science, continued to be composed for some time after the Mahometan invasion.

\* The great military chiefs may be said to be exceptions to this rule, for they not infrequently transmit their lands to their children; but they are, for purposes of improvement, the worst people into whose hands property could fall. As their power rests on mercenary soldiers, they have no need to call in the aid of the people, like our barons; and as each lives on his own lands at a distance from his equals, they neither refine each other by their intercourse, nor those below them by the example of their social habits.

† Tradition associates nine authors as

the 'nine gems' of his court—Bhāṣavartī, Kāśapaṇaka, Amara Sinha, Śaṅkha, Vetalabhatta, Ghatākarṣana, Kalidasa, Varāhamihira, and Vararuchi. But Varāhamihira lived in the sixth century, and some hold that Amara Sinha lived about the same time (see Gen. Cunningham, *Journ. A. S. B.*, 1863, Suppl.). Bhāṣavartī, the dramatist, is supposed to have lived at the court of Yama-varman, king of Kāśmīr, A.D. 720, and Bana fl. crashed at the end of the court in the preceding century. — *See Hall, Journ. A. S. B.*, 1862, — E.

## BOOK IV.

## HISTORY OF THE HINDÚS UP TO THE MAHOMETAN INVASION.

## CHAPTER I.

## HISTORY OF THE HINDÚS—HINDOSTAN.

THE first information we receive on Hindú history<sup>1</sup> is from a passage in Menu,<sup>2</sup> which gives us to infer that their residence was at one time between the rivers Saraswatí (Sersooty) and Drishadwatí (Caggar), a tract about 100 miles to the north-west of Delhi, and in extent about sixty-five miles long, and from twenty to forty broad. That land, Menu says, was called Brahmávarṭa, because it was frequented by gods; and the custom preserved by immemorial tradition in that country is pointed out as a model to the pious.<sup>3</sup> The country between that tract and the Jumna, and all to the north of the Jumna and Ganges, including North Behár, is mentioned, in the second place, under the name of Brahmarshi; and Bramins born within that tract are pronounced to be suitable teachers of the several usages of men.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [For the historical hints which the Vaidik writings give us, see Appendices VII. and VIII.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [The following is a translation of this important passage of Menu (II. 17—24):—

“The space between the two divine rivers, the Saraswatí and the Drishadwatí, —that god-created tract they call *Brahmávarṭa*.\* The custom prevalent in that tract, received from successive tradition, concerning the castes and the mixed castes, is called the good custom. Kurukshetra, the Matsyas, the Panchálas, and the Śúrasenas,†—this land, which comes next to Brahmávarṭa, is the land of Brhmaarshis (*Brahmarshideśa*, or the land of divine sages). From a Brahman born in that district let all the men on the earth learn their several duties. The tract between

the Himavat and Vindhya, to the east of Vinasana ‡ and to the west of Prayága, is called the central region (*Madhyadeśa*). The space between those two mountain ranges, to the eastern and the western sea, the wise know as *Áryavarta* (or the land of the Áryas). Where the black antelope naturally grazes is to be held as the proper land for offering sacrifices; all else is Mlechchha-land. Let the twice-born carefully keep within these countries; but a Súdra, distressed for subsistence, may dwell anywhere”—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Menu, Book II. v. 17, 18. This tract is also the scene of the adventures of the first princes, and the residence of the most famous sages.—Wilson, Preface to *Vishnu Purána*, p. lxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Menu, Book II. v. 19, 20.

\* This may mean the land of Brahmá, or the land of sacred knowledge.

† See *suprà*, p. 26.

‡ This is the place where the Saraswatí terminates, losing itself in the great sandy desert.

This, therefore, may be set down as the first country acquired after that on the Saraswatī.

The Purāṇas pass over these early stages unnoticed, and commence with Ayodhyā (Oudh), about the centre of the last-mentioned tract. It is there that the solar and lunar races have their origin; and from thence the princes of all other countries are sprung.

From fifty to seventy generations of the solar race are only distinguished from each other by purely mythological legends.

After these comes Rāma, who seems entitled to take his place in real history.

His story, when stripped of its fabulous and romantic decorations, merely relates that Rāma possessed a powerful kingdom in Hindostan; and that he invaded the Deekan and penetrated to the island of Lankā (Ceylon), which he conquered.

The first of these facts there is no reason to question; and we may readily believe that Rāma led an expedition into the Deekan; but it is highly improbable that, if he was the first or even *among* the first invaders, he should have conquered Ceylon. If he did so, he could not have lived, as is generally supposed, before the compilation of the Vedas; for, even in the time of Menu's Institutes, there were no settlements of Hindu conquerors in the Deekan. It is probable that the poets who have celebrated Rāma, not only reared a great fabric on a narrow basis, but transferred their hero's exploits to the age which was thought most interesting in their own day.

The undoubted antiquity of the "Rāmāyana" is the best testimony to the early date of the event which it celebrates; yet, as no conspicuous invasion of the Deekan could have been undertaken without great resources, Rāma must have lived after Hindu civilization had attained a considerable pitch.

After Rāma, sixty princes of his race ruled in succession over his dominions; but as we hear no more of Ayodhyā (Oudh), it is possible that the kingdom (which at one time was called Cossabara) may have merged in another, and that the capital was transferred from Oudh to Canouj.

The war celebrated in the "Mahā Bhārata" is the next historical event that deserves notice.

It is a contest between the lines of Pāṇdu and of Cūrū, two branches of the reigning family, for the territory of Hastinapur, a fertile place on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which

still bears the ancient name). The family itself is of the lunar race, but the different parties are supported by numerous allies, and some from very remote quarters.

There seem to have been many states in India<sup>7</sup> (six, at least, in the one tract upon the Ganges<sup>8</sup>); but a considerable degree of intercourse and connexion appears to have been kept up among them. Crishna, who is an ally of the Pándus, though born on the Jumna, had founded a principality in Guzerát; among the allies on each side are chiefs from the Indus, and from Calinga in the Deckan—some even who, the translators are satisfied, belong to nations beyond the Indus; and Yavanas, a name which most orientalists consider to apply, in all early works, to the Greeks. The Pándus were victorious, but paid so dear for their success, that the survivors, broken-hearted with the loss of their friends and the destruction of their armies, abandoned the world and perished among the snows of Himálaya. Crishna, their great ally, fell, as was formerly stated,<sup>9</sup> in the midst of civil wars in his own country. Some Hindú legends relate that his sons were obliged to retire beyond the Indus;<sup>10</sup> and, as those Rájputés who have come from that quarter in modern times to Sind and Cach are of his tribe of Yadu, the narrative seems more deserving of credit than at first sight might appear. The more authentic account, however, (that of the “Mahá Bhárata” itself), describes them as finally returning to the neighbourhood of the Jumna.

The story of the “Mahá Bhárata” is much more probable than that of the “Rámáyana.” It contains more particulars about the state of India, and has a much greater appearance of being founded on facts. Though far below the “Iliad” in appearance of reality, it bears nearly the same relation to the “Rámáyana” that the poem on the Trojan war does to the legends on the adventures of Hercules; and like the “Iliad,” it is the source to which many chiefs and tribes endeavour to trace their ancestors.

The date of the war has already been discussed;<sup>11</sup> it was probably in the fourteenth century before Christ.

<sup>7</sup> [Every glimpse which we get of ancient India reveals the same state of things as that described by Herodotus:—“There are many different nations of the Indians, and they speak different languages” (iii. 95). Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Hastinápura, Mattra, Panchála (part of Oudh and the Lower Doab), Benáres, Magadha, and Bengal. (*Oriental Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 135; Tod, vol. i. p. 49.) Ayo-dhyá is not mentioned in the “Mahá Bhá-

rata.” [?] nor Canyácubja (Canouj), [?] unless, as asserted in Menu (Chap. II. s. 19). [or rather by Kulluka], Panchála is only another name for that kingdom.

<sup>9</sup> See page 100.

<sup>10</sup> See Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 85. and the translation (through the Persian) of the “Mahá Bhárata,” published by the Oriental Translation Fund, in 1831.

<sup>11</sup> Page 156.

Twenty-nine (some say sixty-four) of the descendants of the Pándus succeeded them on the throne, but the names alone of those princes are preserved. The seat of their government seems to have been transferred to Delhi.

The successors of one of the kings who appear as allies in *Magadha*—the same poem were destined to attract greater notice. These are the kings of Magadha, of whom so much has been already said.<sup>12</sup>

The kings of Magadha seem always to have possessed extensive authority. The first of them (he who is mentioned in the "*Mahā Bhārata*") is represented as the head of a number of chiefs and tribes; but most of those probably were within the limits of Bengal and Behár, as we have seen that there were five other independent kingdoms in the tract watered by the Ganges.<sup>13</sup>

For many centuries they were all of the military tribe, but the first Nanda was born of a Súdra mother; and Chandragupta who overthrew the dynasty, was also of a low class: "from this time, say the Purānas, the Chatriyas lost their ascendancy in Magadha, and all the succeeding kings and chiefs were Súdras."<sup>14</sup>

They do not seem to have lost their consequence from the degradation of their cast; for the Súdra successors of Chandragupta are said, in the hyperbolical language of the Purānas, to have brought the "whole earth under one umbrella";<sup>15</sup> and there appears the strongest reason to believe that Asoka, the third of the line, was really in possession of a commanding influence over the states to the north of the Nerbadda. To extent of his dominions appears from the remote points at which his edict-columns are erected; and the same monuments bear testimony to the civilized character of his government, since they contain orders for establishing hospitals and dispensaries throughout his empire, as well as for planting trees and digging wells along the public highways.

<sup>12</sup> P. 171.

<sup>13</sup> It is remarkable that the Yavanas or Greeks are represented as allies of the King of Magadha, in one instance, evidently deriving from the connection between the King of the Pānas and the successors of Alexander. (Professor Wilson, *Ant. Ind. vol. iii. p. 101*). Another of these names Bhagadatta who was one of the principal titles of the King of the South and West, appears by the *Av. Aster. vol. i. p. 17* to have been a contemporary.

<sup>14</sup> The Buddhist tradition makes Chandragupta to have been of the same family as Bhaddika, the royal line of the Mauryas; the Brahmins explain Maurya as a metonymy, Maurya being one of Nanda's wives. (Miller's *Sansk. Lit. p. 27*). Ed.

<sup>15</sup> See W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 139. Professor Wilson, *Hind. Ind. vol. iii. p. 14*.

<sup>16</sup> Professor Wilson, *Hind. Ind. vol. iii. p. 14*.

This ascendancy of Asóca is the earliest ground I have been able to discover for an opinion which has been maintained, that the kings of Magadha were emperors and lords paramount of India; and Colonel Wilford, who has recorded all that he could ascertain regarding those kings,<sup>17</sup> states nothing that can countenance a belief in a greater extent or earlier commencement of their supremacy. During the war of the "Mahá Bhárata," it has been shown that they formed one of six little monarchies within the basin of the Ganges, and that they were among the unsuccessful opponents of one of those petty states, that of Hastinápura.

Alexander found no lord paramount in the part of India which he visited; and the nations which he heard of beyond the Hyphasis were under aristocratic governments. Arrian<sup>18</sup> and Strabo<sup>19</sup> say that the Prasii were the most distinguished of all the Indian nations; but neither hints of their supremacy over the others. Arrian, indeed, in giving this preference to the Prasii, and their king, Sandracottus, adds that Porus was greater than he. Megasthenes<sup>20</sup> says that there were 118 nations in India, but mentions none of them as subordinate to the Prasii. It is impossible to suppose that Megasthenes, who resided at the court of Sandracottus, and seems so well disposed to exalt his greatness, should have failed to mention his being emperor of India, or indeed his having any decided ascendancy over states beyond his own immediate limits.

The Hindú accounts<sup>21</sup> represent Chandragupta as all but overwhelmed by foreign invasion, and indebted for his preservation to the arts of his minister more than to the force of his kingdom. It is probable, however, that he laid the foundation of that influence which was so much extended under his grandson. His accepting the cession of the Macedonian garrisons on the Indus, from Seleucus, is a proof how far he himself had carried his views; and Asóca, in his youth, was governor of Ujein or Málwa, which must, therefore, have been a possession of his father.

The claim to universal monarchy in India has been advanced by princes of other dynasties in their inscriptions; and has been conceded, by different European authors, to Porus, to the kings of Cashmir, of Delhi, Canouj, Bengal, Málwa, Guzerát, and other places; but all apparently on very insufficient grounds.

The family of Maurya, to which Sandracottus belonged,

<sup>17</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix.

<sup>18</sup> Ch. v.

<sup>19</sup> Book xv. p. 483.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by Arrian, ch. vii.

<sup>21</sup> See Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindús*, vol. iii.



These conquests are rendered impossible, to anything like their full extent, by the simultaneous existence of independent governments in Canouj, Delhi, Ajmír, Mewár, and Guzerát, if not in other places; but they could scarcely have been claimed in contemporary inscriptions, if the princes to whom they are ascribed had not affected some supremacy over the other states, and had not sent expeditions far into the west of India, and even into the heart of the Deckan. On the whole, this dynasty seems to have at least as good a claim as any other in the Hindú times to the dignity of general dominion, and affords a fresh reason for distrusting all such pretensions. The dynasty of Pála was succeeded by one whose names ended in Sēna,<sup>26</sup> and this last was subverted by the Mahometans about A.D. 1203.

Though the kingdom of Málwa does not pretend to equal in antiquity those already mentioned, it is of it that we Málwa possess the first authentic date. The era still current Vicramáditya, through all the countries north of the Nerbadda is that of Vicramáditya, who reigned at Ujein at the date of its commencement, which was fifty-six years before Christ.

Vicramáditya is the Hárún al Rashid of Hindú tales; and by drawing freely from such sources, Colonel Wilford collected such a mass of transactions as required the supposition of no less than eight Vicramádityas to reconcile the dates of them; but all that is now admitted is, that Vicramáditya was a powerful monarch, ruled a civilized and prosperous country, and was a distinguished patron of letters.

The next epoch is that of Rája Bhója, whose name is one of the most renowned in India, but of whose exploits no record has been preserved.<sup>27</sup> His long reign terminated about the end of the eleventh century.

extreme west of India. The next inscription is on a broken column in the district of Sárán, north of the Ganges. It was erected by a prince who professes himself tributary to Gour or Bengal, yet claims for his immediate territory the tract from Rewa Jhanak (not exactly known) to the Himálaya mountains, and from the eastern to the western sea. It states the Rája of Bengal (probably the son of the Déb Pál of the last inscription) to have conquered Orissa, a tribe or people called Huns (also mentioned in the former inscription), the southern part of the coast of Coromandel, and Guzerát. The third merely records that a magnificent monument in honour of Buddha, near Benáres, was erected in 1026 by a Rája of Bengal of the same family as

the above, who, from the earlier inscriptions, also appear to have been Buddhists.

<sup>26</sup> [About 900, A.D., a king reigned in Bengal named Adiswara, who is said to have invited from Kanouj five distinguished Bráhmans, the ancestors of 156 families now dispersed through Bengal. They were accompanied by five Káyasthas, who similarly became the progenitors of eighty-three families. The precedence of the various families were settled by Ballála Sena, who reigned in the eleventh century. See Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 188, and *Journ. A.S.B.*, 1864, p. 325.—ED.]

<sup>27</sup> [Dr. Hall has shown (*Journ. B. A. S.* 1862, and *Vácaradattá*, Pref.) how little foundation there is for this prince's fame as a patron of letters.—ED.]



The intermediate six centuries are filled up by lists of kings in the "Ayini Akberi," and in the Hindû books : among them is one named Chandrapala, who is said to have conquered all Hindostan : but the information is too vague to be made much use of. The princes of Mâlwa certainly extended their authority over a large portion of the centre and west of India : and it is of Vicramâditya that the traditions of universal empire are most common in India.

The grandson of Bhoja was taken prisoner, and his country conquered by the Râja of Guzerât : but Mâlwa appears soon to have recovered its independence under a new dynasty, and was finally subdued by the Mahometans, A.D. 1231.\*

The residence of Crishna, and other events of those times, *cannot* impress us with the belief of an early principality in Guzerât : and the whole is spoken of as under one dominion, by a Greek writer of the second century.<sup>1</sup> The Râjpût traditions, quoted by Colonel Tod,<sup>2</sup> inform us of another principality, founded at Balabhi, in the peninsula of Guzerât, in the middle of the second century of our era, by Kanak Sêna, an emigrant of the solar race, which reigned in Oudh.<sup>3</sup> They were driven out of their capital in A.D. 524, by an army of barbarians, who, Colonel Tod thinks, were Parthians. The princes of that family emigrated again from Guzerât, and at length founded the kingdom of Mēwâr, which still subsists. Grants of land, inscribed on copper tablets, which have been translated by Mr. Wathen,<sup>4</sup> fully confirm the fact that a race whose names often ended in Sêna reigned at Balabhi from A.D. 144 to A.D. 624. The barbarians, whom Colonel Tod thinks Parthians, Mr. Wathen suggests may have been Indo-Bactrians. They are certainly too late to be Parthians, but it is not impossible they may have been Persians of the next race (Sassanians). Nooshirwan reigned from A.D. 531 to A.D. 579. Various Persian authors, quoted by Sir John Malcolm,<sup>5</sup> assert that this monarch carried his arms into Ferghana on the north and India on the east; and as they are supported in the first assertion by Chinese records,<sup>6</sup> there seems no reason to distrust them in the second. Sir Henry Pottinger (though without

<sup>1</sup> See the list of kings in the *Rayi* of A.D. 1231, p. 21. See Mr. Colebrooke's *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 11, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 11, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> See the list of kings in the *Rayi* of A.D. 1231, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> See the list of kings in the *Rayi* of A.D. 1231, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> See the list of kings in the *Rayi* of A.D. 1231, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> See the list of kings in the *Rayi* of A.D. 1231, p. 21.

his authority) gives a minute and probable account of wán's march along the sea-coast of Mekrán to Sind; <sup>25</sup> Balabhi was close to Sind, we may easily believe him to have destroyed that city. Perhaps the current story of the flight of the Ránas of Mēwár from Noushírwán may have arisen in connexion with their being driven into their present seats by the new monarch.

A difference of seven years, by which the taking of Balabhi and Noushírwán's accession, is but a trifling matter in chronology.

Balabhi princes were succeeded in the rule of Guzerát by the Chauras, another Rájput tribe, who finally established their capital, in A.D. 746, at Anhalwára, now Pattan, and founded one of the greatest dynasties of India.

The last rája, dying in A.D. 931 without male issue, was succeeded by his son-in-law as prince of the Rájput tribe of Kanauj or Chálukya, whose family were chiefs of Kalián in Kanauj, above the Gháts. <sup>26</sup>

It was a rája of this dynasty that conquered Málwa; and it is, I suppose, that Colonel Wilford applies the title of Emperor of India. <sup>27</sup> Though overrun and rendered tributary to the sultan of Ghazni, the Salónkas remained on the throne till 1033, when they were deposed by another dynasty, which in 1192 <sup>28</sup> sank in its turn before the Mussulman conquerors.

Of the ancient Hindú states have attracted more notice than Kanauj or Canouj. It is one of the most famous.

places in India: it gave rise, and gives a name, to one of the greatest divisions of the Bramin class; its capital was, at all times, the wealthiest visited by the first Mahometan invaders; its wars with the neighbouring state of Delhi contributed to hasten the ruin of Hindú independence.

Kanauj appears in early times to have been called Kanouj. It seems to have been a long but narrow territory, extending from the east to Nepál (which it included), and on the west to the Chambal <sup>29</sup> and Banás, as far as Ajmir. We

<sup>25</sup>, etc., p. 386.

<sup>26</sup> Tod, vol. i. pp. 83, 97, 101. In the comparative nearness of the Concan, Colonel Tod has been led to suppose the Salónka may come from thence; but confirmation is unfavourable to that. The Salónka princes of Kalián are more will be said hereafter.

<sup>27</sup> *Researches*, vol. ix. pp. 169, 170. <sup>28</sup> Briggs' *Perishta*.

<sup>29</sup> The identity of Canouj and Panchála is assumed in Menu, II. 19. Its limits, as assigned in the "Mahá Bháratá," are made out by connecting the following notes in the *Oriental Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 35, vol. iv. p. 142. It is remarkable that these boundaries, enlarged a little on the south and on the west, are the same as those assigned by Colonel Tod to the same kingdom at the time of the Mussulman invasion.—*Rijásthán*, vol. ii. p. 9.

know little else of its early history, except the Rājput writings and traditions collected by Colonel Tod,<sup>6</sup> and the inscriptions examined by Professor Wilson,<sup>7</sup> with those translated and discussed by Principal Mill.<sup>8</sup> The former relate that it was taken from another Hindū dynasty, A.D. 470, by the Rathōrs, who retained it until its conquest by the Mussulmans, in A.D. 1166, when they withdrew to their present seats in Mārwar.

In this interval they represent its conquests as including, at one period, Bengal and Orissa, and as extending on the west as far as the river Indus.

The inscriptions lead us to think that the dynasty subverted by the Mussulmans was of more recent origin, being established by a Rājput adventurer in the eleventh century, and throw doubt on the accuracy of Colonel Tod's information in other respects.

The Rājputs, as well as the Mahometan writers, who describe the conquest of India, dwell in terms of the highest admiration on the extent and magnificence of the capital of this kingdom, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the Ganges.

It would be tedious to go through the names of the various petty Hindū states that existed at various periods in Hindostan; the annexed table gives a notion of the dates of some of them, though it must often be erroneous as well as incomplete.

The mention of Cashmir is confined to the table for a different reason from the rest. Its history is too full and complex to mix with such sketches as the above, and it enters little into the affairs of the other parts of India, except when it describes the invasion, and almost conquest, of that great continent, on more than one occasion, by its own *rajas*; the accuracy of which accounts appears to admit of question.<sup>9</sup>

It is not easy to decide what states to include in the list, even of those which have come to my knowledge. The *Pargana* seems better entitled than Benares; but although a state, called Trigarta, was formed out of it in ancient times, and it was again recently united, when attacked by the Mahometans, yet it is not noticed in the intermediate Indian history, and was created by the Greeks; it was broken into very small principalities. Purnea, one of the greatest chiefs, had not, with all its friends and dependents, one-eighth part of the whole.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Annals and Antiquities of Rajpootana*, &c. &c. London, 1802. 2 vols. 8vo. [A note is given at the end of the first volume, that the names of the Rajpoots are given in the original text, and in the margin.]

<sup>7</sup> *Plans, &c. &c. of the various specimens of Hindu art, &c. &c. in the collection of antiquities in the British Museum.* London, 1825. 2 vols. 8vo.

<sup>9</sup> [See this discussed in Appendix, &c. &c.]

In the following table, the mark \* indicates that a state is mentioned in the "Mahā Bhārata." The date in that case refers to the next time it is heard of in history. The authority for the last mention of states is seldom given. The year is generally that in which they were conquered by the Mahomedans.

Name.	When first mentioned.	When last mentioned.	Authority.
MAGADHA.	{ * By the Greeks, } 300 B.C.	{ About the 5th } century, A.D.	{ Vishnu Purana, pp. } 473, 474 (note). }
GOVH.	{ * 9th century, A.D. } { Eleven genera- } { tions before 66 } B.C.	A.D. 1203	Monghir inscription.
MALWA.		A.D. 1231	Ayini Akbari, vol. ii. p. 44.
GUZERAT.	* A.D. 144	A.D. 1207	{ Col. Tod, vol. i. p. 216; } { Mr. Wathen, Journal } { Royal As. Soc. vol. } { iv. p. 480. }
CAROUJ.	* A.D. 470	A.D. 1103	Tod, vol. ii. p. 2.
MITHALA.	Rama's time	A.D. 1325	
BESABBS.	*	A.D. 1102	
DELHI.	* About 56 B.C.	A.D. 1102	Tod, vol. i. p. 51.
AJMER.	{ Seven genera- } { tions before } { A.D. 695 }	A.D. 1102	{ Tod, Trans. Royal As. } { Soc. vol. i. p. 40, and } { Orient. Mag. vol. viii. } { p. 20 }
MALWA.	A.D. 720	Still existing	Tod, vol. i. p. 231.
JESSEMER.	A.D. 731	Still existing	Tod, vol. ii. p. 233.
JERIPA.	A.D. 907	Still existing	Tod, vol. ii. p. 340.
SIND.	{ * In dependent } { in Alexander's } { time, 325 B.C. }	A.D. 711.	
CASHMIR.	1400 B.C.	A.D. 1015	{ Fr. fessor Wilson, As. } { Res. vol. xv. }

Mithila was the capital of the father of Sita, Rama's wife. Though famous for a school of law, and though giving its name to one of the ten Indian languages, it is little mentioned in history.  
Besabbs seems to have been independent at the time of the "Mahā Bhārata"; it was probably afterwards subject to Magadha, as it certainly was at a later period, to Guzerat. It was independent when conquered by the Mahomedans.  
The next mention of Delhi is in a probable form, after the "Mahā Bhārata," is its occupation by a tribe of Rajputs, twenty of whom had reigned in succession, when they were destroyed, in A.D. 1050, by an ancestor of Feroz Shah, who was conquered by the Musalmans.

The eighth prince, Manik Rai, reigned in A.D. 695. His descendant, Visal, was the prince who conquered Delhi in A.D. 1050. The two states fell together.

It seems to have been before this in the hands of the Malwa kings. It was conquered by a race of Rajputs from Oudh, the same who founded the state of Guzerat. Jessemer was founded by a tribe of the family of Chahua, who came from the north-west of India, and who still possess it.

Founded by a Rajput prince, of a family of descendants of Rama, who had, some generations before, obtained the petty principality of Narwar.  
Sindhu is mentioned as one principality in the "Mahā Bhārata." It was divided into four in Alexander's time, but united in A.D. 711, when invaded by the Arabs. It was afterwards recovered by the Rajput tribe of Samars, A.D. 750, and not finally conquered by the Mahomedans until after the house of Ghori.

The historians of Cashmir claim about 1200 years earlier, but give no names of kings and no events. After five dynasties, they were conquered by Mahmud of Ghazni, in A.D. 1015, according to Ferishta.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE DECKAN.

THE history of the Deckan, as it has no pretensions to equal antiquity, is less obscure than that of Hindostan, but it is less interesting. We know little of the early inhabitants; and the Hindûs do not attract so much attention where they are colonists as they did in their native seats.<sup>1</sup> "All the traditions and records of the peninsula (says Professor Wilson) recognise in every part of it, a period when the natives were not Hindûs;" and the aborigines are described, before their civilization by the latter people, as foresters and mountaineers, or goblins and demons. Some circumstances, however, give rise to doubts whether the early inhabitants of the Deckan could have been in so rude a state as this account of them would lead us to suppose.

The Tamil language must have been formed and perfected before the introduction of the Sanscrit; and though this fact may not be conclusive (since the North American Indians also possess a polished language), yet, if Mr. Ellis's opinion be well founded, and there is an original Tamil literature as well as language, it will be impossible to class the founders of it with foresters and mountaineers.<sup>2</sup> If any credit could be given to the Hindû legends, Râvama, who reigned over Ceylon and the southern part of the peninsula at the time of Râma's invasion, was the head of a civilized and powerful state; but, by the same accounts, he was a Hindû, and a follower of Siva; which would lead us to infer that the story is much more recent than the times to which it refers, and that part of it at least is founded on the state of things when it was written, rather than when Râma and Râvama lived.

It is probable that, after repeated invasions had opened the communication between the two countries, the first exco-

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that the Hindûs may have been introduced into the Deckan by the Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to penetrate into the interior of the country. The Portuguese, however, were not the first to introduce the Hindûs into the Deckan, as the Portuguese were not the first to introduce the Hindûs into the Deckan.

<sup>2</sup> The Tamil language is not the only one which has been found to exist in the Deckan. There are several other languages spoken in the Deckan, and it is probable that the Tamil language is not the only one which has been found to exist in the Deckan.

mosting, comparatively modern times, but such an inference would never have been drawn, had the writers of the account of the invasion of the Deckan by the Portuguese, who had been first introduced by the Portuguese. (There are some Tamil legends ascribed to Agastya himself, but they are undoubtedly modern. The oldest legends are those written by Jambavan, the son of the first king of the Deckan, the first century A.D. See Dr. Caldwell, *Tamil Grammar*, p. 100.—ED.)

from Hindostan would settle on the fruitful plains of the Carnatic and Tanjore, rather than in the bleak downs of the upper Deckan; and although the sea might not at first have influenced their choice of an abode, its neighbourhood would in time give access to traders from other nations, and would create a rapid increase of the towns along the coast. Such seems to have been the case about the beginning of our era, when Pliny and the author of the "Periplus" describe that part of India.

Even the interior must, however, have received a considerable portion of refinement at a still earlier period; for the companions of Alexander, quoted in Strabo and Arrian, while they remark the points of difference which still subsist between the inhabitants of the south and north of India, take no notice of any contrast in their manners.

Professor Wilson surmises that the civilization of the south may possibly be extended even to ten centuries before Christ.<sup>3</sup>

It has been mentioned that there are five languages spoken in the Deckan; and as they doubtless mark an equal number of early national divisions, it is proper here to describe their limits.

Tamil is spoken in the country called Drávida, which occupies the extreme south of the peninsula, and is bounded on the north by a line drawn from Pulicat (near Drávida or Tamil country.

Madras) to the Gháts between that and Bangalór, and so along the curve of those mountains westward to the boundary-line between Malabar and Canara, which it follows to the sea so as to include Malabar.<sup>4</sup>

Part of the northern limit of Drávida forms the southern one of Carnáta, which is bounded on the west by the sea, Carnáta or Canarese country. nearly as far as Goa, and then by the western Gháts up to the neighbourhood of Cólápúr.

The northern limit would be very roughly marked by a line from Cólápúr to Bídár, and the eastern by a line from Bídár, through Adóni, Anantpúr, and Nandidrúg, to the point in the Gháts formerly mentioned between Pulicat and Bangalór.

This last line forms part of the western limit of the Télugu language; which, however, must be prolonged in the Telungána or Télugu country. same rough way to Chanda, on the river Warda. From

<sup>3</sup>[Dr. Caldwell (*Ibid.* pp. 77—80) shows that the Drávidians had acquired at least the elements of civilization previous to the arrival amongst them of the Brahmans, but they were still in a rude state. Tradition names Agastya as the first teacher of science and literature in the

south; he is identified with the star Canopus. Of course his date is utterly uncertain; Dr. Caldwell would fix it in the sixth or seventh century B.C.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>[These limits thus include the district of the Malayálam.—Ed.]

this the northern boundary runs still more indistinctly east to Solimpûr on the Mûhâmadi. The eastern limit runs from Solimpûr to Cicnole, and thence along the sea to Pulicat, where it meets the boundary of the Tamil language.

The southern limit of the Maratta language and nation has already been described in fixing the boundaries of <sup>the Maratta country</sup> Charnâta and Telingâna. It runs from Gom through Gôlapûr and Bidar to Chaula. Its eastern line follows the Warda to the chain of hills south of the Nerbadda, called Injâdri or Sâtpûra.

Those hills are its northern limit, as far west as Nandêd, <sup>near</sup> the Nerbadda, and its western will be shown by a line from Nandêd to Damân, continued along the sea to Gom.<sup>2</sup>

The Uriya language is bounded on the south by that of Teinagâna, and on the east by the sea. On the west and north, a line drawn from Solimpûr to Midnapûr, in Bengal, would in some measure mark the boundary.

The large space left between Mahârâshtra and Orissa is in a great part the forest tract inhabited by the Gônds. Their language, though quite distinct from the rest, being reckoned a jargon of savage mountaineers, is not counted among the five languages of the Deekân.<sup>3</sup>

The most ancient kingdoms are those in the extreme south, in all of which the Tamil language prevailed.

Two persons of the agricultural class founded the kingdoms of Pândya and Chola. The first of these derives its name from its founder. It is uncertain when he flourished, but there seem good grounds for thinking it was in the fifth century before Christ.

Strabo mentions an ambassador from King Pandion to Augustus; and this appears from the "Periplus" and Ptolemy to have been the hereditary appellation of the descendants of Pândya.

The Pandion of the time of the "Periplus" had possession of a part of the Malabar coast, but this must have been a consideration; the Gônts in general formed the western limit of the kingdom, which was of small extent, only occupying what are now all the districts of Malabar and Travels.

The extent of the government, after being twice changed, was

<sup>1</sup> The Pandion of the Periplus was a Pandion, but not the Pandion of the Periplus. The Pandion of the Periplus was a Pandion, but not the Pandion of the Periplus. The Pandion of the Periplus was a Pandion, but not the Pandion of the Periplus. The Pandion of the Periplus was a Pandion, but not the Pandion of the Periplus.

fixed at Madura, where it was in Ptolemy's time, and where it remained till within a century of the present day.

The wars and rivalries of all the Pándyan princes were with the adjoining kingdom of Chola; with which they seem, in the first ages of the Christian era, to have formed a union which lasted for a long time. They, however, resumed their separate sovereignty, and were a considerable state until the ninth century, when they lost their consequence, and were often tributary, though sometimes quite independent, till the last of the Náyacs (the dynasty with which the line closed) was conquered by the Nabob of Arcot in A.D. 1736.

The history of Chola takes a wider range.

Chola.

Its proper limits were those of the Tamil language, and Mr. Ellis thinks that it had attained to this extent at the beginning of the Christian era; but the same gentleman is of opinion, that in the eighth century, its princes had occupied large portions of Carnáta and Telingána, and ruled over as much of the country up to the Godáverí as lay east of the hills at Nandidrúg.

They seem, however, to have been first checked, and ultimately driven back, in the twelfth century, within their ancient frontiers. In this state they continued to subsist, either as independent princes or feudatories of Vijayanagar, until the end of the seventeenth century, when a brother of the founder of the Maratta state, who was at that time an officer under the Mussulman king of Bijápúr, being detached to aid the last rája, supplanted him in his government, and was first of the present family of Tanjore.

The capital, for most part of their rule, was at Cáncchi, or Conjeveram, west of Madras.

Chéra was a small state, between the territory of the Pándyas and the western sea. It comprehended Travancore, Chéra, part of Malabar, and Coimbatúr. It is mentioned in Ptolemy, and may have existed at the commencement of our era. It spread, at one time, over the greater part of Carnáta, but was subverted in the tenth century, and its lands partitioned among the surrounding states.

According to the mythologists, the country of Kerala, which includes Malabar and Canara, was (together with the Kerala, Concan) miraculously gained from the sea by Parasu Ráma (the conqueror of the Chatriyas), and as miraculously peopled by him with Bramins. A more rational account states that, about the first or second century of our era, a prince of the northern



division of Kerala introduced a colony of Bramins from Hindostan; and as the numerous Bramins of Malabar and Canara are mostly of the five northern nations, the story seems to be founded in fact.

However the population may have been introduced, all accounts agree that Kerala was, from the first, entirely separate from the Concan, and was possessed by Bramins, who divided it into sixty-four districts, and governed it by means of a general assembly of their cast, renting the lands to men of the inferior classes. The executive government was held by a Bramin elected every three years, and assisted by a council of four of the same tribe. In time, however, they appointed a chief of the military class, and afterwards were, perhaps, under the protection of the Pândyan kings. But though the language of Kerala is a dialect of Tamil, it does not appear ever to have been subject to the kingdom of Chola.

It is not exactly known when the northern and southern divisions separated; but in the course of the ninth century, the southern one (Malabar) revolted from its prince, who had become a Mahometan, and broke up into many petty principalities; among the chief of which was that of the Zamorins, whom Vasco di Gama found in possession of Calicut at the end of the fifteenth century.

The northern division (Canara) seems to have established a dynasty of its own soon after the commencement of our era, which lasted till the twelfth century, when it was overthrown by the Belal râjas, and subsequently became subject to the rajas of Vijayanagar.

The Concan, in early times, seems to have been a tangled and uninhabited forest, from which character it has ever not but partially escaped. I suppose the inhabitants were aboriginal Marattas.

From there being the same language and manners throughout all Canara, it seems probable that the whole was once united under a native government; but the best historical accounts describe it as divided between the Palha and Colha princes, and those of Canara for the greater part of Kerala. It was afterwards partitioned among many petty princes, until the middle of the eleventh century, when a considerable dynasty appears to have arisen.

This was the family of Ballala or Belal, who were, or pretended to be, descendants of the Yadu branch, and whose power at one time extended over the whole of Canara, together with

Malabar, the Tamil country, and part of Telingána. They were subverted by the Mussulmans about A.D. 1310 or 1311.

The eastern part of Telingána seems to have been, from the beginning of the ninth to near the end of the eleventh century, in the hands of an obscure dynasty known by the name of Yádava. The Yálavas.

A Rájpút family of the Chálukya tribe reigned at Calían, west of Bidar, on the borders of Carnáta and Maháráshtra. Chálukyas of Carnáta. They are traced with certainty, by inscriptions from the end of the tenth to the end of the twelfth century. Those inscriptions show that they possessed territory as far to the south-west as Banawási in Sunda, near the western Gháts, and in one of them they are styled subjugators of Chola and Guzerát. Mr. Walter Elliott, who has published a large collection of their inscriptions,<sup>7</sup> is of opinion that they possessed the whole of Maháráshtra to the Nerbadda.<sup>8</sup> Professor Wilson thinks that they were also superior lords of the west of Telingána, a prince of which (probably their feudatory) defeated the Chola king:<sup>9</sup> and this is, probably, the conquest alluded to in the inscription. The same pretensions with respect to Guzerát probably originated in the acquisition (already mentioned) of that country by a prince of this house, through his marriage with the heiress of the Chaura family. The last king of the race was deposed by his minister, who, in his turn, was assassinated by some fanatics of the Lingáyet sect, which was then rising into

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> [Mr. Elliott (in *Madras. Journ. Lit. and Sc.* 1858) has given a summary of their history as far as it is known. He shows that before the arrival of the Chálukyas in the Deckan the Pallavas were the dominant race. Jayasinha was the founder of the Chálukya dynasty, which fixed its seat at Kalyán, about 100 miles west of Hyderabad. Subsequently a younger branch established itself in Telingána about the end of the sixth century:—"The two families ruled over the whole of the table-land between the Nerbadda and Krishna, together with the coast of the Bay of Bengal from Ganjam to Nellore, for about five centuries. The power of the Kalyán dynasty was subverted for a time in the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, and the emigrant prince or his son succeeded by marriage, in A.D. 931, to the throne of Anhalwára Pattan in Guzerat, which his descendants occupied with great glory till A.D. 1145. But in A.D. 973 the dynasty of Kalyán

was restored in the person of Tailapa Deva, and ruled with greater splendour than before till its extinction, in A.D. 1189, by Bijjala Deva, the founder of the Kalabhuriya dynasty. The junior branch extended their territories northwards from Vengi to the frontiers of Cuttack, and ultimately fixed their capital at Rájamahendri, the modern Rajahmundry. More than one revolution appears to have occurred in the course of their history, but the old family always contrived to regain its power, until the kingdom passed by marriage to Rájendra Chola, the then dominant sovereign of Southern India, in whose person the power of the Cholas had reached its zenith." In the twelfth century a partial restoration of the Chálukya line appears to have taken place, "and they maintained a feeble and divided influence until the latter part of the twelfth century, when the country fell under the sway of the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal."—ED.]

<sup>9</sup> Introduction to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxix.

notice. The kingdom fell into the hands of the Yadus of Deogiri.<sup>19</sup>

Another branch of the tribe of Chālukya, perhaps connected with those of Cālūka, ruled over Cālīnga, which is the eastern portion of Telingāna, extending along the sea from Drāvida to Orissa.

Their dynasty certainly lasted through the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and perhaps began two centuries earlier. It was greatly reduced by the Ganapati kings of Andhra, and finally subverted by the rājas of Cattac.

The kings of Andhra, whose capital was Warangal (about 80 miles north-east of Heiderābād), are alleged to have been connected with the Andhra race in Magadha; but it must have been by country only, for Andhra is not the name of a family, but of all the inland part of Telingāna.<sup>20</sup>

The records of the inhabitants mention Vicrama and Sālvahana among the earliest monarchs: after these they place the Chola rājas, who were succeeded, they think, about 515 A.D. by a race called Yavans; who were nine in number, and reigned, as they say, for 458 years, till A.D. 973. About this time, the same records make the family of Ganapati rājas begin; but the first authentic mention of them, and probably their first rise to consequence, was in the end of the eleventh century, under Kukati,<sup>21</sup> from whom the whole dynasty is sometimes named. He has been mentioned as an officer or feudatory of the Chālukyas, and as having gained victories over the Chola kings. Their greatest power was about the end of the thirteenth century, when the local traditions represent them as possessed of the whole of the peninsula south of the Godāvari. Professor Wilson, however, limits them to the portion between the fifteenth and eighteenth degrees of latitude.

In 1302 their capital was taken, and their independence, if not their independence, destroyed by a Malabar army from Telicooti. At one time, subsequent to this, they seem to have been tributary to Orissa. They merged at last in the Mussulman kingdom of Golkonda.

The history of Orissa, like all others in the Deccan, begins with the princes connected with the Mahā Bāhira. It is, however, with a confused story much resembling that of the early monarchs of the Andhra line, in which Vikram

<sup>19</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 102. <sup>20</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 102.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 102. <sup>22</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 102. <sup>23</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 102.

máditya and Sáliváhana are made to occupy the country in succession; and in which repeated invasions of Yavans from Delhi, from a country called Bábul (supposed to mean Persia), from Cashmir, and from Sind, are represented as having taken place between the sixth century before Christ and the fourth century after Christ.

The last invasion was from the sea, and in it the Yavans were successful, and kept possession of Orissa for 146 years.

The natives suppose these Yavans to be Mussulmans; and, with similar absurdity, describe two invasions of troops of that persuasion, under Imárat Khán and another Khán, as taking place about five centuries before Christ. Some will prefer applying the story to Seleucus, or the Bactrian Greeks; but it is evident that the whole is a jumble of such history and mythology as the author was acquainted with, put together without the slightest knowledge of geography or chronology.<sup>13</sup>

The Yavans were expelled by Yayáti Kesari, in A.D. 473.

This Mr. Stirling justly considers as the first glimmering of authentic history. Thirty-five rájas of the Kesari family follow in a period of 650 years, until A.D. 1131, when their capital was taken by a prince of the house of Ganga Vansa, whose dynasty occupied the throne till near the Mahometan conquest.

Mr. Stirling supposes this family to have come from Telingána; but Professor Wilson<sup>14</sup> proves, from an inscription, that they were rájas of a country on the Ganges, answering to what is now Tamúluk and Midnapúr; and that their first invasion was at the end of the eleventh century of our era, some years before the final conquest just mentioned.

Their greatest internal prosperity and improvement seems to have been towards the end of the twelfth century; and for several reigns on each side of that epoch they claim extensive conquests, especially to the south.

These are rendered highly improbable by the flourishing state of the Chálukya and Andhra governments during that period. In the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the government of Orissa had sent armies as far as Conjeveram, near Madras, and about the same time their rája, according to Ferishta,

<sup>13</sup> The same remark applies to the Yavans of Telingána, who, by-the-bye, have all Sanscrit names. Dr. Buchanan (vol. iii. pp. 97, 112) is surprised to find a dynasty of Yavans at Anagundi on the Tumbadra in the eighth and ninth centuries; this, however, is not physically

impossible, like the others, for the first Arab invasion was in the seventh century after Christ.

<sup>14</sup> Preface to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxxviii. Their name means "race of the Ganges."



ver Tagara was situated, it afterwards became the  
f a line of kings of the Rájput family of Silár, with  
e ruler of Calían near Bombay, in the eleventh century,  
Parnála near Cólápúr, in the twelfth, were proud to  
their connexion.<sup>19</sup>

ext fact relating to the Maratta country is the reign of  
na, whose era begins from A.D. 77. Sálivá- Sáliváhana.  
ms to have been a powerful monarch, yet scarcely one  
ance of his history has been preserved in an authentic  
credible form. He is said to have been the son of a  
o have headed an insurrection, overturned a dynasty,  
ave established his capital at Paitan, on the Godáveri.  
d also to have conquered the famous Vicramáditya, king  
a, and to have founded an extensive empire.<sup>20</sup> The first  
assertions, in reference to Vicramáditya himself, is  
le, as there are 135 years between the eras of the two  
and no war with any subsequent king of Málwa is  
d. His empire was probably in the Deckan, where-

admitted to be Baróch. A  
y has been taken by Colonel  
eleven miles, which (after  
horizontal distance) does not  
y from that allowed by Ren-  
es with all their encumbrances.  
o the southward of Baróch is  
e point to be sought for ; and  
p will naturally be, to look for  
within that circuit the name  
sembles Plithana. None such  
nd. Colonel Wilford, indeed,  
place called Pultanah, on the  
but nobody else has heard of  
probability is, that he meant

If so, the resemblance ceases  
r Phultánba would be written  
πλνταμβα, instead of Πλνθανα ;  
pposition is otherwise unten-  
ultámba, by a circuitous road,  
fteen days' journey from  
e are therefore left to seek  
ana ; but Colonel Wilford, I  
as brought us into the right  
ood, and has assisted us by an  
onjecture, though intended for  
pose. He says that Ptolemy  
en Plithana (ΠΛΙΘΑΝΑ) for  
ΠΑΙΘΑΝΑ) ; and I would con-  
on the contrary, the copyist of  
s has changed Paithana into  
he more likely as the name  
once), and that the real name  
emporium is Paitan, a city on  
i, between twenty and twenty-  
urncy (230 miles) from Baróch,

and distinguished as the capital of the  
great monarch Sáliváhana. As this king  
flourished towards the end of the first  
century (A.D. 77), it would be strange if  
his royal residence had become obscure  
by the middle of the second ; and even  
if the distance did not agree so well, we  
should be tempted to fix on it as one  
of the great marts of the Deckan. With  
regard to Tagara, we remain in total un-  
certainty. It cannot possibly be Deogiri  
(Doulatábád) ; because, even if we allow  
Phultámba to be Plithana, Doulatábád  
is within three days and a half or four  
days' journey instead of ten ; nor is there  
any situation to be found for Plithana so  
as to be twenty days' journey from Baróch  
and ten from Doulatábád, except Pána,  
which, being within seventy miles of the  
sea, would never have sent its produce  
twenty days' journey to Baróch. We  
need have the less reluctance in giving  
up Deogiri, as that place is never spoken  
of as a city until more than 1000 years  
after the date generally assigned to the  
*Periplus*. If Plithana be Paitan, Tagara  
must have lain ten days farther east,  
and probably on the Godáveri ; but that  
Plithana is Paitan rests on the above  
conjecture alone.

<sup>19</sup> See inscriptions, *Asiatic Researches*,  
vol. i. p. 357 ; and *Bombay Transactions*,  
vol. iii. p. 391.

<sup>20</sup> Grant Duff's *History of the Marattas*,  
vol. i. p. 26.

his name is still well known, and his era still that in ordinary use. After this the history of Mahārāshtra breaks off, and (except by the inscriptions of the petty princes of Calāha and Pernāla) we hear no more of that country till the beginning of the twelfth century, when a family of Yadus, perhaps a branch of that of Ballāl, became rājās of Deogiri.<sup>21</sup> In A.D. 1294, Mahārāshtra was invaded by the Mussulmans from Delhi. A rāja of the race of Yadu still reigned at Deogiri. He was rendered tributary either then or in A.D. 1306, and his capital was taken and his kingdom subverted in A.D. 1317.

About this time the Mussulman writers begin to mention the Marattas by name.<sup>22</sup> It is probable that strangers, on entering the Deccan, called the first country they came to by that general designation, and did not distinguish the different nations by name till they had met with more than one. It is probable, also, that there was little in the Marattas to attract notice. If they had been for any time under one great monarchy, we should have heard of it, as of the other Deccan states; and they would probably, like the others so circumstanced, have had a peculiar literature and civilization of their own. But they are still remarkably deficient both in native orders and in refinement; and what polish they have seems borrowed from the Mussulmans, rather than formed by Hindūs.

On the other hand, their cave-temples argue a great and continued application of skill and power; and those of Ellorā attracted the attention of the Mussulmans in their very first invasions.

The celebrity of the Marattas was reserved for recent times, when they were destined to act a greater part than all other Hindū nations, and to make a nearer approach to universal sovereignty than any of those to whom modern writers have ascribed the enjoyment of the empire of India.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson's Preface to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxx. [Vijayadeva, the grammarian and reputed author of the *Bhāṣya* on Pāṇini, is believed to have been a contemporary of Hamaḍin, the minister of Rāmachandra, Rājā of Deogiri, and to

have flourished in the thirteenth century. See Burnell, *History of the Deccan*, Part I, p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> The name *Marāt* occurs sometimes in Zai'ud-din Barī's account of Muhammad Tughlak's reign. See

## APPENDICES

TO

### THE PRECEDING FOUR BOOKS.

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#### APPENDIX I.

##### ON THE AGE OF MENU AND OF THE VÉDAS.

THE value of Menu's Code, as a picture of the state of society, depends entirely on its having been written in ancient times, as it pretends.

Before settling its date, it is necessary to endeavour to fix that of the Védas, to which it so constantly refers. From the manner in which it speaks Age of the of those sacred poems, we may conclude that they had long existed in Védas. such a form as to render them of undisputed authority, and binding on the conscience of all Hindús.

Most of the hymns composing the Védas are in a language so rugged as to prove that they were written before that of the other sacred writings was completely formed; while some, though antiquated, are within the pale of the polished Sanscrit. There must, therefore, have been a considerable interval between the composition of the greater part and the compilation of the whole. It is of the compilation alone that we can hope to ascertain the age.

Sir William Jones attempts to fix the date of the composition of the Yajur Véda by counting the lives of forty sages, through whom its doctrines were transmitted, from the time of Parásara; whose epoch again is fixed by a celestial observation: but his reasoning is not convincing. He supposes the Yajur Véda to have been written in 1580 before Christ. The completion of the compilation he fixes in the twelfth century before Christ; and all the other European writers who have examined the question fix the age of the compiler, Vyása, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries before Christ. The Hindús themselves unanimously declare him to have lived at least 3901 years before Christ.

The superior accuracy of the opinion held by the Europeans appears to be put out of all doubt by a passage discovered by Mr. Colebrooke. In every Véda there is a sort of astronomical treatise, the object of which is to explain the adjustment of the calendar, for the purpose of fixing the proper periods for the performance of religious duties. There can be little doubt that the last editor of those treatises would avail himself of the observations which were most relied on when he wrote, and would explain them by means of the computation of time most intelligible to his readers. Now, the measure of time employed in those treatises is itself a proof of their antiquity, for it is a cycle of five years of lunar months, with awkward divisions, intercalations, and other corrections, which show it to contain the rudiments of the calendar which now, after successive corrections, is received by the Hindús throughout India: but the decisive





inferior casta, besides various other practices repulsive to modern Hindús, which are the less suspicious because they are minute.

These are all the grounds on which we can guess at the age of this Code. That of Menu himself is of no consequence, since his appearance is merely dramatic, like that of Crishna in the "Bhagavad Gítá," or of the speakers in Plato's or Cicero's dialogues. No hint is given as to the real compiler, nor is there any clue to the date of the ancient commentator Cullúca. From his endeavouring to gloss over and to explain away some doctrines of Menu, it is evident that opinion had already begun to change in his time; but as many commentators, and some of very ancient date,\* speak of the rules of Menu as applicable to the good ages only, and not extending to their time, and as such a limitation never once occurs to Cullúca, we must conclude that commentator, though a good deal later than the original author, to have lived long before the other jurists whose opinions have just been alluded to.

On a careful perusal of the Code, there appears nothing inconsistent with the age attributed to it. It may, perhaps, be said that the very formation of a code, especially in so methodical a manner, is unlike ancient times; and it is certain that a people must have subsisted for some time, and must have established laws and customs, before it could frame a code. But the Greeks, and other nations whose history we know, formed codes at a comparatively earlier period of their national existence; and although the arrangement as well as the subject of Menu's Code show considerable civilization, yet this is no proof of recent origin, more than rudeness is of antiquity. The Romans were more polished 2000 years ago than the Esquimaux are now, or perhaps may be 2000 years hence.

[The Institutes of Menu are only one of the many Smritis or Dharmaśástras, a list of which was given in p. 89 *supra*. The very form in which they are composed, the epic śloka, proves their comparatively modern origin. The latest productions of the Vaidik period were the Sūtras, or the ceremonial rules current in different families. These, when complete, are divided into three portions,—the Śrauta, which treats of the great sacrifices; the Grihya, which treats of the domestic purifications, etc.; and the Sāmnyachárika, which treats of temporal duties and customs. The last seems to have been mainly the source of these Dharmaśástras. The Mánava is a subdivision of the Taittiríyakas, or followers of the Black Yajur Veda, and the Śrauta portion of the Mánava Kalpa-sūtras still exists, but the other portions seem to be lost. But in the Sūtras of the Ápastambas (another subdivision of the Taittiríyakas), in which the three portions are extant complete, we find that "the Sūtras contain generally almost the same words, which have been brought into verse by the compiler of the Mánava-dharma-śútra." The so-called "Institutes of Manu" may therefore be considered as the last redaction of the traditional laws of the Mánava. That ours is only one of many, probably successive, redactions, seems evident by the frequent quotations in old authors from lost works, called the Vrihat or great Manu, and Vridhdha or old Manu. As for the date of the compilation in its present form, we have no data to rest upon, since it is a *rifacimento* of older materials; but the third century before Christ, is certainly nearer to the truth than the ninth or tenth. We must not, however, forget, in estimating its historical value, that it was undoubtedly composed from older documents, and, although some parts may be comparatively modern, the great mass of the work does faithfully represent the spirit and character of the old Hindú world, after the cast system had become thoroughly established. See this subject more fully treated in Prof. Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Lit.* pp. 61, 132—134; and his letter in *Morley's Digest*, *Introd.* p. cxvii.—Ed.]

\* See note at the end of Sir W. Jones' translation.

## APPENDIX II.

## ON CHANGES IN CAST.

AMONG the changes in cast, I have not noticed one which, if proved, is of much doubtless regard, greater importance than all the rest. I allude to the admission of a body of Scythians into the Kshatriya class, which is asserted by Colonel Tod, and in part accessed to by a very able writer in the "Oriental Magazine."<sup>1</sup> Colonel Tod is entitled to every respect, on account of

his zeal for Oriental knowledge, and the light he has thrown on a most interesting country, almost unknown till his time; and the anonymous writer is so evidently a master of his subject, that it is possible he may be familiar with instances unknown to me of the admission of foreigners into Hindû casts. Unless this be the case, however, I am obliged to differ from the opinion advanced, and can only show my estimation of those who maintain it, by assigning my reasons at length. If the supposition be, that the whole Hindû people sprang from the same root with the Scythians, before those nations had assumed their distinctive peculiarities, I shall not conceive myself called on to discuss the question; but if such a union is said to have taken place within the historic period, I shall be inclined to doubt the fact. The admission of strangers into any of the twice-born classes was a thing never contemplated by Menu, and could not have taken place within the period to which the records of his time extended. No trace of the alleged amalgamation remained in Alexander's time, for though he and his followers visited India after having spent two years in Scythia, they discovered no resemblance between any parts of those nations. The union must therefore have taken place within a century or two before our era, or at some later period. This is the supposition on which Colonel Tod has gone in some places, though in others he mentions Scythian immigrations in the sixth century before Christ, and others at more remote periods.

That there were Scythian irruptions into India before those of the Moguls under Chengiz Khan, is so probable, that the slightest evidence would induce us to believe them to have occurred; and we may be satisfied with the proofs afforded us that the Scythians, after conquering Bactria, brought part of India under their dominion, but the admission of a body of foreigners into the priesthood of the Hindû classes, and that after the line had been so completely drawn as it was in the Code of Menu, is so difficult to imagine, that the most direct and clear proofs are necessary to substantiate it. Now, what are the proofs?

1 That four of the Rajput tribes have a fable about their descent, from which, if all Hindû fables had a meaning, we might deduce that they came from the west and that they did not know their real origin.

2 That some of the Rajputs certainly deduce me from the west of the Indus.

3 That the religion and manners of the Rajputs resemble those of the Scythians.

4 That the names of some of the Rajput tribes are Scythian.

5 That there were, by ancient authorities, Indo-Scythians on the Lower Indus in the second century.

6 That there were white Huns in Upper India in the time of Guptas Indus-Prastab sixth century.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Hindostan*, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> *Vol. i. p. 55 and vol. vi. p. 10.*

7. That De Guignes mentions, on Chinese authorities, the conquest of the country on the Indus by a body of Yue-shi or Getae, and that there are still Jits on both sides of that river.

1. The first of these arguments is not given as conclusive; and it is obvious that native tribes, as well as foreign, might be ignorant of their pedigree, or might wish to improve it by a fable, even if known. The scene of the fable carries us no nearer to Scythia than A'bu, in the north of Guzerat; and few, if any, of the tribes which Colonel Tod describes as Scythians belong to the *four* to whom only it applies.

2. The great tribe of Yadu, which is the principal, perhaps the only one, which came from beyond the Indus, is the tribe of Crishna, and of the purest Hindú descent. There is a story of their having crossed to the west of the Indus after the death of Crishna. One division (the Sama) certainly came from the west, in the seventh or eighth century, but they were Hindús before they crossed the Indus; and many of those who still remain on the west, though now Mahometans, are allowed to be of Hindú descent.\* Alexander found two bodies of Indians west of the Indus,—one in Paropamisus, and one near the sea; and, though both were small and unconnected, yet the last-mentioned alone is sufficient to account for all the immigrations of Rájputs into India, without supposing aid from Scythia.

3. If the religion and manners of any of the Rájputs resemble those of the Scythians, they incomparably more closely resemble those of the Hindús. Their language also is Hindú, without a Scythian word (as far as has yet been ascertained). I have not heard of any part of their religion, either, that is not purely Hindú. In fact, all the points in which they are said to resemble the Scythians are common to all the Rájputs without exception, and most of them to the whole Hindú race. On the other hand, the points selected as specimens of Scythian manners are for the most part common to all rude nations. Many, indeed, are expressly brought forward as Scandinavian or German; although an identity of manners between those nations and the eastern Scythians is still to be proved, even supposing their common origin.

If, instead of searching for minute points of resemblance, we compare the general character of the two nations, it is impossible to imagine any two things less alike.

The Scythian is short, square-built, and sinewy, with a broad face, high cheekbones, and long narrow eyes, the outer angles of which point upwards. His home is a tent; his occupation, pasturage; his food, flesh, cheese, and other productions of his flocks; his dress is of skins or wool; his habits are active, hardy, roving and restless. The Rájput, again, is tall, comely, loosely built, and, when not excited, languid and lazy. He is lodged in a house, and clad in thin showy fluttering garments; he lives on grain, is devoted to the possession of land, never moves but from necessity; and though often in or near the desert, he never engages in the care of flocks and herds, which is left to inferior classes.

4. Resemblances of name, unless numerous and supported by other circumstances, are the very lowest sort of evidence; yet in this case, we have hardly even them. Except Jit, which will be adverted to, the strongest resemblance is in the name of a now obscure tribe called Hún to that of the horde which the Romans called Huns; or to that of the great nation of the Turks, once called by the Chinese Hien-yun or Hiong-nou. The Húns, though now almost extinct, were once of some consequence, being mentioned in some ancient inscriptions: but there is nothing besides their name to connect them either with the Huns or the Hiong-

\* Tod, vol. i. p. 85; Pottinger, pp. 392, 393; Ayeen Acbery, vol. ii. p. 132.

non. It might seem an argument against the Hindu origin of the Rājputs, that the names of few of their tribes are explainable in Sanskrit. But are they explainable in any Tartar language? and are all names confessedly Hindu capable of explanation?

5. We may admit, without hesitation, that there were Scythians on the Indian Scythian sea in the second century, but it is not apparent how this advances us a step towards their transformation into Rājputs. There have been Persians and Afghans and English in India, but none of them have found a place among the native tribes.

6. Cosmas, a mere mariner, was not likely to be accurate in information about the upper parts of India; and the White Huns according to De Guignes' were Turks, whose capital was Orcong or Khava. It does not seem improbable, therefore, that he confounded the Getae with the Huns, but his evidence, even if taken literally, only goes to prove that the name of Hun was known in Upper India, and, along with that, it proves that up to the sixth century the people who bore it had not merged in the Rājputs.

7. The account of De Guignes has every appearance of truth. It not only explains the origin of the Scythians on the Indus, but shows us what became of them, and affords the best proof that they were not swallowed up in any of the Hindu classes. The people called the Yenchu by the Chinese, Jits by the Tartars, and Gites or Giteury by some of our writers, were a considerable nation in the centre of Tartary as late as the time of Timurlane. In the second century before Christ they were driven from their original seats on the borders of China by the Hsiang-nou, with whom they had always been in enmity. About 126 B.C. a division of them conquered Khotan in Persia, and about the same time the Sui, another tribe whom they had killed, drove an early part of their advance, took Bactra from the Greeks. In the next years of the Christian era the Yenchu came from some of their conquests in Persia into the country on the Indus, which is correctly described by the Chinese historians. This portion of them is represented to have settled there, and accordingly when Timurlane, who was contented to treat the Jits as Tartars, arrived at the Indus, he recognised his former hosts in their distant abode. They still bore the name of Jits or Jats, and are still numerous on both sides of the Indus, being the peasantry of the Punjab, the Rājput country, Sind, and the coast of Baluchistan, and in most places professing the Muhammadan religion.

The only objection that has been brought forward to the Getae origin of the Jats is, that they are named in some lists of the highest tribes, and are connected among pure Hindus with the Telichites, whom we learn the Jats to despise the other tribes, and that the Jats themselves in the lists they are never considered as Rājputs, and that no Rājput is likely to trace his lineage with them. In answer to this, I observe that except the names of a few castes, they were not all added to the Hindu community until the twelfth century, and that they are connected with the Getae. The names of the Jats are not found in any of the lists which were compiled before the twelfth century.

It is very probable that the Jats, who were the purest of Rājputs in the west, with the most numerous and the most powerful tribes, are the ones who are recorded to have converted to Hinduism in the twelfth century, and to have been then called in the southern Vedas and in the Vedas of the Brahmins, Scythians, and

1. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 2. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 3. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 4. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 5. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 6. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 7. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 8. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 9. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 10. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 11. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 12. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 13. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 14. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 15. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 16. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 17. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 18. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 19. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 20. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 21. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 22. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 23. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 24. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 100. 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driven back to their ancient seats to join their brethren, from whom, in religion and cast, they had never separated.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the Jats may be of Scythian descent, but that the Rājputs are all pure Hindūs.

## APPENDIX III.

## ON THE GREEK ACCOUNTS OF INDIA.

BEFORE we examine the account of India given by the Greeks, it is necessary to ascertain of what country they speak when they make use of that name.

Most of the writers about Alexander call the inhabitants of the hilly region to the south of the main ridge of Caucasus, and near the Indus, Indians; and also mention another Indian tribe or nation, who inhabited the sea-shore on the western side of the Indus. Each of those two tribes occupied a territory stretching for 150 miles west from the river, but narrow from north to south. A great tract of country lay between their territories, and was inhabited by a people foreign to their race. Close to the Indus, however, especially on the lower part of its course, there were other Indian tribes, though less considerable than those two.

India bounded on the west by the River Indus.

The Indians on the sea-shore were named Oritæ and Arabitæ, and are recognised by Major Rennell as the people called Asiatic Ethiopians by Herodotus. Their country was the narrow tract between the mountains of Belóchistân and the sea, separated from Mékrân on the west by the range of hills which form Cape Arboo, and on which still stands the famous Hindú temple of Hingléz.

The Indians whom Herodotus includes within the satrapies of Darius, are, probably, the more northern ones under Caucasus, for he expressly declares, that those on the south were independent of the Persian monarchy.<sup>1</sup> It is proved by Major Rennell that his knowledge of India did not reach beyond the desert east of the Indus;<sup>2</sup> and he seems to have had no conception of the extent of the country and no clear notion of the portion of it which had been subjected to Persia.<sup>3</sup> The other Greek writers, though they speak of Indians beyond the Indus, strictly limit *India* to the eastern side of that river. Arrian, who has called the mountaineers Indians, from the place where Alexander entered Paropamisus, yet when he comes to the Indus says, "This river Alexander crossed at daybreak with his army into the land of the Indians," and immediately begins a description of the people of that country.<sup>4</sup>

In the course of this description he again explicitly declares that the Indus is the western boundary of India from the mountains to the sea.<sup>5</sup>

In his "*Indica*," also, he desires his reader to consider *that* only as India which

<sup>1</sup> *Thalia*, 101, 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> The Indians east of the Indus constantly maintained to the followers of Alexander that they had never before been invaded (by human conquerors at least), an assertion which they could not have ventured if they had just been delivered from the yoke of Persia. Arrian, also, in discussing the alleged invasions of Bacchus, Hercules, Scæstris, Semiramis, and Cyrus, denies them all except the mythological ones; and Strabo denies even those, adding that the Persians hired mercenaries from India, but never invaded it. (Arrian, *Indica*,

8, 9; Strabo, lib. xv., near the beginning. See also Diodorus, lib. ii. p. 123, edition of 1604.)

<sup>4</sup> I have not been able to discover the grounds on which it is sometimes said that the Persians were in possession of India as far as the Jumna or Ganges. The weighty opinion of Major Rennell (which, however, applies only to the Panjáb) rests on the single argument of the great tribute said to have been paid by the Indians, which he himself proves to have been overstated. (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 305.)

<sup>5</sup> *Expedition Alexandri*, lib. v. cap. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* lib. v. cap. 6.



conquered the territory in comparatively recent times.<sup>11</sup> The upper part of the mountains farther north is possessed by the Cásirs, another nation who, from the close connexion between their language and Sanscrit, appear to be of the Indian race. Their religion, however, though idolatrous, has no resemblance whatever to that of the Hindús.

Throughout the whole of the *plain* to the west of the Indus, from the range of Caucasus to the sea, the greater part of the original population are Jats, whose descent from the Getæ has been discussed in Appendix II., but who speak an Indian language, and are now classed with the Indians by their western neighbours. The hills which bound that plain on the west are everywhere held by tribes of a different origin. Some of the so-called Indians are Hindús, but the greater part are converts to the Mahometan religion. The above description comprehends the whole of the country of the ancient Oritæ.

If from a general view of these accounts, ancient and modern, we were to speculate on the first settlement of the people to whom they relate, it might, perhaps, appear not improbable that the Indians in the northern mountains were of the same race as the Hindús, but never converted to the Braminical religion, and that they may have occupied their present seats before the period at which the first light breaks on the history of their brethren in the plains: but it is enough to allude to so vague a conjecture.<sup>12</sup> The Indian races in the plains probably crossed from India at different periods. Notwithstanding the religious prohibition and the testimony of Strabo, it is difficult to believe that the easy communication afforded by a navigable river would not lead the inhabitants of whichever neighbouring country was first peopled and civilized to spread over both banks. I am therefore led to think the occupation of the western bank by the Indians began very early, the neighbouring countries on that side being scarcely peopled even now. The emigration towards the mouth of the Indus, which seems to have been more extensive than elsewhere, may possibly be that alluded to in the ancient legends about the flight of Crishna's family. A branch of this tribe certainly came from the west into Sind ten centuries ago; and other divisions, still retaining their religion and cast, have passed over into Guzerát in later times."<sup>13</sup>

To remove some doubts about the limits of the Indian nations on the west of the Indus, it is desirable to advert to a part of Alexander's route through the adjoining countries.

Alexander set out from Artachoana (which seems to be admitted to be Herát), and proceeded in pursuit of one of the murderers of Darius to the royal city of the Zarangæi, which is recognized in Zarang, an ancient name for the capital of Sistán. He thence directed his march towards Bactria, and on his way received the submission of the Drangæ, the Gedrosians, and the Arachotians. He then came to the Indians bordering on the Arachotians. Through *all* these nations he suffered much from snow and want of provisions. He next proceeded to Caucasus, at the foot of which he founded Alexandria, and afterwards crossed the mountains into Bactria.<sup>14</sup>

The Drangæ are probably the same as the Zarangæ; Arachotia is explained by Strabo<sup>15</sup> to extend to the Indus; and Gedrosia certainly lay along the sea.

<sup>11</sup> This is somewhat less than was occupied by the Indians described by Arrian, who extended west to the Cophenes, probably the river of Panjshir, north of Cábul.

<sup>12</sup> [This subject is discussed in Mr. Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, vol. ii. pp. 367—370. Hindú writers recognised many of the tribes to the west of the Indus as degraded Kahatriyas, and they considered some of them, as e.g. the Kambojas, to speak a dialect of Sanscrit.—Ed.]

<sup>13</sup> Colonel Tod, vol. i. pp. 85, 86; vol. ii. pp. 220

(note), 312. Captain M'Murdo, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 219.

In speaking of the Hindús above, I do not allude to the modern emigrants now found scattered through the countries on the west of the Indus as far as Moscow; neither do I discuss what other settlements of that people may have been effected between the time of Alexander and the present day.

<sup>14</sup> Arrian, lib. iii. cap. xxviii.

<sup>15</sup> Lib. xi. p. 355, edition of 1587.





The Soastes would seem to be the river of Swát ; but then there is no river left for the Guraeus, which is between the Soastes and Indus. Major Rennell, on a different theory, supposes the Guraeus to be the Cábul river itself ; but both of Arrian's accounts make the Guraeus fall into the Cophenes, which afterwards falls into the Indus.

The Cábul river, therefore, must be the Cophenes, and the Indians are under the mountains between it, its upper branch (the Punjshir river), and the Indus.

Alexander's proceedings in India are so well known that they cannot be too slightly touched on. After an advance to the Hyphasis, he turned to the south-west, and passed off between the desert and the Indus, having scarcely seen the skirts of India. He made no attempt to establish provinces ; but, as he intended to return, he adopted exactly the same policy as that employed by the Duráni Shah in after times. He made a party in the country by dispossessing some chiefs and transferring their territory to their rivals ; thus leaving all power in the hands of persons whose interest induced them to uphold his name and conciliate his favour.

The few garrisons he left reminded people of his intended return ; and his troops in the nearest parts of Persia would always add to the influence of his partisans.

The adherence of Porus and other princes, who were in a manner set up by the Macedonians, ought therefore to be no matter of surprise.

We now understand the people to whom the Greek descriptions were intended to apply ; but we must still be cautious how we form any further opinions regarding that people, on Greek authority alone.

Description of  
India.

The ancients themselves have set us an example of this caution. Arrian says that he shall place implicit confidence in the accounts of Ptolemy and Aristobulus alone ; and in them only when they agree ;<sup>22</sup> and Strabo, in a very judicious dissertation on the value of the information existing in his time, observes that the accounts of the Macedonians are contradictory and inaccurate, and that those of later travellers are of still less value from the character of the authors, who were ignorant merchants, careless of everything except gain.<sup>23</sup> We may, however, give full credit to the Greek writers when they describe manners and institutions which are still in being, or which are recorded in ancient Hindú books. We may admit, with due allowance for incorrectness, such other accounts as are consistent with these two sources of information ; but we must pass by all statements which are not supported by those tests or borne out by their own appearance of truth.

If, however, we discard the fables derived from the Grecian mythology, and those which are contrary to the course of nature, we shall find more reason to admire the accuracy of the early authors, than to wonder at the mistakes into which they fell in a country so new and so different from their own, and where they had everything to learn by means of interpreters, generally through the medium of more languages than one.<sup>24</sup> Their accounts, as far as they go, of the manners and habits of the people, do in fact agree with our own accurate knowledge almost as well as those of most modern travellers prior to the institution of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.

An example both of the general truth and partial inaccuracy of the Greeks presents itself in the first subject which is to be noticed, agreeably to the order hitherto adopted.

<sup>22</sup> Preface to the *Expedition of Alexander*.

<sup>23</sup> Beginning of lib. xv. See also lib. ii. p. 48, edition of 1587.

<sup>24</sup> Onesicritus conversed through three interpreters. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 492, ed. of 1587. From Greek into Persian, and from Persian into Indian,

are two that obviously suggest themselves ; it is not so easy to conjecture for what language the third interpreter was required. [Probably a connecting link would be required between Persian and Indian.—ED.]



but they were probably Bramins themselves, only attached to a particular school of philosophy.<sup>31</sup>

Religious ascetics are often spoken of, under the different names of Brachmanes, Germanes, and Sophists; but it does not very clearly appear whether Ascetics. they were merely Bramins in the two last stages of their life, or whether they were members of regular monastic establishments. Many of their austerities might be reconciled to the third portion of a Bramin's life, when he becomes an anchorite; but their ostentatious mortifications, their living in bodies, and several other circumstances, lead rather to a conclusion that they belonged to the monastic orders. The best description of these ascetics is given by Onesicritus,<sup>32</sup> who was sent by Alexander to converse with them, in consequence of their refusing to come to him. He found fifteen persons about two miles from the city, naked, and exposed to a burning sun; some sitting, some standing, and some lying, but all remaining immovable from morning till evening, in the attitudes they had adopted.

He happened first to address himself to Calanus,<sup>33</sup> whom he found lying on stones. Calanus received him with that affectation of independence which religious mendicants still often assume, laughed at his foreign habit, and told him that if he wished to converse with him, he must throw off his clothes, and sit down naked on the stones. While Onesicritus was hesitating, Mandanis, the oldest and most holy of the party, came up. He reproved Calanus for his arrogance, and spoke mildly to Onesicritus, whom he promised to instruct in the Indian philosophy, as far as their imperfect means of communication would admit.<sup>34</sup> Arrian relates<sup>35</sup> that Alexander endeavoured to prevail on Mandanis (whom he calls Dandamis) to attach himself to him as a companion; but that Mandanis refused, replying that India afforded him all he wanted while he remained in his earthly body, and that, when he left it, he should get rid of a troublesome companion.

Calanus had his ambition less under control; he joined Alexander in spite of the remonstrances of his fraternity, who reproached him for entering any other service but that of God.<sup>36</sup> He was treated with respect by the Greeks; but, falling sick in Persia, refused, probably from scruples of cast, to observe the regimen prescribed to him, and determined to put an end to his existence by the flames. Alexander, after in vain opposing his intention, ordered him to be attended to the last scene with all honours, and loaded him with gifts, which he distributed among his friends before he mounted the pile. He was carried thither wearing a garland on his head in the Indian manner, and singing hymns in the Indian language, as he passed along. When he had ascended the heap of wood and other combustibles, which had been prepared for him, he ordered it to be set on fire, and met his fate with a serenity that made a great impression on the Greeks.<sup>37</sup>

Aristobulus<sup>38</sup> gives an account of two Sophists, one young and one old, both Brachmanes, whom he met with at Taxila. The elder shaved, the younger wore his hair, and both were followed by disciples. As they passed through the streets they were received with reverence, people pouring oil of sesamum upon them, and offering them cakes of sesamum and honey. Even when they came to Alexander's table to sup in his company, they gave a lesson of

<sup>31</sup> See Wilson (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 279), who derives their name from Prámánika, a term applied to the followers of the logical school.

<sup>32</sup> Strabo, lib. xv. p. 492.

[Probably Kalyāna, as the Greeks gave him the name from his first salutation to them, - Εὐ.]

<sup>33</sup> Strabo, lib. xv. p. 492.

<sup>34</sup> *Exp'd. Alexand.* lib. vii. cap. ii.

<sup>35</sup> See Menn, iv. 63, quoted before, p. 14.

<sup>37</sup> A similar instance of self-immolation is related by Strabo (lib. xv. p. 495, ed. of 1587), of Zarmanochegus [S'ramanacharya ?] an Indian of Burgosa, who had accompanied an embassy from his own country to Augustus, and burned himself alive at Athens.

<sup>38</sup> Strabo, lib. xv. p. 491.

resolution, withdrawing to a lonely, bare spot, where the elder lay down exposed to the sun and rain, and the younger stood and dyed his feet, leaning against a stall.

Other accounts describe the ascetics as going about the streets, leaving their robes to dogs and pigs, and to all for identifying themselves entering the houses of the rich, sitting down at their meals, and passing in their shoes, even on the streets, dusting themselves with the same freedom which some persons of that description affect at the present day. They are also spoken of as going naked in winter and summer, and passing their time under large trees, some of which it is said cover five acres, and are sufficient to shelter 10000 men.

The practice of twisting up the hairs so as to form a turban, which is so common to one of the monastic orders, is mentioned by Strabo, without any allusion to its use.

It is asserted of the ascetics that they risked but disgraceful death, and put an end to themselves when they fell into that extremity. Megasthenes, however, asserts that the philosophers had no particular apprehension of suicide, but rather considered it as a proof of levity; both the opinions of the learned, and the occasional practice of the people in that respect, seeming to be much the same as they are now.

It is Megasthenes who mentions a class called Germanes, of whom he treats as forming a distinct body from the Brahmines. It has been thought that by this separate class he meant the monastic orders; but the name he gives them appears to be corrupted from Samana, the appellation of the Buddhist and Jain ascetics, which was written Samana by later Greek authors. This is the more probable, as Megasthenes' experience was chiefly gained in Magadha, the cradle of Buddhism; and at the court of Sandracottus, where, generally, Asia was a convert to that religion, and was the means of establishing its supremacy not only in his own territories, but in the greater part of India. But, although the name seems to be borrowed from the Buddhists, there is nothing in the description of the class which is not at least as applicable to the Brahmins in the third and fourth periods of their life, as to the monastic orders.

The first kind of the Germanes, he says, are a class called Hyllæ, frays living in the woods, who feed on wild fruits and herbs, and then on the bark of trees, abstaining from all pleasure, and stand in amazement whole days in contemplation. The king sends his ministers to them to consult them, and to report their intercourse with the gods. The next class in hierarchy among the Germanes is stated to be the physicians, whose habits seem to correspond with those of the Brahmins at the third stage. They live in houses with great asceticism, but without the extreme austerity of the Hyllæ. They likewise exercise themselves in labor, and endure a cold fast whole days without the least change in their practice. Some of them, it is said, wash in their excrements, but on a prohibition of strict chastity, a practice which is though known to the Hindu monastic orders, seems to be quite foreign to those of the Buddhists. As physicians, their practice resembles that of the Brahmins, who are. They reject all riches and women, and devote all their possessions, having a great store of them, to pious uses of that sort. In the fourth stage, say they, they employ charms and all the means of magic. He says that the Germanes perform various rites and sacrifices, and know the names of the gods, and are able to kill the deadly and wandering

of the gods, and various other things, and are called and are called.

<sup>1</sup> The word *Germanes* is derived from the Sanskrit *Samana*, which is the name of the Buddhist and Jain ascetics. The word *Germanes* is also used by Megasthenes to denote the Brahmins in the third and fourth periods of their life. The word *Germanes* is also used by Megasthenes to denote the Brahmins in the third and fourth periods of their life.

There is nothing in all this that appears to be peculiar to the Buddhas. It is probable that Megasthenes, although aware of the distinction between that sect, the Bramins, and the monastic orders, had no accurate notion of the points on which they differed; and it is not unlikely that the other early Greek writers may have fallen into a similar confusion. It is, indeed, a remarkable circumstance that the religion of Buddha should never have been expressly noticed by those authors, though it had existed for two centuries before Alexander, and was destined in a century more to be the dominant religion of India. The only explanation is, that the appearance and manners of its followers were not so peculiar as to enable a foreigner to distinguish them from the mass of the people.

It is declared by more authors than one, that different casts cannot intermarry, and that it was not permitted for men of one cast to exercise the employment of another, but that all might become Sophists in whatever class they were born.

Such is the present state of the monastic orders; but whether they had so early assumed that form, or whether the ancients (being ignorant that Bramins could be householders, counsellors, and judges, might on occasion carry arms, or practise other professions) confounded the assumption of ascetic habits by Bramins previously so employed, with the admission of all casts, must remain a doubtful question.<sup>42</sup>

There is nothing to remark on the other classes, except that the Sûdras seem already to have lost their character of a servile class. Sûdras.

Arrian<sup>43</sup> mentions with admiration that every Indian is free. With them, as with the Lacedemonians, he says, no native can be a slave; but, unlike the Lacedemonians, they keep no other people in servitude. Strabo who doubts the absence of slavery, as applying to all India, confines his examples of the contrary to domestic slaves, and appears to have no suspicion of the existence of a servile class. It is possible that the mild form in which slavery appeared among the Sûdras may have deceived the Greeks, accustomed to so different a system at home; but it is still more probable that the remains of the servile condition of the Sûdras, which subsisted in Menu's time, may have disappeared entirely before that of Alexander. Absence of slavery.

The number of independent governments seems to have been as great as at other times. Alexander, in his partial invasion, met with many; and Megasthenes heard that in all India there were 118. Many of these may have been very inconsiderable; but some (the Prasii for instance) possessed great kingdoms. Most of them seem to have been under rājās, as in Menu's time, and the circumstances of those which the Greeks called republics and aristocracies can easily be explained without supposing anything different from what now exists. There have always been extensive tracts without any common head, some under petty chiefs, and some formed of independent villages; in troubled times, also, towns have often for a long period carried on their own government.<sup>44</sup> All these would be called republics by the Greeks, who would naturally fancy their constitutions similar to what they had seen at home. But Number and extent of the different states.

<sup>42</sup> Before quitting the subject of the confusion made by the ancients between the Bramins and monastic orders, it may be observed that some modern writers, even of those best acquainted with the distinction, have not marked it in their works; so that it is often difficult to ascertain from their expressions which they allude to in each case. For much information relating to the ancient accounts of the Hindû priesthood and religion see Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 296.

<sup>43</sup> *Indica*, cap. x. See also Diodorus, lib. ii.

p. 124, ed. 1604, where he adds many extravagances about their equality and republican institutions.

<sup>44</sup> Among those of the first description were the Sikhs (before Ranjit Sing's ascendancy), whom Mr. Foster, though familiar with Indian governments, describes as being under a democracy; the chiefs of Shikhwat; and various other petty confederacies of chiefs. Of single villages, the Soudis and Grasias mentioned by Sir John Malcolm (*Account of Malacca*, vol. i. p. 508) furnish examples. The same author alludes to towns in a state such as has been mentioned.



the country, and that the husbandmen pursued their occupations undisturbed while hostile armies were engaged in battle. This, though evidently an exaggeration, is probably derived from the Hindú laws of war recorded in Menu, which must have made a strong impression on the Greeks, unaccustomed as they were to so mild and humane a system.

The bravery of the armies opposed to the Greeks is always spoken of as superior to that of the other nations with whom they had contended in Asia; and the loss acknowledged, though incredibly small, is much greater in the Indian battles than in those with Darius. Their arms, with the exception of fire-arms, were the same as at present. The peculiar Indian bow, now only used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more than six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, as are the long swords and iron spears, both of which are still occasionally in use. Their powerful bits, and great management of their horses, were remarkable even then.

The presents made by the Indian princes indicate wealth; and all the descriptions of the parts visited by the Greeks, give the idea of a country Manners and customs similar to the present. teeming with population, and enjoying the highest degree of prosperity.

Apollodorus<sup>77</sup> states that there were, between the Hydaspes and Hypanis (Hyphasis), 1,500 cities, none of which was less than Cos; which, with every allowance for exaggeration, supposes a most flourishing territory. Palibothra was eight miles long and one and a half broad, defended by a deep ditch and a high rampart, with 570 towers and 64 gates.

The numerous commercial cities and ports for foreign trade, which are mentioned at a later period (in the "Periplus"), attest the progress of the Indians in a department which more than any other shows the advanced state of a nation.

The police is spoken of as excellent. Megasthenes relates that in the camp of Sandracottus, which he estimates to have contained 400,000 men, the sums stolen daily did not amount to more than 200 drachms (about 3*l.*).

Justice seems to have been administered by the king and his assessors; and the few laws mentioned are in the spirit of those of Menu. On this subject, however, the Greeks are as ill informed as might have been expected. They all believe the laws to have been unwritten; some even maintain that the Indians were ignorant of letters, while others praise the beauty of their writing.<sup>78</sup>

The revenue was derived from the land, the workmen, and the traders.<sup>79</sup> The land revenue is stated by Strabo to amount (as in Menu) to one fourth of the produce; but he declares, in plain terms, that "the whole land is the king's," and is farmed to the cultivators on the above terms.<sup>80</sup> He mentions, in another place, that the inhabitants of some villages cultivate the land in common, according to a system still much in use. The portion of the revenue paid in work by handicraftsmen (as stated by Menu, quoted in page 22) is also noticed by Strabo. His account of the heads of markets (*αγορονομοι*); their measurement of fields and distribution of water for irrigation; their administration of justice; and their being the channels for payment of the revenue; together with their general superintendence of the trades, roads, and all affairs within their limits, agrees exactly with the functions of the present *pátels*, or heads of villages; and that of the heads of towns, though less distinct, bears a strong resemblance to the duties of similar officers at the present day.

Little is said about the religion of the Indians. Strabo mentions that they worship Jupiter Pluvius (which may mean Indra), the Ganges, and other local gods; that they wear no crowns at sacrifices; and that they stifle the victim instead

<sup>77</sup> Strabo, lib.

<sup>78</sup> Strabo, lib. xv. . 493. . 1587.

<sup>79</sup> Arrian's *Indica*, p. 11.

<sup>80</sup> Strabo, lib. xv. p. 484, ed. 1587.



of stabbing it, a curious coincidence with some of the mystical sacrifices of the Brahmins, which are supposed to be of modern date.

Various other incidents are quoted by Mr. Colebrooke<sup>1</sup> to show that they like was worshipped the sun.

Much is said by the Greeks of the Indian worship of Bacchus and Hercules, but obviously in consequence of their forcibly adapting the Hindu legends to their own, as they have done in so many other cases.<sup>2</sup>

The learning of the Hindus was, of course, inaccessible to the Greeks. They had, however, a great impression of their wisdom; and some particulars of their philosophy, which have been handed down, are not unimportant. Megasthenes asserts that they agreed in many things with the Greeks, that they thought the world had a beginning and will have an end, is round, and is pervaded by the God who made and governs it; that all things rise from different origins, and the world from water; that, besides the four elements, there is one of which the heavens and stars are made; and that the world is the centre of the universe. He says they also agreed with the Greeks about the soul, and many other matters, and composed many tales (tales), like Plato, about the immortality of the soul, the judgment after death, and similar subjects.<sup>3</sup>

It is evident, from these early accounts, that if the Brahmins learned their philosophy from the Greeks, it must have been before the time of Alexander, and Onesicritus, whose conversations with them on philosophy have been already mentioned, expressly says that they inquired whether the Greeks ever held similar discourses, and makes it manifest that they were entirely uninformed regarding the sciences and opinions of his countrymen.

From the silence of the Greeks respecting Indian architecture we may infer that the part of the country which they visited was as destitute of fine temples as it is now. Their account of Indian music is as unfavourable as would be given by a modern European, for although it is said that they were fond of singing and dancing, it is alleged, in another place, that they had no instruments but drums, cymbals, and castanets.

The other arts of life seem to have been in the same state as at present. The kinds of grain reaped at each of their two harvests were the same as now, sugar, cotton, spices, and perfumes were produced as at present, and the mode of fringing the fields into small beds to retain the water used in irrigation is described as similar.<sup>4</sup> Chariots were drawn in war by horses, but on a march by oxen, they were sometimes drawn by camels, which are now seldom applied to draught but in the deserts. Elephant chariots were also kept as a piece of great magnificence. I have only heard of two in the present age.

The modern mode of catching and training elephants, with all its ingenious contrivances, may be learned from Arrian<sup>5</sup> almost as exactly as from the account of the modern practice in the "Asiatic Researches."<sup>6</sup>

The brilliancy of their dyes is remarked on, as well as their skill in manufactures and imitations of foreign objects.<sup>7</sup>

The use of copper vessels for various purposes was as general as it is now, but brass vessels, which have now even more utility, were as little in use.† of their supposed richness. Royal robes are spoken of by Strabo<sup>8</sup> in one place, and military ones in another.<sup>9</sup>

Strabo expatiates on the magnificence of the Indian festivals. Elephants, at each of the great and seven, moved forth in procession with chariots of four horses and

<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 248. The same account is given by Mr. Wilford Cleaves in his *History of Western India*, vol. i. p. 114. The account of the war of Hercules at Mithra may possibly refer to that of Krishna at Mathra.

<sup>2</sup> *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 64, et 124.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* lib. xv. p. 116, 117.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* lib. xv. p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* lib. xv. p. 66, et 126.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* lib. p. 67.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* lib. p. 67.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* lib. p. 67.

carriages drawn by oxen; well-appointed troops marched in their allotted place; gilded vases, and basins of great size, were borne in state, with tables, thrones, goblets, and lavers, almost all set with emeralds, beryls, carbuncles, and other precious stones; garments of various colours, and embroidered with gold, added to the richness of the spectacle. Tame lions and panthers formed part of the show, to which singing birds, and others remarkable for their plumage, were also made to contribute, sitting on trees which were transported on large waggons, and increased the variety of the scene. This last custom survived in part, and perhaps still survives, in Bengal, where artificial trees and gardens, as they were called, not long ago formed part of the nuptial processions.<sup>60</sup> They are said to honour the memories of the dead, and to compose songs in their praise, but not to erect expensive tombs to them;<sup>61</sup> a peculiarity which still prevails, notwithstanding the reverence paid to ancestors. The peculiar custom of building wooden houses near the rivers, which is noticed by Arrian,<sup>62</sup> probably refers to the practice which still obtains on the Indus, where the floors are platforms raised twelve or fifteen feet from the ground, as well as on the Irawaddy, where almost all the houses of Rangoon seem to be similarly constructed.

They never gave or took money in marriage;<sup>63</sup> conforming, in that respect, both to the precepts of Menu and to the practice of modern times.<sup>64</sup>

The women were chaste, and the practice of self-immolation by widows was already introduced, but perhaps only partially; as Aristobulus speaks of it as one of the extraordinary local peculiarities which he heard of at Taxila.<sup>65</sup> The practice of giving their daughters to the victor in prescribed trials of force and skill, which gives rise to several adventures in the Hindú heroic poems, is spoken of by Arrian<sup>66</sup> as usual in common life. Their kings are represented as surrounded by numbers of female slaves, who not only attend them in their retired apartments, as in Menu, but accompany them on hunting parties, and are guarded from view by jealous precautions for keeping the public at a distance, like those well known among the Mahometans, and them only, by the name of *kuruk*. The ceremonial of the kings, however, had not the servility since introduced by the Mussulmans. It was the custom of the Indians to pray for the king, but not to prostrate themselves before him like the Persians.<sup>67</sup>

The dress of the Indians, as described by Arrian,<sup>68</sup> is precisely that composed of two sheets of cotton cloth, which is still worn by the people of Bengal, and by strict Bramins everywhere. Earrings and ornamented slippers were also used, according to the fashion of the present day. Their clothes were generally white cotton, though often of a variety of bright colours and flowered patterns (*chintz*). They wore gold and jewels, and were very expensive in their dresses, though frugal in most other things.<sup>69</sup> Pearls and precious stones were in common use among them. The great had umbrellas carried over them, as now.

They dyed their beards, as they do now, with henna and indigo; and mistakes in their mixture or time of application seem then, as now, to have occasionally made their beards green, blue, or purple. At present, no colours are ever purposely produced but black and sometimes red. They dined separately, according to their present unsocial practice, each man cooking his own dinner apart when he required it. They drank little fermented liquor, and what they did use was made from rice (*arrack*).

<sup>60</sup> Strabo, lib. xv. p. 494.

<sup>61</sup> Arrian's *Indica*, cap. x.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* cap. x.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* cap. xvii.

<sup>64</sup> Megasthenes alone contradicts this account, and says they bought their wives for a yoke of oxen. (Strabo, cap. xv. p. 488.)

<sup>65</sup> Strabo, lib. xv. p. 491, ed. 1587.

<sup>66</sup> *Indica*, cap. xvii.

<sup>67</sup> It is remarkable that in the Hindú dramas there is not a trace of servility in the behaviour of other characters to the king. Even now, Hindú courts that have had little communication with Mussulmans are comparatively unassuming in their etiquette.

<sup>68</sup> *Indica*, cap. xvi.

<sup>69</sup> Strabo, lib. xv. pp. 491, 488.

The appearance of the Indians is well described, and (what is surprising, considering the limited knowledge of the Macedonians) the distinction between the inhabitants of the north and south is always adverted to. The southern Indians are said to be black, and not unlike Ethiopians, except for the absence of flat noses and curly hair; the northern ones are fairer, and like Egyptians,<sup>1</sup> a resemblance which must strike every traveller from India on seeing the pictures in the tombs on the Nile.

The Indians are described as swarthy, but very tall, handsome, light, and active.<sup>2</sup> Their bravery is always spoken of as characteristic; their superiority in war to other Asiatics is repeatedly asserted, and appears in more ways than one.<sup>3</sup> They are said to be sober, moderate, peaceable, good soldiers; good farmers;<sup>4</sup> remarkable for simplicity and integrity; so reasonable as never to have recourse to a lawsuit; and so honest as neither to require backs to their doors nor writings to lend their agreements.<sup>5</sup> Above all, it is said that no Indian was ever known to tell an untruth.<sup>6</sup>

We know, from the ancient writings of the Hindus themselves that the alleged proofs of their confidence in each other are erroneous. The account of their veracity may safely be regarded as equally incorrect; but the statement is still of great importance, since it shows what were the qualities of the Indians that made most impression on the Macedonians, and proves that their character must, since then, have undergone a total change. Strangers are now struck with the litigiousness and falsehood of the natives; and, when they are incorrect in their accounts, it is always by exaggerating those defects.

## APPENDIX IV.

### ON THE GREEK KINGDOM OF BACTRIA.

THE Greek kingdom of Bactria, as formerly known to us, had so little influence on Accidents in India, that it would scarcely have deserved mention in the history of that country.

Late discoveries have shown a more permanent connexion between it and India, and may throw light on relations as yet but little understood. But these discoveries still require the examination of antiquaries; and a slight sketch of the results hitherto ascertained will be sufficient in this place.

When Alexander retired from India, he left a detachment from his army in Bactria.

After the first contest for the partition of his empire, the Macedonians fell to the lot of Seleucus, king of Syria. He was first impeded to restore the local government in Bactria, and afterwards went on to India, and made his treaty with Sandracottus. Bactria remained subject to his descendants, until there was a general civil war, and the impending revolt of the Parthians reduced the government to the pressure to assert his independence. Diodorus was the first king. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, who was deposed by Diodotus, a native of Magesa, or Magesa Minor. By this time the Seleucids had completely

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities of the Jews*, lib. ii. c. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquities of the Jews*, lib. ii. c. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquities of the Jews*, lib. ii. c. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquities of the Jews*, lib. ii. c. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquities of the Jews*, lib. ii. c. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Antiquities of the Jews*, lib. ii. c. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiquities of the Jews*, lib. ii. c. 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Antiquities of the Jews*, lib. ii. c. 10.

their power; and Antiochus the Great came with a large army to restore order in the eastern part of his dominions. He defeated Euthydemus, but admitted him to terms; and confirmed him in possession of the throne he had usurped. It does not seem probable that Euthydemus carried his arms to the south of the eastern Caucasus; but his son, Demetrius, obtained possession of Arachosia and a large portion of Persia. He also made conquests in India, and was in possession, not only of Lower Sind, but of the coast of India farther to the East. He seems, however, to have been excluded from Bactria, of which Eucratidas remained master. After the death of Euthydemus, Demetrius made an unsuccessful attempt to dispossess his rival; and, in the end, lost all his Indian conquests, which were seized by Eucratidas.

In the time of Eucratidas the Bactrian power was at its height. In the midst of his greatness he was assassinated by his own son, Eucratidas II.;<sup>2</sup> and, during the reign of this prince, some of his western dominions were seized on by the Parthians, and Bactria itself by the Scythians;<sup>3</sup> and nothing remained in his possession but the country on the south of the eastern Caucasus. The period of the reigns of Menander and Apollodotus, and the relation in which they stood to the Eucratidas, cannot be made out from the ancients. Menander made conquests in the north-west of India, and carried the Greek arms farther in that direction than any other monarch of the nation. The position of his conquests is shown in a passage of Strabo, that likewise contains all we know of the extent of the Bactrian kingdom. According to an ancient author there quoted, the Bactrians possessed the most conspicuous part of Ariana, and conquered more nations in India than even Alexander. In this last achievement, the principal actor was Menander, who crossed the Hypanis towards the east, and went on as far as the Isamus. Between him and Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus (continues the same author), the Bactrians occupied not only Pattalene, but that part of the other coast which is called the kingdom of Tessariostus and the kingdom of Sigertes. The Hypanis mentioned in the beginning of the passage referred to is admitted to mean the Hyphasis; but the Isamus is thought by some to be the Jumna river, by others the Himalaya mountains (sometimes called Imaus), and by others, again, a small river called Isa, which runs into the Ganges on the western side. Whichever is correct, the territory to the east of the Panjáb must have been a narrow strip. No mention is made of acquisitions towards the south; and if any had been made in that direction as far as Delhi, or even Hastinápúr, they would not have entirely escaped the notice even of Hindú authors. The south-western conquests extended to the Delta of the Indus (Pattalene being the country about Tatta); but whether the kingdom of Sigertes, on the other coast, was Cach or the peninsula of Guzerát, we have no means of conjecturing. The author of the "Periplus" says that coins of Menander and Apollodotus were met with in his time at Baróh which in the state of circulation of those days makes it probable that some of their territories were not very distant. On the west, "the most conspicuous part of Ariana" would certainly be Khorásán; but they had probably lost some portion of that province before the Indian conquests attained the utmost limit.<sup>4</sup>

The above is the information we derive from ancient authors. It has been confirmed and greatly augmented by recent discoveries from coins. These increase the

<sup>1</sup> [The name of the parricide is uncertain; some suppose that he is the Heliclos of the coins. On one of the coins of Eucratidas, we find Heliclos' head without a fillet on the reverse; which seems to indicate that he was associated in the government.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> About 139 B.C. (Clinton's *Fasti*); 125 B.C. (De Guignes.)

<sup>3</sup> The information to be found in ancient authors is collected in Bayer's *Bactria*. There is a clear, concise sketch of Bactrian history from the same sources in Clinton's *Fasts Hellenici*, vol. iii. p. 315, note x. [For Hindú notices, see Dr. Goldstrucker's *Panjab*, p. 230, and Dr. Kern's Preface to *Varahamihira*, pp. 35–39, cf. also *supra*, p. 157.—Ed.]

number of Greek kings from the eight above mentioned to eighteen; and describe new dynasties of other nations who succeeded each other on the extinction of the Greek monarchy.

The subject first attracted notice in consequence of some coins obtained by Colonel Tod, and an interesting paper which he published regarding them in the first volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society." It excited great attention on the Continent, and was zealously followed up in India by Professor Wilson and Mr. Prinsep.

Professor Wilson has published an account of the coins of the Greek kings, and arranged them as far as our present knowledge permits; but as they bear no dates either of time or place, the arrangement is necessarily incomplete.\* The coins of the kings already mentioned, down to Eucratides I., are found on the north of the eastern Caucasus. The inscriptions, the figures, the reverses, and the workmanship are pure Greek. From Eucratides II., no coins are found on the northern side of the mountains; and those found on the southern side assume a new form. They are often square, a shape of which there is no example in any other Grecian coinage, either European or Asiatic; they frequently bear two inscriptions, one in Greek and another in a barbaric character, and, from the reign of Menander, they have occasionally an elephant or a bull with a hump; both animals peculiar to India, and indicative of an Indian dominion.

The barbaric character has been but imperfectly deciphered, and has given rise to a good deal of discussion. It is certainly written from right to left, a rule, as far as we know, peculiar to the languages of the Arab family: it may be assumed that it represents the language of the country, which it is natural to suppose would be Persian; and these circumstances suggest Pehlvi as the language. This opinion, accordingly, has been maintained by some of those who have written on the subject; but a close examination by Professor Wilson leads him to doubt the conclusion, though he has no theory of his own to support. Others, thinking that they discover words of Sanskrit origin in the inscriptions, believe the language to be Zend, or else some of the dialects of India†.

Of this series of coins the first that attract notice are those of Menander. As they exhibit the title of *Soter*, which was adopted by the two Eucratides, and as the devices on the reverses are the same as on the coins of these princes, it is a legitimate deduction that the king who struck them belonged to the same dynasty. The same argument extends to the coins of Apollodotus, who was perhaps the son of Menander. Two more kings, Demetrius and Hermias, have also the title of *Soter*, and may be presumed to belong to the same dynasty. The inferior execution of the coins of Hermias points him out as the latest of the series, and it is his coins, also, that furnish the model for another description which it may be inferred came immediately after his time.

These are of Greek order workmanship, and the inscriptions are an almost unaltered Greek; the reverses are barbarous and unsmooth. Kalyanas, Kanishka, &c. These are conjectured, on very plausible grounds, to be Sythians, and to

\* In 1831, Professor Wilson published the first of his "Coins of the Greek Kings of India." Since Mr. H. H. Prinsep's "Illustrations of the Coins of the Kings of India," the number of coins of this series has been increased to 100.

† There are some coins which bear a mixture of Greek letters and words, and which are found in the same places as the Greek coins. These coins have been found in the same places as the Greek coins, and are found in the same places as the Greek coins. These coins have been found in the same places as the Greek coins, and are found in the same places as the Greek coins.

During the existence of the Greek princes and their successors, the coins were of a barbarous character, and the reverses were of a barbarous character. The coins of the Greek princes and their successors were of a barbarous character, and the reverses were of a barbarous character. The coins of the Greek princes and their successors were of a barbarous character, and the reverses were of a barbarous character.

have subjected the southern kingdom of the Bactrian Greeks about the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>7</sup>

Other coins are also found resembling the last series, but perhaps connected with the Parthians rather than the Scythians.

To complete the chronology, there are coins not yet examined, but obviously belonging to the Sassanians, who were in possession of Persia at the time of the Mahometan invasion.

There is another class of coins, resembling, in many respects, those of the Eucratidæ, and probably belonging to a series collateral with that of the *Soters*, but extending beyond the duration of that dynasty. Many of the names they bear are accompanied by epithets derived from Niké (victory); from which, and other points of resemblance, they are regarded as belonging to one dynasty.

There is one more class, consisting of only two princes, Agathocles and Pantaleon. They are thought to be the latest of all the Greek coins, but are chiefly remarkable because they alone have their second inscriptions in the ancient character found on the caves and columns of India, and not in the one written from right to left.

Some conclusions may be drawn from the situations in which the coins have been discovered. Those of Menander are numerous in the country about Cábul, and also at Pesháwer. One has been found as far east as Mattra on the Jumna. We may perhaps infer that his capital was situated in the tract first mentioned, and this would give ground for conjecturing the residence of the *Soter* dynasty. I do not know that there is any clue to that of the *Niké* kings. Professor Wilson conjectures Agathocles and Pantaleon to have reigned in the mountains about Chitrál; which, being the country of the Paropamisian Indians, may perhaps afford some explanation of the Indian character on their coins. The situation in which the Scythian coins are found is itself very remarkable; and there are other circumstances which hold out a prospect of their throwing great light on Indian history. All the former coins, with the exception of some of those of Hermaus, have been purchased in the bázárs, or picked up on or near the surface of the earth on the sites of old cities. But the Scythian coins are found in great numbers in a succession of monuments which are scattered over a tract extending eastward from the neighbourhood of Cábul, through the whole basin of the Cábul river, and across the northern part of the Panjáb. These huge structures are the sort of solid cupola so common among the votaries of Buddha; and, like the rest, contain each a relic of some holy person. No Greek coins are ever found in them, except those of Hermaus; but there are other coins, a few from remote countries, and the earliest yet discovered is one belonging to the second triumvirate. This coin must have been struck as late as the forty-third year before Christ; but might easily have found its way to the frontiers of India before the final overthrow of the Greek kingdom, which all agree to have taken place about the beginning of the Christian era.

These facts corroborate the conjectures of De Guignes, drawn from Chinese annals, that the Greeks were driven out of Bactria, by the Tartar tribe of Su from the north of Transoxiana, 126 years before Christ; and that their Indian kingdom was subverted about twenty-six years before Christ by the Yue-chi,<sup>8</sup> who

<sup>7</sup> [The coins of the Greek princes are, with two exceptions, of silver or copper; those of the Indo-Scythian princes are exclusively of copper and gold. Gen. Cunningham has identified Kanerki with the Kanishka of Kashmirian history and the Kia-mse-ki of the Chinese traveller, in whose reign the third Buddhist council is said to have been held.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> De Guignes's account of the first conquest is, that the Su came from Ferghána, on the Jaxartes,

and conquered a civilized nation, whose coin bore a man on one side, and horsemen on the other. The coins of the Eucratidæ have the king's head on one side, and Castor and Pollux, mounted, on the other. [These Chinese dates are somewhat uncertain; see *Asiatic Ant.* pp. 300—306. Strabo says that the Greeks in Bactria were overthrown by the Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari, and Sakarauli.—Ed.]

came from Persia, and spread themselves along a large portion of the course of the Indus.

The Scythians have left no coins; but it is natural to suppose that the Yue-sha, who came from Persia, would follow the example set by the Parthians, and would imitate the courage of their Greek predecessors. This practice of the Indo-Scythians (whatever they were) was taken up by some dynasty of the Hindus, for coins of the latter nation have been found bearing nearly the same relation to those of the Indo-Scythians that *the* *scudo* did to the coins of the Greeks.

We must not suppose that the Bactrian kingdom was composed of a great body of Greek colonists, such as existed in the west of Asia, or in the south of Italy. A very large proportion of Alexander's army latterly was composed of barbarians—disciplined and undisciplined. These would not be anxious to accompany him on his retreat; and on the other hand, we know that he was constrained to retreat his steps by the insistence of the Greeks and Macedonians to return to their own country.

From this we may conclude that a small part of those left behind were of the latter nation; and as Alexander encouraged his soldiers to take Persian wives, a course in itself indispensable to the settlers, from the absence of Greek women, it is evident that the second generation of Bactrians must have been much more Persian than Greek. Freshing expeditions of Greek adventurers would take place during the ascendancy of the Seleucids; but after the establishment of the Parthian power, a continuous stream must necessarily have been cut off, which explains the total silence of Greek authors regarding the later days of the Bactrian kingdom: the degeneracy of the latter courage is consistent with these facts, which also remove the difficulty of accounting for the disappearance of the Greeks after the overthrow of their southern kingdom.

## APPENDIX V.

### NOTES ON THE REVENUE SYSTEM.

(A) *Traces of the land of a thousand villages* are found in different parts of the country, where particular families retain the name and part of the emblems of their station, but seldom or never exercise any of the powers.<sup>1</sup>

The next division is still universally recognised throughout India under the name of *peharis*.<sup>2</sup> Although in many places the officers employed in it are only known by their enjoyment of hereditary lands or fees, or, at least, by their being the depositaries of all registers and records connected with land. These districts, some of which are only composed of one hundred villages if they ever were so large, are not, like the *taluk* districts, registered under that name, although they are, as they import from it, very busy with industry and revenue.

The *peharis* are not, as is commonly supposed, hereditary. Hindu princes were permitted to appoint a *pehar* to any district, and the *pehar* could never be. He had no other than an appointive register, which, if he was a Hindu, was hereditary, and so his relations must be more extensive than his principle.<sup>3</sup>

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Next below the *perganneh* is a division now only subsisting in name, and corresponding to Menu's lordship of ten or twenty towns,<sup>3</sup> and the chain ends in individual villages.<sup>4</sup>

(B) Called *patél* in the Deccan and the west and centre of Hindostan; *mandel* in Bengal; and *mokaddam* in many other places, especially where there are or have lately been hereditary village landholders.

(C) *Patwári* in Hindostan; *culcarni* and *carnam* in the Deccan and south of India; *talláti* in Guzerát.

(D) *Pásbán goriyet*, *peik*, *dounáha*, etc., in Hindostan; *mháir* in the Deccan; *tillári* in the south of India; *paggi* in Guzerát.

(E) Village landholders are distinctly recognised throughout the whole of the Bengal presidency, except in Bengal proper, and perhaps Rohilcand.<sup>5</sup> They appear to subsist in part of Rájputána; and perhaps did so, at no remote period, over the whole of it.<sup>6</sup> They are very numerous in Guzerát, include more than half the cultivators of the Maratta country, and a very large portion of those of the Tamil country. There is good reason to think they were once general in those countries where they are now only partially in existence, and perhaps in others where they are not now to be found. They are almost extinct in the country south of the Nerbadda, except in the parts just mentioned. In all the Madras presidency north of Madras itself; in the Nizam's country, and most of that of Nágpúr; in great part of Khandesh and the east of the Maratta country, there is no class resembling them. This tract comprehends the greater part of the old divisions of Telingána, Orissa, and Cánara; but does not so closely coincide with their boundaries, as to give much reason for ascribing the absence of village landholders to any peculiarity in the ancient system of those countries. In Málwa, though so close to countries where the village landholders are common, they do not seem now to be known. They are not mentioned in Sir John Malcolm's "Central India."

(F) In Hindostan they are most commonly called village *zemindárs* or *biwadárs*; in Behár, *málikis*; in Guzerát, *patéls*; and in the Deccan and south of India, *mirásiss* or *mirásdárs*.

"The right of property in the land is unequivocally recognised in the present agricultural inhabitants by descent, purchase, or gift."<sup>7</sup>

The right of the village landholders, to the extent stated in the text, is repeatedly alluded to in the published records of the Bengal government relating to the western provinces. Sir C. Metcalfe, though he contests the opinion that the right of property is full and absolute as in England, has no doubt about the persons in whom that right is vested. "The only proprietors, generally speaking, are the village zemindars or biwahdars. The pretensions of all others are *primá facie* doubtful."<sup>8</sup> For portions of the territory under the Madras presidency see the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue,<sup>9</sup> and Mr. Ellis.<sup>10</sup> Sir T. Munro,<sup>11</sup> though he considers the advantages of *mirásdárs* to have been greatly exaggerated and their land to be of little value, admits it to be saleable.<sup>12</sup> For the Maratta country see Mr. Chaplin and the Reports of the Collectors.<sup>13</sup> Captain Robertson, one of the

<sup>3</sup> Called *naikwá* i. *tarref*, etc., etc.

<sup>4</sup> For the accounts of these divisions and officers, see Malcolm's *Malwa* (vol. ii. p. 4); Stirling's *Orissa* (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 226); Report from the Commissioner in the Deccan and its enclosures (*Selections*, vol. iv. p. 161).

<sup>5</sup> Sir E. Colebrooke's *Minute* (*Selections*, vol. iii. p. 165).

<sup>6</sup> Col. Tod, vol. i. p. 425, and vol. ii, p. 540.

<sup>7</sup> Fortescue, *Selections*, viii. p. 403.

<sup>8</sup> Minute of Sir C. Metcalfe, in the Report of the Select Committee of August, 1832, iii. p. 335.

<sup>9</sup> Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, iii. p. 392.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 382.

<sup>11</sup> Minute of Dec. 31, 1824.

<sup>12</sup> Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, p. 457.

<sup>13</sup> *Selections*, vol. iv. p. 474.





be obtained. In some places,<sup>17</sup> they have also fees from the non-agricultural inhabitants; and, as they are everywhere proprietors of the site of the village, they can levy rent in money or service from any person who lives within their bounds.

Where they have lost some of those rights by the encroachments of the government, they frequently have some consideration shown them in assessing their payment to the state, so as in some cases to admit of their getting rent for their land. In some places they are left their fees;<sup>18</sup> and, where they are at the lowest, they have an exemption from certain taxes which are paid by all the rest of the inhabitants. The rights and immunities of the village landholders, as such, must not be confounded with those applied to mokaddams, and other officers for the performance of certain duties. Though the same persons may hold both, they are in their nature quite distinct; one being a proprietary right arising from an interest in the soil, and the other a mere remuneration for service, transferable along with the service from one person to another, at the pleasure of the employer.

(I) The Arabic word *ryot* (pronounced *reiat*) means a subject, and is so employed in all Mahometan countries; but in some of them it is also used in a more restricted sense. In India its secondary senses are,—1. A person paying revenue. 2. A cultivator in general. 3. A tenant as explained in the text. In reference to the person of whom they hold their lands, *ryots* are called *his assámia*.

(K) This class is called in the territory under Bengal *khudkásht ryots*, which name (as “*khud*” means “own,” and “*káshtan*” to “cultivate”) has been considered a proof that they are proprietors of the land. *Rám Móhan Rái*, however, (an unexceptionable authority,) explains it to mean “cultivators of the lands of their own village,”<sup>19</sup> which seems the correct interpretation, as the term is always used in contradistinction to *paíkásht*, or cultivators of another village.

(L) It is in the Tamil country and in Guzerát that their rights seem best established.

In the Tamil country they have an hereditary right of occupancy, subject to the payment of the demand of government and of the usual fees to the village landholder, which are fixed, and sometimes at no more than a peppercorn; but the tenant cannot sell, give away, or mortgage his rights, although in the circumstances described they must be nearly as valuable as those of the landholder himself.<sup>20</sup> In Guzerát their tenure is nearly similar, except that it is clearly understood that their rent is to be raised in proportion to any increase to the government demand on the village landholder; and it is probable that this understanding prevails in the Tamil country also, though not mentioned in the printed reports. In Hindostan there appears to be a feeling that they are entitled to hereditary occupancy, and that their rents ought not to be raised above those usual in the neighbourhood; but the following summary will show how imperfect this right is thought to be.

In 1818, a call was made by the Bengal government on the collectors of all its provinces not under the permanent settlement, for information respecting the rights of the permanent *ryots*. Of fourteen collectors, eleven considered the landholder to be entitled to raise his rent at pleasure, and to oust his tenant

<sup>17</sup> In Guzerát and in Hindostan. Also, see an account of the village of Buriel, by Mr. Cavendish (*Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1832, iii. p. 246).

<sup>18</sup> In part of Tamil, and in Hindostan, when not superseded by the allowance of 10 per cent. (See *Report of the Select Committee of the House of*

*Commons*, 1832, iii. p. 247.)

<sup>19</sup> Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, October 11, 1831, p. 716.

<sup>20</sup> Mr. Ellis, *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, August 10, 1832, vol. iii. p. 377; Board of Revenue, Minute of January 5, 1818, p. 421.



highness's family, each of whom received a certain appanage on the death of the Ráo, from whom it is immediately descended.

"The family of these chiefs is derived at a recent period from Tatta in Sind, and they all sprung from a common ancestor, Humeerjee, whose son, Ráo Khengar, acquired the sovereignty of Cutch before the middle of the sixteenth century of our era.

"The number of these chiefs is at present about 200, and the whole number of their tribe in Cutch is guessed at 10,000 or 12,000 persons. This tribe is called Jhareja. It is a branch of the Rájputa. The Ráo's ordinary jurisdiction is confined to his own demesne, each Jhareja chief exercising unlimited authority within his lands. The Ráo can call on the Jharejas to serve him in war; but must furnish them, with pay at a fixed rate while they are with his army. He is the guardian of the public peace, and as such chastises all robbers and other general enemies. It would seem that he ought likewise to repress private war, and to decide all disputes between chiefs; but this prerogative, though constantly exerted, is not admitted without dispute. Each chief has a similar body of kinsmen, who possess shares of the original appanage of the family, and stand in the same relation of nominal dependence to him that he bears to the Ráo. These kinsmen form what is called the bhyaud or brotherhood of the chiefs, and the chiefs themselves compose the bhyaud of the Ráo."<sup>24</sup>

The same practice, with some modifications, prevails through the whole of the Rájput country.

The territories allotted to feudatories in Mévár (the first in rank of these states) was at one time more than three-fourths of the whole,<sup>25</sup> and was increased by the improvidence of a more recent prince.

(Q) It must have been some check on the spirit of independence, that until within less than two centuries of the present time it was usual for all the chiefs, in Mévár at least, periodically to interchange their lands; a practice which must have tended to prevent their strengthening themselves in their possessions, either by forming connexions or erecting fortifications.<sup>26</sup>

The rapid increase of these appanages appears to have suggested to the governments the necessity of putting a limit to their encroachments on the remaining demesne. In Márvár, a few generations after the conquest, so little land was left for partition that some of the rája's sons were obliged to look to foreign conquests for an establishment:<sup>27</sup> and in Mévár, one set of descendants of early rásas seem to have been superseded, and probably in part dispossessed, by a more recent progeny.<sup>28</sup>

(R) The following remarks apply to both descriptions of military jágírs.

Lands held for military service are subject to reliefs in the event of hereditary succession, and to still heavier fines when the heir is adoptive. They are subject to occasional contributions in cases of emergency. They cannot be sold or mortgaged for a longer period than that for which the assignment is made. Subinfeudations are uncommon except among the Rájputa, where they are universal.

There was no limitation of service, and no extra payments for service, in the original scheme of these grants.

Pecuniary payments at fixed rates in lieu of service, or rather on failure of service when called on, were common among the Marattas; and arbitrary fines were levied on similar occasions by the Rájputa.

<sup>24</sup> Minute on Cach, by the Governor of Bombay, dated January 26th, 1821.

<sup>25</sup> Colonel Tod's *Rájasthan*, vol. i. p. 141.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 164, and note on 165.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 20.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 180.

## APPENDIX VI.

## AREA AND POPULATION OF INDIA. (P. 3.)

[THORSTON *Gazetteer*, 1862, gives the area and population of India as 142,000,000 square miles, excluding Arracan, the Tenasserim provinces, and Pegu.]

	Area, sq. miles.	Population.
Bengal (including Assam)	189,782	40,540,569
N.W. Provinces	85,651	30,872,766
Sanger and Nerbudda territory	17,543	2,143,599
Punjab	78,417	9,153,200
Cis-Sutlej territory	4,859	2,911,569
Nagpore	76,132	4,650,000
Madras	132,090	22,301,697
Bombay	120,065	11,109,067
Native States	616,760	14,130,226
	1,320,329	171,222,102

Rhipinstone's statistics for Europe also need correction. Keith Johnston in his *Dict. of Geography*, 1864, gives the estimated area of Europe as 3,768,000 square miles, of which the islands form one twentieth, and the population as about 255 millions. He also gives the area of the Russian empire, including Poland and Finland, Sweden and Norway, as 2,451,266 square miles, with a population of 71,266,880. (Ed.)

## APPENDIX VII.

## ON THE VEDAS AND THE VAIDIK LITERATURE.

[THE Vedas are usually considered to be four, but of these the fourth, or Atharva, is easily distinguished from the rest as of later origin, not merely by the tradition of the Hindus themselves, but also by internal evidence, one of the principal proofs being found in the fact that whereas the Rig Veda hymns continually refer to legendary characters of an earlier age, the *seers* or authors of these very hymns appear themselves to be the objects of this retrospective reference in the Atharva. In the same way a careful analysis of the remaining three discloses a somewhat similar relation between the Rig Veda on the one hand and the Yajur and Sama Vedas on the other. The Rig consists entirely of hymns recited in the other two these hymns are found continually quoted as parts of a prescribed liturgical ceremonial, in fact the Yajur and Sama presuppose the Rig as much as Manu's Institutes presuppose the entire Vaidik literature.]

## THE VEDAS.

There is no evidence of the White Yajur, the Black Yajur, or the Black Samaveda, the only traces of these being a few scattered words and a few lines of hymns, which are the fragments of the original texts put together by the Samavedic priests. The Black Yajur is a collection of hymns, which are the fragments of the original texts put together by the Samavedic priests. The Black Yajur is a collection of hymns, which are the fragments of the original texts put together by the Samavedic priests.

real difference between the two, while in the White Yajur they are quite different words. Hence the Black Yajur is quite different from the White Yajur, and the Black Yajur is quite different from the White Yajur, and the Black Yajur is quite different from the White Yajur.

A few large portions of the contents of the Samaveda are mere quotations from various portions of the Rig Veda, arranged in a different order, and used for chanting.

Beside the *Mantra* portion, consisting properly of hymns, each Veda has another portion called *Brahmana*, which contains a mass of legends and traditional explanations and glosses which were required to illustrate and enforce the various ceremonies and sacrifices. This portion is considered by Hindús as an equally eternal and essential part of the Veda with the *Mantra* portion; both were "heard" by the fortunate sages to whom they were revealed, and who taught them to their disciples; but it is easy to see, by the continual references in the *Bráhmaṇas* to the hymns and the frequent bare hints and allusions to their words and phrases, that the *Mantras* of the *Rig Veda* must have existed in an accepted arrangement before any one of the *Bráhmaṇas* could have been composed. The same remark applies with still greater force to the so-called third portion of the Veda, the *Upanishads*. We are thus left to the *Mantra* portion of the *Rig Veda* as our earliest authority for the social and religious institutions of the Hindús.

The *Mantra* portion of the *Rig Veda* consists of 1,017 hymns (beside eleven spurious ones called *vilakhilyas*). These are divided into eight *Aṣṭakas* or ten *Mandalas*, the latter being the preferable division, as it arranges the hymns of the different families together. There is no doubt a difference in age between the various hymns which are now united in their present form as the *Sanhitá* of the *Rig Veda*; but we have no data to determine their relative antiquity, and purely subjective criticism, apart from solid data, has so often failed in other instances, that we can trust but little to any of its inferences in such a recently opened field of research as Sanskrit literature.<sup>1</sup> The still unsettled controversies about the Homeric poems may well warn us of being too confident in our judgments regarding the yet earlier hymns of the *Rig Veda*, so far removed as these latter are from all modern sentiment and sympathy.

It is important to remember that the *Yajur* and *Sáma* Vedas are liturgical,—they are expressly arranged so as to contain the hymns and invocations respectively of the *Adhvaryu* and *Udgátri* priests, the former of whom had to perform the more servile functions in the sacrifice, and might only mutter their invocations, while the latter chanted as a kind of chorus. Beside these priests were the *Hotris*, whose duty was to recite certain hymns in a loud voice, and they were required to know the whole *Rig Veda*, and therefore had not, as the others, a special collection of their own hymns. The *Rig Veda* is, in fact, the *Sanhitá* or collection for the *Hotris*.<sup>2</sup>

When we examine these hymns of the *Rig Veda*, we at once find that they represent an early stage of the worship of the great powers of Nature personified; and as such they are deeply interesting for the history of the human mind, belonging as they do to a much older phase than the poems of Homer or Hesiod. Their religion can in no sense be called monotheistic; they consist of hymns addressed to different deities, more especially to Indra and Agni, with the subordinate deities, the *Maruta*, or the winds, and the *Ádityas*, who in later times were the various manifestations of the sun, but in the Veda wear a very obscure character.

In a few places we find more mystical allusions, identifying all as ultimately one; but this is by no means the general tone. Most of the hymns express the same partiality to their special deity and the same tendency to magnify his glory and power over the others which we find in other systems of polytheism.

<sup>1</sup> We are too apt to forget that the study of Sanskrit is only coeval with this century. Not a fourth part of the Vaidik literature is as yet in print, and very little of it has been translated into English. The present year (1896) is only the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of that work by Professor Bopp which raised the study

of comparative philology into a science.

<sup>2</sup> Beside these three classes of Priests, there was a fourth, called the *Brahmana*, whose duty was to follow the whole sacrifice in their mind, and to remedy any mistakes which might arise during its performance.



Mithra of the Zendavesta, and of the latter with the *Ἰουπαῖος* of the Greeks. Mitra seems more connected with the day, and Varuṇa with the night; and it is remarkable that it is in the hymns addressed to the latter that the moral element in the Veda is most usually found.\* Varuṇa is continually addressed as the remover of sickness and sin. Vāyu, the Wind, is hardly to be distinguished from Indra, but the Maruts are very commonly represented as the latter's attendants.

The two Āswins are frequently celebrated as precursors of the dawn, and as possessing the power of healing diseases. Rudra (who in the later mythology appears to be a form of Śiva) in the Veda appears to be indentified with Agni; and Viṣṇu (far from being one of the supreme triad) seems only a form of the Sun, and his three steps (which in the epic and Paurāṇik mythology, are connected with the Dwarf Avatār) are explained in the Veda by the oldest commentators, as either referring to Agni as terrestrial fire, lightning in the firmament, and the sun in heaven; or to the position of the sun on the eastern mountain, in the meridian sky, and the western mountain—i.e. at his rising, culmination, and setting. Other deities are Twashtṛi, who is the architect of the gods and the former of all things; Ushas, the Dawn (the name is probably akin to *ἠὺς* and Aurora); and the Viśve devāḥ or the various deities in their collective capacity.

Mr. Elphinstone in his second book has shown the difference which exists between the religion of Manu's Institutes and that of the Purāṇas; and the same remarks of course apply with still greater force to the Veda on which Manu is based. "The great feature of difference is the total absence of the divinities, both nomina and numina, who have for ages engaged, and to a great degree engrossed, the adoration of the Hindūs. We have no indications of a Triad, the creative, preserving, and destroying power; Brahmā does not appear as a deity, and Viṣṇu, although named, has nothing in common with the Viṣṇu of the Purāṇas; no allusion occurs to his avatāras. His manifestation as Kṛishṇa, the favourite deity of the lower classes, for some centuries at least does not appear. As a divinity Śiva is not named; nor is his type, the Linga, ever adverted to. Durgā and her triumphs, and Kālī, 'whom the blood of man delights a thousand years,' have no place whatever in the hymns of the Vedas."<sup>7</sup> We find, indeed, occasional hints, out of which the later legends may have grown; thus the Dwarf Avatār of Viṣṇu, as mentioned above, has probably arisen from his "three steps"; and Rudra, a form of fire, has easily developed into the later Śiva. Perhaps the most curious instance of these mythological changes is that of the legend of Vṛitra. In the nature-worship of the Veda the phenomena of tropical storms are described as a conflict between Indra and the clouds, which are pierced by the thunderbolt and forced to yield up their stores of rain. The clouds are personified as a demon called Vṛitra or Ahi, and though the language is often hyperbolic, the original meaning of the myth is seldom completely lost sight of. But in the later poems, as the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, the natural phenomenon is entirely forgotten, and Vṛitra is a literal king of the Asuras or Titans, who wages war against the gods. It is singular that even in the Brāhmaṇas, we find the myth becoming exaggerated; and various legends are given, how Indra incurred the guilt of murder, etc.\* There are many similar instances of the misinterpretation of Vaidik legends and hymns, by the authors of the Brāhmaṇas—a fact which proves that

\* Thus the most deeply religious hymn in the whole Veda (Atharva V. iv. 16), is addressed to him. See Muir, *Journ. R. A. S.*, 1865, p. 81. May we here compare the *εὐφροσύνη* and *ἀπαρτί* of the Greeks?

<sup>7</sup> Wilson's Works, vol. v. p. 342.

\* The most curious is that which relates how Twashtṛi, when Indra slew his son Viśvartīpa,

performed a sacrifice to obtain a son who should avenge his death. In uttering the mantra, in his haste he made a mistake in the accentuation of the word *indrahātaka*, and made it mean "one whose slayer is Indra," instead of "one who is the slayer of Indra." Vṛitra was the son born by virtue of the rite, but unfortunately he was thus doomed to be the victim instead of the avenger.





ship.<sup>11</sup> As a general rule, however, the contents of the Brāhmaṇas are wearisome in the extreme; gleams of beautiful thoughts occasionally break out, but these are few and far between, and no part of Hindū literature presents so little (apart from its scientific value) to interest the reader.<sup>12</sup> The Brāhmaṇical intellect in these productions (as compared with the main strength of the Rīg Veda hymns), seems like one of Gulliver's *Struldbrugs* living on a piteous wreck, smitten with palsy in the midst of its vigour.

But the Brāhmaṇical intellect, however debased for a time by a meaningless ritualism, was still capable of a higher life, and in the Āraṇyakas and Upanishads we find it awaking from its dream of endless ceremonies to grapple with the deepest problems of life and eternity. Childish and fantastic as these books appear, they are full of fine thoughts, and sometimes they show deep feeling: and no Hindū works have probably exercised a wider influence on the world. It is from these forlorn "guesses at truth," as from a fountain, that all those various rills of Pantheistic speculation have diverged, which, under different names, are so continually characterised as "Eastern philosophy." Thus the reader of the Upanishads soon recognises familiar ideas in the speculations of the Phædrus as well as in Empedocles or Pythagoras,—in the Neo-platonism of the Alexandrian, as well as in the Gnostic schools, although Plotinus aimed to emancipate Greek philosophy from the influence of the Oriental mind; and the Cabala of the Jews and the Sufeyism of the Muhammadans seem to be derived from the same source. We are too apt to look on the ancient world as a scene of stagnation where men's thoughts were as confined as their bodies; as if the few who travelled in foreign countries could not bring home and circulate there the ideas which they had learned abroad, and as if the few thinkers, groping in the darkness of Gentile speculation, were not eager to embrace any light which presented itself.<sup>13</sup> The spread of such a religion as Buddhism shows how men's minds were awake to new ideas, even though they came from foreign countries; and why should the tradition of the Eastern origin of much of early Greek philosophy be incredible or even improbable?

The Āraṇyakas are treatises which were to be read by the Brahmans in their third stage as *Vānaprasthas*, and the name is derived from *araṇya* "a forest," i.e. that which is to be read in a forest. There are four extant, the Brihad, the Taittirīya, the Aitareya, and the Kaushītaki. The Upanishads are short treatises, which frequently form part of an Āraṇyaka; but many of them are detached works; a great number belong to the Atharva Veda, and two (the Iśā and the Śiva-saṅkalpa) are found in the Saṁhitā of the White Yajur Veda. Their number is uncertain, but the latest catalogue gives the names of 149.<sup>14</sup> Many are very modern, but some are of very high antiquity. The later ones are sectarian in their character and closely connected with the Purāṇas and the exclusive worship of Viṣṇu or Śiva.

The word *upanishad* is defined by Hindū authors as that which destroys ignorance and thus produces liberation; and from these treatises has been developed the Vedānta system of philosophy, which is considered by all orthodox Hindūs as the *Brahma jñāna*, or pure spiritual knowledge. The ceremonial observances of the Vaidik ritual (or *Karma Kāṇḍa*) are necessary as a preliminary condition, in

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Muir, in his *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii., has given an interesting history of the legend as it reappears in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. It is remarkable that in the Brāhmaṇa the exit of Manu from the ship is connected with sacrifice (Gen. viii. 20) and his daughter Ilā, produced from the oblation, is the personified sacrifice.

<sup>12</sup> We have two Brāhmaṇas extant belonging to the Rīg Veda, that of the Aitareyins and the Kaushītakins, two of the Rīg Veda schools or

*charaṇas*. Each of the Yajur Vedas has its own Brāhmaṇa: the Sāma Veda has eight (including the Chhāndogya Upanishad), the most important of which is the Panchavinśa; the Atharva Veda has one, the Gopatīya Brāhmaṇa. Many of the Brāhmaṇas are lost.

<sup>13</sup> Are not Simmias' words in the Phædo, § xxxv., p. 85, indications of Plato's own feeling?

<sup>14</sup> See Professor Max Müller's list in the *Zeitschrift d. D.M.G.* vol. xix. p. 137.



hymns of the Rig Veda which breathe a similar spirit. Of course these early speculations have no system, although later writers have strained their ingenuity to invent one. The Upanishads stand to the later Vedānta as the oracular denunciations of Heraclitus *ὁ ἐκρεῖνός* stand to the fully developed system of the Platonic philosophy.

We have reserved the Atharva Veda to the end, because it is evidently dissociated from the other three in its matter and style as well as by the tradition of the Hindús themselves. Whether it belongs to the Bráhmaṇa or to the Upanishad period cannot be determined; but probably much of the tenth maṇḍala of the Rig Veda was composed about the same time. It consists of the magic songs—the Atharvans or the Atharvāngirasas; and is therefore chiefly composed of imprecations and deprecatory formulæ. Mixed with these are occasional hymns of great beauty and even moral feeling; thus one of its imprecations contains imbedded in it the grand verses to Varuṇa, describing his omnipresence, already alluded to. Like the Rig Veda, it is a collection of hymns, and not a body of liturgical forms; and next to the Rig Veda and the Upanishads it is much the most interesting part of Vaidik literature. Its Bráhmaṇa, the Gopatha, is exactly like other Bráhmaṇas; but it is peculiarly rich in Upanishads, as no less than fifty-two Upanishads (and among these, several, as the Māṇḍukya and Praśna, which are considered of the highest importance by the Vedānta school) bear the name of the Atharva Veda.<sup>16</sup>

Connected with Vaidik literature are the Kalpa-Sūtras, which are practical manuals of the sacrificial and other rites, drawn up for the convenience of the priests, who would otherwise have had to search through the liturgical Sanhitās and Bráhmaṇas for the *disjecta membra* of the different ceremonies. Thus there are the Kalpa-sūtras for the Hotṛi priests by Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana,—for the Adhvaryus by Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Kātyāyana,—and the Udgātṛis by Lātyāyana and Dráhyāyana. These Kalpa-sūtras form the most important of the six Vedāṅgas or “members of the Veda,” i.e. the six subjects whose study was necessary for the reading or proper sacrificial employment of the Veda. The other five are Śikshā (pronunciation), Chhandas (metre), Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (explanation of words), and Jyotiṣha (astronomy).<sup>17</sup>—ED.]

<sup>16</sup> There is an interesting paper by Mr. Muir in the *Journ. R. A. S.*, vol. i., new series, on the doctrine of a future life according to the Vedas. In the earlier books of the Rig. V. there is little reference to a future state, but in the ninth and tenth it is frequently mentioned. A state of blessedness is distinctly promised to the virtuous; and these allusions are more full and frequent in the Atharva. In some passages of the latter, the family ties of earth are represented as renewed in heaven. In the Rig Veda we have no traces of the doctrine of transmigration, but a passage in the Śatapatha Br. describes how the various animals and plants in a future state would devour those who had eaten them in the present life, unless they were secured by the regular performance of sacrifices during life. The

allusions to a future state of punishment in the Vaidik writings are few and obscure. There are very few passages in the Bráhmaṇas which speak of anything like absorption in the deity, an idea which we find in so many of the Upanishads,—in fact the older works display nothing of that discontent with existence which afterwards became such a prominent feature of Hindú thought.

<sup>17</sup> The reader desirous of pursuing the subject of the Vedas further, is referred to Professor Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, which contains a mine of most valuable information, and is at the same time as interesting as a novel. Professor Wilson's translation of the Rig Veda, and Mr. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vols. iii. iv., are also very important works.



scattered nations, seems *prima facie* more probable than to suppose that they emigrated from the farthest extremity of the line, as India; and this is confirmed by the fact that the Western languages preserve no trace of any tropical residence, while the Vaidik use of such words as *hima*, "winter," for "year," and such traditions<sup>1</sup> as those which represent the Uttara Kurus in the far north as the sacred land of mythology, do seem to imply some trace of northern reminiscence.

b. Again, the fact of a subject cast like the Śúdras, existing as they did outside the pale of the twice-born, is no strange phenomenon in ancient history; it is one which meets us everywhere, if we can only pierce below the surface, and examine the strata of society. It is familiar enough to the student of Greek and Roman history, in the *δῆμος* of the Greek states and colonies, the plebs of Rome, the Perioeci and Helots of Sparta, and the Tyrrhenes of Etruria; and the same phenomenon reappeared in mediæval Europe. In the cases where we can explain it, it seems always due to foreign conquest, and this analogy at once suggests a similar solution in the history of ancient India.

c. This hypothesis is confirmed by the facts mentioned by Elphinstone in his first book, relative to the Śúdra kingdoms, where Manu forbids a twice-born man to reside; but it is still more confirmed by the intimations of the R̥ig Veda. The Hindús of that early age are evidently settled in the north-west, with a hostile population near them; they call on Indra to assist his fair-complexioned friends, the Áryas,<sup>2</sup> against the dark Dasyus,<sup>3</sup> who are stigmatised as "non-sacrificing" (*ayajvánah*), or "having no religious observances" (*avratáh*), and as "slaves" (*dásáh*). In one place (R. V. i. 130, 8) we have the following verse: "Indra, who in a hundred ways protects in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the fray the sacrificing Árya. Chastising the neglecters of religious rites, he subjected the black skin (*tvacham kṛishnám*) to Manu." In fact, this old conflict seems perpetuated by the common Sanskrit word for cast, *varṇa*, which originally meant "colour." The Dasyus were not mere barbarians: their "hundred cities" are frequently alluded to; but it is not impossible that they had some physical peculiarities which distinguished them from the Caucasian invaders, as a favourite epithet of the Áryan god, Indra, is *susípra*, "with a beautiful nose or jaw," which may have been intended as a contrast to the flat noses of the aborigines. The same idea probably reappears in the Rámayana legend of the monkey tribes of the Deccan; the very name of one of their leaders, Hanumat, "the large-jawed," is a curious contrast to the *susípra* of the Vedas.

d. To this we may add the various passages in the Vaidik writings<sup>4</sup> which represent the twice-born tribes as gradually spreading to the east and south from their original seats between the Indus and the Saraswatí. In the R̥ig Veda we find that the Indus and the river of the Panjáb are well known, and so are the Yamuná and the Saraswatí, but the Ganges is only directly named once, and that in the last book. In the same way it is silent respecting any of the great rivers of the Deccan, as the Nerbadda and Godávarí, nor is there any mention of the Vindhya. Its geography, in fact, is as contracted when compared to that

<sup>1</sup> I may add here, that in India I used to find that the pandits were impressed, in reference to this very point, by the singular phrase in the legend of the Deluge in the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa, "this was Manu's descent from the northern mountain."

<sup>2</sup> For the history of this old word, which is still found in the Apoc., the old name of the Meles, the modern Iran, etc., see Professor Max Müller's *Lectures on Language*, vol. i. I need hardly recommend to my readers such well-known volumes as these lectures, which have in fact done more to create an English interest in these studies than all other philological books

put together. We see there what genius and learning can do, when united.

<sup>3</sup> Manu says (x. 45), "Those tribes in the world which are outside of the casts produced from Brahma's head, hands, thighs and feet, whether they speak Mlechchha language or Arya language, are called Dasyus."

<sup>4</sup> These have been carefully collected by Mr. Muir in the second volume of his *Sanskrit Texts*—a work, every volume of which abounds with stores of information to the student of Hindú antiquity. I have been continually indebted to it in the course of this Appendix.



where the constituent elements of the population and their mutual relation are historically known? The Saxon and Norman conquerors came in from the South and South-East; and they entirely subdued England and partly subjugated the South of Scotland; but the ancient Celtic inhabitants maintained their independence in the mountains of Wales and the Highlands of Scotland; and this historical fact is exactly repeated in the present distribution of the English, Gaelic, and Cymric languages. This argument, as so many others, is only one from analogy; but it must not be overlooked that all our facts and inferences, with regard to the population of ancient India, point unanimously in one direction.

*g.* It only remains to notice Elphinstone's objection against this hypothesis. It is quite true that "neither in the Code nor in the Vedas, nor in any book that is certainly older than the Code, is there any allusion to a prior residence or to a knowledge of more than the name of any country out of India. Even mythology goes no further than the Hindlaya chain, in which is fixed the habitation of the gods" (p. 54). But could not the same be said with equal truth of the ancient Greeks, if we only substitute Homer and Hesiod for the Veda and Manu, and Olympus for Hindlaya? The truth is that a nation in its nomad state has no proper literature, and therefore no historical memory; these rise slowly after it has settled in towns, and by that time the pride of being *Autochthones* has probably erased all traces of any foreign origin.

It is asked again (p. 54), "where could the central point be, from which a language could spread over India, Greece, and Italy, and yet leave Chaldaea, Syria, and Arabia untouched?" Of course we cannot answer the question, in our utter ignorance of the causes or course of these ancient currents of migration. We have here the two great streams of the Semitic and Áryan tribes, which Providence undoubtedly did keep distinct in the ancient world, as indeed seems symbolised by the very languages in which the Old and New Testament are written. By what particular series of events the distinction was originally produced and maintained, we cannot determine: but we can plainly see that Jewish, Chaldaean, and Arabian civilization did, in the main, run their own career, just as those of ancient India, Greece, and Rome. Nor is it, perhaps, unreasonable to guess that the mountain chain of the Caucasus may have interposed a barrier to the southern advance of the Áryan tribes, just as it did to the Cimmerian fugitives of Herodotus; and similarly the Tartar invaders of more modern times have passed onward into Europe through Persia and Armenia, and generally left Palestine and Arabia untouched.—ED.]

## APPENDIX IX.

### ON THE CHINESE BUDDHIST PILGRIMS IN INDIA.

[A BUDDHIST missionary probably penetrated into China more than 200 years before our era, but it was not until A.D. 65 that Buddhism became one of the established religions of the empire. India was always regarded as the cradle of the Buddha faith; and when in process of time, the purity of the Chinese branch degenerated, and divisions arose as to its doctrines and precepts, a succession of Chinese travellers made pilgrimages to India to procure copies of the sacred works



and to gain fresh instruction from the fountain-head. Their accounts have only lately been rendered accessible to the European student by the labours of the late M. Abel Remusat and M. Stanislas Julien. They throw, for the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, the same side-light on the actual state of India which the Greek accounts throw on the third and fourth centuries A.D., and enable us to form an outline picture of a period which in India's own history time is almost as mythic and imaginary as the Siva Yuga or the Maha-kavata war.

The earliest known Chinese traveller was Ching-tsin; he came to India at the commencement of the fourth century, but his work is lost. He was followed by Fa-hien, who travelled in Central Asia and India from A.D. 399 to 414. A century afterwards, two more, Hsuehseng and Song-yun, travelled some years in the north of India, but their account is very brief. They were succeeded by Hsueh Tsang, whose ample narrative is the subject of the present Appendix. His voyage was followed by some pilgrims in the eighth century and by Kihno, who visited India in 964 with three hundred ascetics, but these are of little interest.

Fa-hien's narrative was translated into French by M. Abel Remusat and there is a good and an English version from the French, was published by Mr. Leunclay in 1828, 1831, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 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3807, 3808, 3809, 381

years of age, he conceived the design of seeking in India the solution of the various doubts which perplexed his mind, and which none of the Chinese sages could resolve. He has to set out on his journey westward alone.

He starts from the N.W. extremity of China, and pursues his adventurous route through the country of the Oigours, and other Tartar tribes; thus he mentions the kingdoms of O-ki-ni, and Kou-tché (Kharashar?). At the latter place he stops sixty days, on account of the snow interrupting the roads; and he thence goes to Pa-lou-kia, which seems to be the same as the modern province of Aksu. In all these countries he finds Buddhism more or less prevalent. He then crosses the mountain Ling-chan (Musur Aola), which occupies more than a week; here he loses several of his companions from hunger and cold, and many of the beasts of burden. He next skirts the shore of the lake Thsing-tchi (Issikul), and arrives at the city Sou-ché, where he meets with the Turki-Khán; he notices that his people were fire-worshippers. He then travels on to Tche-chi (Chásh or Tashkend), crosses the Jaxartes, and visits Samarkand, which is entirely inhabited by fire-worshippers. He then proceeds through the pass called the "Iron Gates" (Derbend), enters the kingdom of Tukhára, and crosses the Oxus. He describes Tukhára as divided into twenty-seven states, "which, though to some extent independent, are generally subject to the Turks." Here he finds Buddhism held in respect, and still more so in Balkh, where there were 100 convents containing 3,000 monks. He next reaches Bámyán (where Buddhism is very flourishing), and crosses the Hindú Kush. He thence visits Kapiśa (the Capiśa of Pliny), which is under a Kshatriya king, to whom ten kingdoms are subject; here he finds 100 convents with 6,000 monks, but also scores of temples and many sects of heretics, some of whom went about naked, others rubbed themselves with ashes or wore skulls as ornaments. Near the capital he passes, on a mountain called Pílusira, the first of the long series of Aśoka's *stūpas* or monuments erected over relics.<sup>3</sup> On leaving Kapiśa he crosses a mountain range to the east, and then enters Northern India.<sup>4</sup>

He first visits Lampá or Lamghán, "north of which," it is said, "the frontier countries are called Mie-li-tche (*Mlechchhas*);" then he comes to Nagarahára, where, to the south-west of the city, there was a cave in which Buddha was said to have left his shadow. Here the disciples, in their memoirs, indulge their imagination, and describe their master as extorting, by his prayers, such a clear vision of the sacred symbol as had been rarely conceded to any man; but Hiouen Tsang himself only remarks that "in old times the appearance was seen as luminous as if it were Buddha himself, but in these later ages one no longer sees it completely; something is, indeed, perceived, but it is only a feeble and doubtful resemblance."<sup>5</sup> South-east of this lay Gandhára, with its capital, Purushapura, at this time subject to Kapiśa. He describes the inhabitants as effeminate, but greatly devoted to literature; and he mentions it as the birthplace of many Indian doctors, who have composed (Buddhist) Śástras. He found its 1,000 convents and numerous *stūpas* deserted and in ruins; there were 100 temples and heretics of all sorts in abundance. There were several monuments of the great kings Aśoka and Kanishka; and he also expressly mentions a temple sacred to Mahéśwara, as well as a celebrated statue, of his wife, the goddess Pi-mo (*Bhíma*), in blue stone. In his account of the city Śálátúra, he gives a curious

<sup>3</sup> He is said to have erected in different parts of India 84,000 such monuments. Hiouen Tsang finds them everywhere.

<sup>4</sup> Hiouen Tsang knew Sanskrit, and endeavoured throughout his itinerary in India to give the native names as far as the peculiar syllabic structure of the Chinese language admitted. M. Julien has discovered a method for detecting the Sanskrit names and words under their Chinese disguises, and we can thus recover with certainty

the Sanskrit equivalent in nearly every instance. Thus *Ti-po-ta-to* represents Devadatta, and *Tou-ko-to*, Tukhára. We shall give some more examples further on.

<sup>5</sup> Similarly, in vol. i. p. 286, Hiouen Tsang mentions another place where Buddha had left his shadow; but he adds, "although this is related in the historical memoirs, nowadays absolutely nothing is to be seen."

legend about Pāṇini and describes his grammar as still studied by the Brahmins of the place.

He thence visited Udyāna, to the north, but most of its 1,400 convents were in ruins. Next he went to Bolor, and thence turned southward to Takashana, which formerly belonged to Kapisa, but was then subject to Cashmir. Sinhapura, Uruk, and Cashmir. The latter country he found under the dominion of the K.śa-  
Kṛtiya dynasty, which patronised the Brahmanical faith, but there were many learned Buddhists in the various convents, and our traveller stayed there two years, copying and studying the sacred books. He then visits Panch and Rajapura, and remarks that all the countries from Langhan to this last place are more or less barbarous, and do not properly belong to India.\*

Hsuen Thsang thence goes northward to Cheka, where he sees the ruins of the ancient city Śākā, the Sagala or Sangala of the Greeks, Chinaseta, where he remains studying fourteen months; Jalandhara, where he remains four months; and Kuluta, where he crosses the Satlaj. He next proceeds southward to a country called Polinyestola, which appears to be the Matsya district of Manu, as this is explained by Kulluka as Virata, which has been supposed to be Marhori or Jajpur. Hsuen Thsang describes the inhabitants as averse to letters, and devoted to heretical doctrines and war.

He next comes to Mathura (Mattra),† and here his narrative throws great light on the political condition of the Doab in the seventh century. He visits and describes Tinsar, with its 3 convents, its 100 temples and swarms of heretics; Srāghna, with its ruined capital, here he finds 5 convents and 100 temples, and remains studying with a renowned doctor some months;—Matapura, on the Ganges, where the Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths have an equal number of adherents, and the king is a Śūdra, but does not follow the law of Buddha; Brahmapura;—Aśchikhatra, the Akadza of Ptolemy; and Sankaya, the only city mentioned in the Ramayana and which General Cunningham discovered in the ruins near the present village of Samahm. General Cunningham found a tank there, where a Naga is still propitiated by offerings of milk whenever rain is wanted, just as it was in A.D. 100, when Fa-hian visited the spot.

The next place visited was Kangāraja, he describes its capital as 20 li in length and 5 in breadth. Its king, Harshavaridatta, was of the Vardya race, he had succeeded his elder brother Rayavaridatta, who had been treacherously killed by Śaunka, an anti-Buddhist king in eastern India, and on his accession had assumed the name of Śaśolitya. The new king had established his supremacy over all India, and was a most zealous patron of Buddhism. There were 100 convents and 10,000 monks, and also 200 temples of the Brahmins. He describes the kingdom as wealthy and full of foreign merchandise, the cities are all defended by solid walls and deep moat-hes.

He next went to Ujyanta, which is supposed to have been some capital of

\* Hsuen Thsang's narrative has been already translated by Mr. A. Lévesque in *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. vi. pp. 101-110. Mr. Lévesque's translation is very good, but it is not complete, as he has not translated the whole of the work. The whole of the work is translated by Mr. A. Lévesque in *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. vi. pp. 101-110. Mr. Lévesque's translation is very good, but it is not complete, as he has not translated the whole of the work.

† The name of Mathura is given by Hsuen Thsang, but it is not given by Fa-hian. The name of Mathura is given by Hsuen Thsang, but it is not given by Fa-hian. The name of Mathura is given by Hsuen Thsang, but it is not given by Fa-hian. The name of Mathura is given by Hsuen Thsang, but it is not given by Fa-hian.

Ujyanta, but the Mahabharata war, and he gives a very good description of the city.

Hsuen Thsang also mentions that he saw a very large number of Buddhist stupas, and that he saw a very large number of Buddhist stupas, and that he saw a very large number of Buddhist stupas.

General Cunningham has discovered the ruins of the city of Sankaya, which is mentioned in the Ramayana. He has also discovered the ruins of the city of Aśchikhatra, which is mentioned in the Ramayana. He has also discovered the ruins of the city of Brahmapura, which is mentioned in the Ramayana.

Ayodhyā on the Ganges); here he found 100 convents and only 10 temples. He then goes down the river to Hayamukha (?),—on his voyage, his ship is attacked by robbers devoted to the goddess Durgā, who have 'an annual custom of sacrificing one of their captives, and they fix on the Chinese pilgrim as their victim. The memoirs expatiate on his calmness amidst his terrified companions,—he resigns himself to his fate, and only regrets that the premature termination of his journey will issue in future evil to his captors; but a sudden storm alarms the robbers, and they release him with his friends. He next visits Prayāga, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna,—here he finds only two small convents,—“there are many hundreds of temples and the number of heretics is enormous.” He expressly mentions one very celebrated temple of immense wealth and sanctity with a large tree in its principal court, from whose top pilgrims used to throw themselves down in order to die in such a sacred spot;” he also mentions the custom of devotees drowning themselves at the point of confluence. South-west of Prayāga, there was a dense forest infested with wild beasts and elephants. He next visits Kauśāmbī, where he finds 10 convents in ruins, and 50 flourishing temples.

He next turns northward to Vaiśākha (?), which General Cunningham identifies with the Hindī Śāketa or the ancient Ayodhyā on the river Sarayū; and thence to Śrāvastī. He describes the capital of the latter kingdom as in ruins and almost deserted; there were many ruined convents, but the Brahmanical temples seem to have been numerous and frequented.” Thence he goes to Kapilavastu,—“here there are 10 deserted towns, and the royal city is in ruins; the palace, in the middle of the capital, was once 14 or 15 *li* in circumference, and was entirely built of bricks,—its ruins are still lofty and solid, but it has been deserted for ages. The villages are thinly peopled,—there is no king,—every town has its own chief. There were once about 1,000 convents, the ruins of which still remain.” The various spots were still pointed out, which were associated with the memorable events in Śākya Muni's life, and on most of them *vihāras* had been erected. He next goes eastward through a dense forest to Rāmagrāma, which was then only a desert,—it abounded with the ruins of convents and *stūpas*, but most of the country was covered with forests full of wild beasts and robbers; and the same desolation prevailed in Kuśinagara, the celebrated spot where Śākya Muni entered into *nirvāṇa*.” Hiouen Tsang then turns to the south-west, and, after passing through a vast forest, reaches Benares.

He describes the kingdom as thickly filled with populous villages,—the majority of the inhabitants believed heretical doctrines, and there were few who revered the law of Buddha. There were 30 convents with about 3,000 monks, and 100 temples and 10,000 heretics, devoted for the most part to Maheśwara. “Some cut their hair, others leave a tuft on the top of the head and go about quite naked (the Nirgranthas), others rub their bodies with ashes (the Pāśupatas), and zealously practise painful penances to escape from life and death.” “In the capital there are 20 temples. They have towers of many stories, and magnificent chapels built of stones elaborately carved and of wood richly painted. Thick trees cover them with their shade, and streams of pure water flow round them. The statue of Maheśwara, which is made of brass, is nearly 100 feet high. His aspect is grave and majestic, and, on seeing him, one feels respectful fear as if he were still living.”

“ This is the celebrated *akshay Bat*, or “ indestructible fig-tree.” Abd ul kadir in the *Muntakhab* at Tāwārīkh, mentions the same practice as still prevalent in Akber's time. See Gen. Cunningham's Report (*Journ. B.A.S.* 1865).

“ Gen. Cunningham identifies Śrāvastī with

the ruined city on the Rapti, still called Sāhet-Māhet. Śrāvastī in Māgadhi becomes Sāvasthi.

“ Gen. Cunningham identifies this with the ruins of Kāśā, 35 miles east from Gorakhpur; one of the mounds is still called the “*stū* of the dead prince.”

He visits the deep-ark of Sārnāth, with its convent containing 1500 monks,\* and then journeys north-eastward to Vaiśālī, passing on the way a celebrated temple of Nariyāna. He describes the capital as a heap of ruins, covering a circumference of 60 or 70 *li*. The district abounded with Buddhist monuments, and there were many ruined convents, but only three or four were inhabited; there were scores of temples, and a multitude of heretics, especially of those who go naked. As Fohian describes Vaiśālī without alluding to its being in ruins, we may conclude that the city decayed between the fifth and seventh centuries.

After visiting Vṛjji, which he describes as in ruins, and Nepal (which he finds under a Kshatriya king of the race of the Lichaviya), he continues his route to Magadha. Here he found 50 convents with 10000 monks, but the temples were also numerous and well frequented. He mentions Pāṭaliputra as a ruined city south of the Ganges; although long deserted, its foundations still covered an extent of 50 *li*.† He also mentions its original name, Kusumapūra, and gives a legend to account for the change. He counted hundreds of ruined convents, *stūpas*, and temples in the neighbourhood. Some of the legends connected with the different sacred sites are curious, as illustrating the respective positions of Buddhism and the more ancient faith. We find frequent accounts of great disputations held in the presence of the kings, between the most learned partisans of the two creeds, and one great Brahman is expressly mentioned by name, Mādhyava, celebrated for war of the Saṅgha philosophy, who was vanquished by a Buddhist teacher, Guṇamati, from central India. Mādhyava it is said, was a man of immense learning, and he possessed two *śūtras*, and all the surrounding district was his appanage. Similarly we read in the legends of towns given as a reward to the successful Buddhist disputant, and in one place (vol. i. p. 451) it is even said that the defeated Brahmins were reduced to be dependants of the convents (the Brahmins resident *asvaghāṭas* as *śrāvaka* *śāravastavā*).

Among other places, Hiuen Tsiang mentions Gaya,‡ which he describes as a well-fortified city, very difficult of access, it had only a few inhabitants. The Brahmins found a thousand families; they were descended from one Rākṣa. The king did not treat them as subjects, and the multitude shew them great respect. There was a very sacred spot in Buddhist legend, where Boddhi-tree had passed six years of severe penance, and there grew the sacred *bodhi*-tree, in which, Gervil Cluningham says, "that it still exists, though very much decayed." The large stem, with three branches to the westward, is still green, but the other branches are barkless and rotten. But of course it has been frequently renewed. Hiuen Tsiang mentions a celebrated statue, which had been constructed near the tree by a Brahmin, who was once a worshipper of Maheswara, but who, wearied by that deity, had resolved to build the Bodhi-tree. This account is the same as that given by Mr. Waine at Gaya, and published in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. Hiuen Tsiang remarks that, "to the south of the tree, to the south of the *bodhi*-tree, the sacred monuments are numerous, and it would be difficult to mention them all." Every year, when the monsoons are favourable, great numbers, during the rainy season, come to the tree, and are attended by monks, lay devotees, the people, and some of the kings. The sacred day, on the great day, they walk round the woods surrounding

\* *Ching-tse* (the Chinese name of Sārnāth) is described as a city of 1500 monks, and as a place of great sanctity. *Ching-tse* is the Chinese name of Sārnāth, and is also the name of the city of Sārnāth.

† *Ching-tse* is the Chinese name of Pāṭaliputra, and is also the name of the city of Pāṭaliputra.

‡ *Ching-tse* is the Chinese name of Gaya, and is also the name of the city of Gaya.

the convent, with odorous flowers and to the sound of music, and pay their homage to the relics and make their offerings. The monks of India, at the time of the rains, enter fixed habitations on the first day of Śrāvan, and they quit them on the last day of Āśwayuj.<sup>19</sup>

Magadha of course abounded with objects of interest to the Chinese pilgrim, and his account of its sacred places is very detailed, and General Cunningham has recognised many of the spots which he visited, especially the ruins of Kuśāgīrapur or Rājagriha, near the modern Rājgir, which can still be identified by Fa-hian's description, that "the five hills form a girdle round it like the walls of a town." This was the capital of the ancient kings of Magadha, and it is no doubt the same as the Girivraja of the Rāmāyana; even at the time of Fa-hian's visit it was a deserted city.

Hiouen Tshang also notices a more modern Rājagriha, in the plain, which was inhabited by 1,000 Brahman families, Āśoka having given it to them when he removed his court to Pātāliputra. But the most interesting place which Hiouen Tshang visited was the celebrated convent of Nālanda, the extensive ruins of which still exist in the village of Baragaon, seven miles to the north of Rājgir. On his arrival he was met by 200 monks and a crowd of other persons, coming in procession with flags, parasols, perfumes, and flowers. He was then welcomed in solemn conclave by all the residents, and invited to share in all that the convent supplied. After this he was introduced to a venerable *āchārya* named Śīlabhadra, who was profoundly versed in the depths of Buddhist philosophy, but who, for several years, had been almost helpless from violent rheumatism. Hiouen Tshang was then lodged in one of the convent buildings and treated with every mark of respect. Nālanda was at that time the most imposing of all the Buddhist monasteries in India: 10,000 monks resided within its walls, and among these were visitors from all parts of India who had come to study the abstruser Buddhist books under its renowned teachers. There were to be found the followers of the eighteen different schools, all living united together; and every kind of book was studied, "from the common books, as the Vedas and such writings, to logic (*hetuvidyā*), grammar (*śabdavidyā*), medicine (*chikitsā*), and the practical arts (*silpaśāhanavidyā*)." A thousand of the monks could explain twenty treatises, five hundred could explain thirty, and ten (including Hiouen himself) knew fifty; but the old *āchārya* had mastered all. The convent was supported by the revenue of 100 villages, and the strictest moral and intellectual discipline was maintained in the community. As the public funds provided all necessities, the monks had no need to wander and beg alms, and all their time was devoted to study.

Hiouen Tshang appears to have remained five years at Nālanda, and during that time he read the *Yoga śāstra* three times, the *Nyāyānusāra śāstra* once, the *abhidharma śāstra* once, the *hetuvidyā śāstra* twice, the *śabdavidyā śāstra* twice, etc. He also revised the books which he had read in Caśmīr, and at the same time he took the opportunity of studying the Brahmanical books and the work entitled *Ki-lun*, which treats of the *Fan* characters of India. There then follows, in the memoirs written by the disciples, a very curious passage on the Sanskrit language and literature, to which we shall return further on.

After leaving Nālanda, he proceeds through forests and mountains to the kingdom of Hiranyaparbata, which is supposed to be Monghir. Its capital contained 10 convents with about 4,000 monks; there were 20 temples, and all

<sup>19</sup> Hiouen Tshang remarks (vol. i. p. 493), that "in India, the names of the months are based on those of the asterisms; from ancient times to our days, this usage has been invariably preserved, and the different schools have made no change. But as at the beginning, local expressions were

not always well understood, Chinese translators have often been deceived. Hence in the division of the seasons, and the calculations of the months, differences and contradictions have arisen."

Clouds of heretics were numerous. He mentions a mountain ' whence smoke and vapour issued which obscured the sun and moon ', which may be an exaggeration of the hot springs found in the neighbouring hills. He then follows the southern bank of the Ganges and visits Champā, where there were scores of ruined convents, in which about 200 monks still continued to reside. —the Brahmaical temples were many and well-frequented. He next visits Kajughra (Ct), with 6 or 7 convents and 10 temples; the kingdom was no longer independent, and consequently the cities were deserted, and the inhabitants had retired to the villages. He adds that when Śālistya travelled in its dominions, on his arrival in this district, he had a palace built of reeds where he administered justice, and which was burnt on his departure. Hsuen Thsang mentions that in each of these last mentioned kingdoms there were large tracts of forest abounding with wild elephants. He next comes to Puṣṭravardhana (Bardwan), with 20 convents and 100 temples, and thence proceeds eastward to Kamarūpa (Assam). He describes the language of Assam as somewhat different from that of the neighbouring provinces; its inhabitants were not Buddhists, and there was not a single convent within its limits. Its temples could be numbered by hundreds, and their worshippers by tens of thousands. Its king was a Brahman, named Bhaskaravarman, and he bore the title of Kumārī, although not a follower of Buddha, he received Hsuen Thsang with kindness and treated him with every mark of respect. He next goes to Samatata (in the Sundarāns) and thence to the port of Tanarāyita (Tamilak). He finds in the latter place 10 convents and 50 temples; and he mentions the immense quantity of rare and precious merchandise, which was brought to it by land and sea. Here he enquired about Ceylon (Sinhala), and he learned that ships often sailed thither from this port; but he was obliged to proceed southward to the extremity of the Peninsula, and thence to the long and dangerous voyage. He accordingly, after first visiting a country called Karpasavarma, proceeds to Oryia, beneath his descriptions of the different countries are much matter and interest. He describes the inhabitants as tall, dark, and rude in their manners; their language and pronunciation differed from those of central India. There were 100 convents with 1000 monks, and 50 temples. On the S.E. frontier he finds a large city called Chandra, which was a port greatly frequented by foreign merchants. He next passes through Kanyakubha, with its 100 temples, Kāṇḍia, in the east with its 10 convents and 30 temples, and Kāśā in the interior, with its Kshatriya king of the Buddhist faith, its 100 convents, and its 70 temples. He next visits Andhra, where he finds a language and pronunciation very different from those of central India, though the written characters are mostly the same. There were 5 convents with 1000 monks, and 100 temples; he calls its capital Pīṅgala (Warangal).

He then proceeds to Dharmā, Kāśā, Mahādhāra, Mahāpāṇḍya, where he first met most of the heretics, and thence to the mountainous districts, where there were 10 temples, and heretics of every sect were very numerous. Here he met the learned monks, and he stayed several months, with the consent of their masters. There is no want of those which he describes as being a desert covered with trunks of elephants, the convents were numerous in number, but there were many heretics, and the heretics who were trained, the more strict, were extremely numerous. He was then obliged to travel through the high forests and desert paths, and he reached Dharmā, Kāśā, Kanyakubha, and thence to the mountainous districts, where there were 10 temples, and 100 monks, and 100 temples, and 100 monks. Here he met some monks from Ceylon, who were sailing thence, proceeding thither to the king, and that is all that is said of the country, which was distant from the capital of the Hsuen Thsang takes their leave.

but he inserts in his Si-yu-ki a short account of Ceylon, as derived from the travellers whom he met.

According to the Memoirs, Hiouen Tsaung did not go farther south than Káncípura; but the Si-yu-ki mentions his going 3,000 *li* to the south (or rather south-west), and reaching a country called Mo-lo-kiu-tcha, i.e. Malakúta or Malaya. He describes its inhabitants as illiterate and entirely devoted to gain; the convents were mostly in ruins, but there were hundreds of flourishing temples, and numbers of *nirgrantha* heretics. He describes the Malaya hills and the sandal-trees which grow on them, and he mentions the serpents by which these trees are infested. He then passes through Konkana, where he found 100 convents with 10,000 monks, as well as hundreds of temples. Both in his journey to this kingdom from the south, and again on his leaving it and proceeding northward, he describes himself as passing through vast forests and desert plains infested by wild beasts and robbers. He next comes to Maháráshtra. His account of this kingdom is curious and interesting. "The kingdom of Mo-ho-la-tcha (Maháráshtra) has a circuit of about 6,000 *li*. On the west side, its capital<sup>20</sup> is near a great river,—its circumference is 30 *li*. The soil is rich and fertile, and produces grain in abundance. The climate is hot,—the manners of the people are simple and honest. They are tall in stature, and their character proud and haughty. Whoever confers a benefit on them may count on their gratitude; but he who offends them never escapes their vengeance. If any one insults them, they risk their life to wash out the affront; if any one implores their aid in distress, they neglect all care of their personal safety to help him. When they have an injury to avenge, they never fail to warn their enemy beforehand; after which, each man dons his cuirass and fights, lance in hand. In a battle they pursue those who fly, but they do not kill those who yield themselves prisoners. When a general has lost a battle, instead of inflicting corporal punishment upon him, they make him wear women's clothes, and so drive him to commit suicide. The State maintains a body of intrepid warriors to the number of many hundreds. Whenever they prepare for combat, they make themselves drunk with wine, and then any one of them would, singly defy ten thousand enemies. If he kills any one who happens to cross his path, the law does not punish him. When the army is out on service, these warriors march in the van, to the sound of drums. They also make drunk hundreds of their ferocious elephants." He describes the king as a Kshatriya named Pulakéśa, and he adds that Śiláditya, the king of Kanouj, had subdued all India except this nation, and all his efforts to conquer them had failed. Hiouen Tsaung mentions 100 convents with 5,000 monks; there were also 100 temples, and the heretics of different sects were extremely numerous.

He then crosses the Narmadá (Nerbadda) river, and comes to the kingdom of Barugacheva (Barygaza or Baróch). He describes the inhabitants as devoted to maritime traffic, and as illiterate and deceitful. There were 10 convents with 300 monks, and also ten temples. He next goes to Málwa, of which he speaks in glowing terms. "In the five Indias, there are two kingdoms where study is highly esteemed,—Málwa in the south-west, and Magadha in the north-east." Brahmanism and Buddhism seemed each to flourish. Thus there were many hundreds of convents with 20,000 monks, and there were also as many temples. The heretics were very numerous, especially those who rubbed their bodies with ashes (the Pásupatas). He mentions a king named Śiláditya, who had reigned some 60 years before and had greatly patronised the Buddhists during his long reign of 50 years; he places the capital on the south-east of the river Mahí, which seems to indicate Dhárá. He also mentions a city of Brahmans, and gives a curious legend of a Brahman who was deeply versed in every branch of learning, sacred and profane, and in his arrogance proclaimed himself the successor of Buddha and the guide of the ignorant.

<sup>20</sup> Deogiri or Paithán?



He had statues carved in red sandalwood of Mahedwara, Vasudeva, Narayana, and Buddha, and he placed these as the four legs of his chair until he was defeated in a public disputation by a Buddhist mendicant, when he was swallowed up alive by the earth opening under his feet.

He next visits Ajah (?) and Kuch, in both of which Buddhism was yielding to Brahmanism, and from thence he proceeds to Vallabhi. He describes the latter as a kingdom of great commerce and wealth; there were four convents with 400 monks, and also many hundreds of temples and heretics of every sect. The kings were Kshatriyas and nephews of the Śālisthya who was mentioned above as a king of Malwa; the present occupier of the throne, Dhruvayastu, who was also according to the son of Śālisthya, the king of Kanouj. He was a realist Buddhist and every year held a great assembly for seven days when he distributed all kinds of gifts to the religious devotees, and then bought them back at a double price.

He next visits Anandapura, a dependency of Malwa, Sarashtra, a dependency of Vallabhi, which possessed great wealth from its commerce, and Ujjain<sup>2</sup> where there was only one convent though the Kshatriya king professed the Buddhist faith. We next find him at Ujjain, which he describes as under a Brahman king well versed in heretical learning; here there had once been scores of convents, but now nearly all were in ruins, while the temples were numerous and crowded with votaries.<sup>3</sup> Next he visits Tchekisto (later), where Buddhism was similarly waning before Brahmanism; but the king, though a Brahman, still chose the former religion, and Maheswarapura, a thoroughly Brahmanical capital, which seems to have lain in the northeast of Rappotana. He then turns westward, and after travelling through wild plains and dangerous deserts, he reaches the river Sindhu and arrives at a kingdom of the same name. He calls the capital Vichayapura; the king is a Śūdra; there are hundreds of convents with 1,000 monks, and there are also temples. He mentions a sect of fanatics who swayed one side of the river and on the other only professed a worship and the beating of cymbals; the men shaved their heads and the women their hair, and they wore the dress of Buddhist monks. His son Thsang regarded them as the legitimate descendants of a Buddhist tribe. He next visits Malwanahara, Malwa, where there were 10 convents mostly in ruins, and temples; one of which that of the Sun was of unusual splendour. The statue of the god was of pure gold and the temple's beams that founding had never ceased to resound with continual music, as this was always lighted up brilliantly at night. After visiting Parvata, a legend-ary city of Chokas, we next find him at Adhiyaskia, with its capital Khasara (Kashala), which he calls a dependency of Smith; here he notes 80 convents and 10 temples, among the latter he specifies a magnificent temple of Mahedwara, and he particularly mentions the number of its devotees who ate their rice with ashes. Then comes He next visits Langra, a dependency of Persa, where he finds the language somewhat different from those of India; the written characters were very similar. Here there were four convents and also many hundreds of temples; the statue of Mahedwara with its Pasupati feet. He then visits the famous kingdom of Pishan, Avanti, and Varanasi, which he calls respectively Pishan, and Pishan, and notes as well as Buddhist monks, a

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. H. H. Wilson's *History of the Vedic Age*, p. 100. The name of the king is given as Kshatriya. The name of the king is given as Kshatriya. The name of the king is given as Kshatriya.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the king is given as Kshatriya. The name of the king is given as Kshatriya. The name of the king is given as Kshatriya.

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Varaṇa most of the convents were in ruins. After this he climbs a high mountain range, and leaves the boundaries of India behind him.

The remainder of his route we need only just indicate. He visits Ho-si-na (Ghazni?), crosses the Hindú Kush, and comes to Anderáb. He then ascends the valleys of the affluents of the upper part of the Oxus, as far as the snowy range which separates the basin of that river from that of the river of Yárkand. Thus he passes through Khost, Bolor, Badakhshán, Pamir, Káshgar, Khotan, Tukhára and the desert of Makhai, and reaches China in the spring of 645.

During Hiouen Tshang's stay at Kanouj and Nálanda he had many disputes with the learned Brahmans belonging to the various philosophical schools, especially the Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeshika; and we have some very curious accounts of some conferences, where the partisans of the rival religions met and discussed their different doctrines, and where, of course, "the master of the law" (to quote Hiouen Tshang's Chinese title of honour) plays a very prominent part, especially in the debates between the two great Buddhist sects who respectively called themselves the followers of "the greater" or "less translation" (*mahá-* and *hina-yána*).<sup>24</sup> Hiouen Tshang himself gives an account of one of these great convocations. Twenty-one tributary kings, attended by the most learned Brahman and Buddhist teachers in their several kingdoms, were present. A monastery, and a tower 100 feet high, had been erected on the south bank of the Ganges, in honour of a golden statue of Buddha. The king had a temporary palace built some three miles from the spot, and every day while the assembly lasted he escorted the statue in a grand triumphal procession from the palace to the tower, and, after various ceremonies in its honour, carried it back in the evening with the same pomp. After a sumptuous banquet, before the procession returned, a disputation was held every day between the different learned visitors, when "they discussed the most abstract expressions and the most sublime principles." Of course the Brahmans are defeated. On the last

day of the assembly, the great tower suddenly caught fire, and at the same time an attempt was made to assassinate the king. The assassin, on examination, confessed that he had been employed by the defeated disputants, and that it was they also who had been the incendiaries. He adds that "the king punished the chiefs of the conspiracy, and banished 500 of the Brahmans beyond the frontiers of India." The memoir-writers give an account of a somewhat similar assembly held by the same king at Prayága, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges: 500,000 monks and laymen were present, and the festivities appear to have lasted ten weeks. It is a curious illustration of the religious condition of Northern India at that time, to find, on the first day, the installation of a statue of Buddha; on the second, that of an image of the Sun; and on the third, that of an image of Íśwara;<sup>25</sup> and similarly we read that the king lavished his gifts on the Brahmans and the different heretics (especially the Nirgranthas), as well as on the Buddhist monks.

The first part of the second book of the Si-yu-ki gives a general account of India. The author says that the name should be pronounced In-tou, and he derives it from the Sanskrit *indu* "the moon"; but he also mentions the name "kingdom of the Brahmans," which may mean Brahmávara.<sup>26</sup> He gives some curious details respecting the public buildings, the household furniture, dresses, manners, divisions of time, etc.; and he seems to have been particularly struck with the minute observances of cast. He mentions the four casts, and describes the Vaiśyas as

<sup>24</sup> There is some confusion here between the disciples' memoirs and the Si-yu-ki. The former make Hiouen Tshang return for a second visit to Nálanda, after he has reached Sindh and the Panjáb, and they describe the second visit as the more important one; but the latter, by its silence, proves the erroneousness of the double journey.

<sup>25</sup> In his account of Kanouj, Hiouen Tshang mentions two temples of blue stone dedicated to the Sun and Maheswara, each of which had 1,000 attendants, and resounded incessantly with songs and drums.

<sup>26</sup> He says that India is divided into 70 kingdoms.

merchants, and the Sudras as agricultural labourers, he also notices that there were numerous mixed casts. Like the Greeks, he was very favourably impressed with the truthfulness and honesty of the national character. He praises the administration of justice, and he mentions four modes of ordeal. The produce of the royal lands was divided into four portions: the first went to pay the expenses of the kingdom; the second supplied the *hela*, i.e. *pagars* for the officers of state; the third was given to learned men; and the fourth was expended in gifts to the Buddhist and the various Brahmical sects. He describes the taxes as light. Every one possessed and cultivated some hereditary land, and paid a sixth part of the produce to the king, who advanced the seed. There were transit duties at the ferries and on the highways, and the king possessed no right of forced labour, but was obliged to pay reasonable wages. There was a small standing army employed in guarding the frontiers and the king's person; the rest was levied in time of need. The governors, ministers, and magistrates all received a certain portion of land, and were supported by its produce.

He also gives some curious details respecting the current literature. He particularly mentions five sciences: that of sounds or words *śabda-vidyā*; that of arts and trades *śilpaśāstra-vidyā*; that of medicine *śikṣita-vidyā*; that of reasoning *śāstra-vidyā*; and that of metaphysics *śāddhāra-vidyā*. He describes the four Vedas, though cursorily, and he expressly mentions that the teachers thoroughly knew these works, and taught the general sense to their pupils, and explained the obscure expressions. The term of education lasted till the student was thirty years of age. He has a short chapter on the eighteen different philosophical schools — "they are instantly at strife, and the noise of their angry discussions rises like the waves of the sea." There is one remarkable passage which to the Sanskrit scholar may well seem inexplicable: "Special functionaries are charged with the duty of concerning the writing memorials, sayings, and others are appointed to write the narrative of events." The record of annals and royal edicts is called *Nīpatī* — the blue collection. In these narratives are mentioned the good and evil events, the calamities, and also the various prodigies.<sup>77</sup> Probably these were a curious record of prodigies and omens like those quoted by Facy, but it is certain that every trace of them should have vanished from India with Buddhism itself.

But the most interesting of all these insights thrown on the state of literature in Northern India is that given by the account, in the disguise of memoirs of Hsuan Thsang's studies during his stay at Nālandā. It is there said that, besides the different Buddhist sects which he studied under the renowned teachers of the monastery, he also studied the books of the Brahmans, and especially the work entitled *Kaśī*, which treated of the *Var* characters of India, the *varṇa*, of which a lot of antiquity and none knows who invented them. At the commencement of the *Kaśī* — the king *Var*, Brahmā first explained them and transcribed them a good number. As these characters were explained by Brahmā, they were for that reason called the *var* of Brahmā.<sup>78</sup> The narrative text was very long extending to three hundred and thirty-two *śloka*s of *Paṇḍita* Jambhaviyāśāstra, which he had committed to verse for the knowledge of sounds. This *var* was afterwards arranged by Indians in four *skand*as, and by a Brahman a commentary in the northern dialect named the *var* of Pūrva.<sup>79</sup> The latter reduced it to *śloka*s, and it is this work which is still in use in India.

He then tells us that he had heard of this work which he had written from the *śāstra* *Var* of Pūrva. It contained four systems of *var* — the *var* of the *śāstra*, the *var* of the *śāstra*, the *var* of the *śāstra*, and the *var* of the *śāstra*. The first of these was the *var* of the *śāstra*, the second was the *var* of the *śāstra*, the third was the *var* of the *śāstra*, and the fourth was the *var* of the *śāstra*. The first of these was the *var* of the *śāstra*, the second was the *var* of the *śāstra*, the third was the *var* of the *śāstra*, and the fourth was the *var* of the *śāstra*.

<sup>77</sup> *Var* of Pūrva, *Var* of Pūrva, *Var* of Pūrva, *Var* of Pūrva, *Var* of Pūrva.

<sup>78</sup> *Var* of Pūrva, *Var* of Pūrva, *Var* of Pūrva.

<sup>79</sup> *Var* of Pūrva, *Var* of Pūrva, *Var* of Pūrva.

3 persons in each, which thus raises the sum total of terminations to 18 (Pán 3, 4, 78). He then adds the example of the root *bhū*, and it is very interesting to see this familiar verb in its strange Chinese disguise.

"If they wish to express 'existence,' this word has 3 forms :

1. *Po-po-ti* (*bhavati*) 'he is,'
2. *Po-po-pa* (*bhavatah* ?) 'they two are,'
3. *Po-fan-ti* (*bhavanti*) 'they are ;' "

and similarly we have the forms for the second and first persons, *po-po-ssé*, *po-po-po* and *po-po-ta*, and *po-po-mi*, *po-po-hoa*, *po-po-mo*.<sup>30</sup> He adds that words of this class are employed in elegant treatises, but are rarely used in ordinary composition,—a remark which perhaps alludes to the corrupt *gāthā* Sanskrit which we find so often in Buddhist books.

He gives a similar analysis of the noun (*sup-anta*), and, as an example, we have a complete declension of *Pou-lou-cha* (*Purusha*) "a man."

Such is a brief outline of this interesting narrative, the importance of which, for a view of mediæval India, can hardly be overrated. Had the "Hindú period" been historical, the travels of Fa-hian and Hiouen Thsang would have only merited a passing notice, just like that given to Ibn Batûta or Bernier in the Muhammadan portion; but, in the present dearth of historical materials, these foreign visits assume an entirely new importance,—they are almost our only stepping-stones through a thousand years of fable.]

<sup>30</sup> The Chinese author remarks on this form (which corresponds to *bhavadmā*) that in the Vedas another form often occurs, *po-po na-ssé*,

which is no doubt the Vaidik *bhavadmā* (Pán. 7, 1. 46), and we have thus a singular proof that Hiouen Thsang did actually study the Vedas.

# MAHOMETANS.

## BOOK V.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE ARAB CONQUESTS TO THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF A MAHOMETAN GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

### CHAPTER I.

#### ARAB CONQUESTS.

THE attacks either of Greeks or Barbarians had hitherto made <sup>Rise of the</sup> no impression beyond the frontiers of India, and the <sup>Mahometan</sup> <sup>religion.</sup> Hindûs might have long remained undisturbed by foreign intrusion, if a new spirit had not been kindled in a nation till now as sequestered as their own.

The Arabs had been protected from invasion by their poverty, and prevented, by the same cause, from any such united exertion as might have enabled them to carry their arms abroad.

Their country was composed of some mountain tracts and rich oases, separated or surrounded by a sandy desert, like the coasts and islands of a sea.

The desert was scattered with small camps of predatory herdsmen, who pitched their tents where they could quench their thirst at a well of brackish water, and drove their camels over extensive tracts where no other animal could have found a subsistence. The settled inhabitants, though more civilized, were scarcely less simple in their habits, and were formed into independent tribes, between whom there could be little communication, except by rapid journeys on horseback, or tedious marches under the protection of caravans.

The representative of the common ancestor of each tribe possessed a natural authority over it; but, having no support from any external power, he could only carry his measures by means of the heads of subordinate divisions, who depended, in their

turn, on their influence with the members of the family of which they represented the progenitor.

The whole government was therefore conducted by persuasion ; and there was no interference with personal independence unless it directly affected the general interest.

Such a country must have trained its inhabitants to the extremes of fatigue and privation ; the feuds of so many independent tribes and separate families must have made them familiar with danger in its most trying forms ; and the violent passions and fervid imagination which they had from nature, served to call forth the full exertion of any qualities they possessed.

Their laborious and abstemious lives appear in their compact form and their hard and fleshless muscles ; while the keenness of their eye, their determined countenance, and their grave demeanour disclose the mental energy which distinguishes them among all other Asiatics.

Such was the nation that gave birth to the false prophet, whose doctrines have so long and so powerfully influenced a vast portion of the human race.

Mahomet, though born of the head family of one of the branches of the tribe of Koreish, appears to have been poor in his youth, and is said to have accompanied his uncle's camels in some of those long trading journeys which the simplicity and equality of Arab manners made laborious even to the wealthy.

A rich marriage early raised him to independence, and left him to pursue those occupations which were most congenial to his mind. At this time the bulk of the Arab nation was sunk in idolatry or in worship of the stars, and their morals were under as little check of law as of religion.

The immigration of some Jewish and Christian tribes had, indeed, introduced higher notions both of faith and practice, and even the idolaters are said to have acknowledged a Supreme Being, to whom the other gods were subordinate ; but the influence of these opinions was limited, and the slowness of Mahomet's progress is a sufficient proof that his doctrines were beyond his age.

The dreary aspect of external nature naturally drives an Arab to seek for excitement in contemplation, and in ideas derived from within ; and Mahomet had particular opportunities of indulging in such reveries during periods of solitude, to which he habitually retired among the recesses of Mount Hira.

His attention may have been drawn to the unity of God by his intercourse with a cousin of his wife's, who was skilled

in Jewish learning, and who is said to have translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Arabic;<sup>1</sup> but, however they were inspired, his meditations were so intense that they had brought him to the verge of insanity, before he gave way to the impulse which he felt within him, and revealed to his wife, and afterwards to a few of his family, that he was commissioned by the only God to restore his pure belief and worship.<sup>2</sup> Mahomet was at this time forty years of age, and three or four years elapsed before he publicly announced his mission. During the next ten years he endured every species of insult and persecution; and he might have expired an obscure enthusiast, if the gradual progress of his religion, and the death of his uncle and protector, Abû Tâleb, had not induced the rulers of Mecca to determine on his death. In this extremity, he fled to Medina, resolved to repel force by force; and, throwing off all the mildness which had hitherto characterized his preaching, he developed the full vigour of his character, and became more eminent for his sagacity and boldness as a leader than he had been for his zeal and endurance as a missionary.

At the commencement of Mahomet's preaching, he seems to have been perfectly sincere; and, although he was provoked by opposition to support his pretensions by fraud, and in time became habituated to hypocrisy and imposture, yet it is probable that, to the last, his original fanaticism continued, in part at least, to influence his actions. But, whatever may have been the reality of his zeal, and even the merit of his doctrine, the spirit of intolerance in which it was preached, and the bigotry and bloodshed which it engendered and perpetuated, must place its author among the worst enemies of mankind.

Up to his flight to Medina, Mahomet had uniformly disclaimed force as an auxiliary to his cause. He now declared that he was authorized to have recourse to arms in his own defence; and, soon after, that he was commanded to employ them for the conversion or extermination of unbelievers. This

<sup>1</sup> See the account of Mahomet's Jewish School-Teacher, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170. See also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170. See also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170. See also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of Mahomet's Jewish School-Teacher, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170. See also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170. See also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> See the account of Mahomet's Jewish School-Teacher, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170. See also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170. See also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> See the account of Mahomet's Jewish School-Teacher, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170. See also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170. See also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of London*, 1793, p. 170.

new spirit seems to have agreed well with that of his countrymen ; for though he had but nine followers on his first military expedition, yet before his death, which happened in the twenty-third of his mission, and the tenth after his flight,<sup>4</sup> he had brought all Arabia under his obedience, and had commenced an attack on the dominions of the Roman emperor.

But it was not to a warlike spirit alone that he was indebted for his popularity. He was a reformer as well as a conqueror. His religion was founded on the sublime theology of the Old Testament ; and, however his morality may appear to modern Christians, it was pure compared with the contemporary practice of Arabia. His law, also, which prohibited retaliation without the previous sanction of a trial and sentence, was a bold attempt to bridle the vindictive passions of his countrymen, so long fostered by the practice of private war.

The conversion of the Arabs, therefore, was probably as sincere as it was general ; and their religious spirit being now thoroughly aroused, every feeling of their enthusiastic nature was turned into that one channel ; to conquer in the cause of God, or to die in asserting his unity and greatness, was the longing wish of every Mussulman ; the love of power or spoil, the thirst of glory, and even the hopes of Paradise, only contributed to swell the tide of this absorbing passion.

The circumstances, both political and religious, of the neighbouring countries, were such as to encourage the warmest hopes of these fanatical adventurers. The Roman empire was broken and dismembered by the Barbarians ; and Christianity was degraded by corruptions, and weakened by the controversies of irreconcilable sects. Persia was sinking in the last stage of internal decay ; and her cold and lifeless superstition required only the touch of opposition to bring it to the ground.<sup>5</sup> In this last country, at least, the religion of the Arabs must have contributed to their success almost as much as their arms. The conversion of Persia was as complete as its conquest ; and, in later times, its example spread the religion of the Arabs among powerful nations who were beyond the utmost influence of their power.<sup>6</sup>

Mahomet's attack on the Roman empire was in the direction

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 632.

<sup>5</sup> The temporal power acquired by the false prophet Mazdak, who nearly enslaved the king and people of Persia, shows the state of religious feeling in that country shortly before the birth of Mahomet.

<sup>6</sup> The text refers particularly to the Tartar nations ; but China, the Malay country, and the Asiatic Islands are further proofs of the extension of the religion of the Mussulmans, independent of their arms.





Who were in possession of the mountains of Ghór is not so certain; but there is every reason to think they were Afgháns. The other mountains connected with Hindú Cush, and extending from those of Ghór eastward to the Indus, were probably inhabited by Indians, descendants of the Paropamisadæ.

With respect to the plains, if we may judge from the present state of the population, those between the Solimán and Mecrán mountains and the Indus were inhabited by Jats or Indians, and those in the upper country, to the west of those mountains, by Persians. The first recorded invasion of this unsubdued tract was in the year of the Hijra 44, when an Arab force from Merv penetrated to Cábul, and made converts of 12,000 persons.<sup>13</sup>

The prince of Cábul, also, must have been made tributary, if not subject, for his revolt is mentioned as the occasion of a fresh invasion of his territories in 62 of the Hijra.<sup>14</sup>

On this occasion the Arabs met with an unexpected check: they were drawn into a defile, defeated, and compelled to surrender, and to purchase their freedom by an ample ransom. One old contemporary of the prophet is said to have disdained all compromise, and to have fallen by the swords of the infidels.<sup>15</sup>

The disgrace was immediately revenged by the Arab governor of Sistán; it was more completely effaced in the year 80 of the Hijra, when Abdurrahman, governor of Khorásán, led a large army in person against Cábul, and, avoiding all the snares laid for him by the enemy, persevered until he had reduced the greater part of the country to submission. His proceedings on this occasion displeased his immediate superior, Hajjáj, governor of Basra, so well known in Arabian history for his violence and cruelty; and the dread of his ulterior proceedings drove Abdurrahman into rebellion. He took Basra, occupied Cúfa, recently the capital, and threatened Damascus, which was then the residence of the Calif. In this struggle, which lasted for six years,<sup>16</sup> he was supported by the prince of Cábul; and the inability of his ally to give him a secure refuge when defeated, at length drove him to a voluntary death.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> A.D. 664. (Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 4.)

<sup>14</sup> A.D. 682. (Ibid. p. 5.)

<sup>15</sup> Price, from the *Kholdsat al Akhdar*, vol. i. p. 454.

<sup>16</sup> From A.D. 699 to A.D. 705.

<sup>17</sup> *Kholdsat al Akhdar* and the *Ti-rikhi Tibari*, quoted by Price (vol. i. pp. 455—463). There are various opinions about the nation of the prince of Cábul, which is rendered doubtful from the

situation of his city, at a corner where the countries of the Paropamisian Indians, the Afghána, the Persians, and the Tartars are closely adjoining to each other. It is very improbable that he was an Afghán (as Cábul is never known to have been possessed by a tribe of that nation); and I should suppose he was a Persian, both from the present population of his country, and from the prince of Cábul being often mentioned by Ferdousi, (who wrote at Ghazni.)

During all this time Ferishta represents the Afghāns to have been Mussulmans, and seems to have been led, by their own traditions, to believe that they had been converted in the time of the prophet himself. He represents them as invading the territory of the Hindūs as early as the year 63 of the Hijra, and as being ever after engaged in hostilities with the rāja of Lāhōr, until, in conjunction with the Gakkars (a people on the hills east of the Indus), they brought him to make them a cession of territory, and in return secretly engaged to protect him from the attacks of the other Mussulmans. It was owing to this compact, says Ferishta, that the princes of the house of Samāni never invaded the north of India, but confined their predatory excursions to Sind. He also mentions that the Afghāns gave an asylum to the remains of the Arabs who were driven out of Sind in the second century of the Hijra.

Setting aside the fable of their connexion with the prophet, this account does not appear improbable. The Afghāns, or a part of them, may have been early converted, although not conquered until the time of Sultān Mahmūd.

In the accessible parts of their country, especially on the west, they may have been early reduced to submission by the Arabs, but there are parts of the mountains where they can hardly be said to be entirely subdued even to this day.

We know nothing of their early religion, except the presumption, arising from the neighbourhood of Balkh and their connexion with Persia, that they were worshippers of fire. Mahometan historians afford no light, owing to their confounding all denominations of infidels.

The first appearance of the Mahometans in India was in the year of the Hijra 44, at the time of their first expedition to Gābul.

Mohālib, afterwards an eminent commander in Persia and Arabia, was detached, on that occasion, from the invading army, and penetrated to Multān, from whence he brought back many prisoners. It is probable that his object was only to explore the country, and that his report was not encouraging, from whatever cause, no further attempt was made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule.

The next invasion was of a more permanent nature. It was carried on from the south of Persia into the country as far as the mouth of the Indus, thence to the Hindu-prince

<sup>1</sup> The name of the country is not mentioned by Ferishta, but he suggests as the probable cause of the invasion the following words:

called Dáhir<sup>18</sup> by the Mussulmans, whose capital was at Alór, near Bakkar, and who was in possession of Multán and all Sind, with, perhaps, the adjoining plains of the Indus as far as the mountains of Cálábágh. His territory was portioned out among his relations, probably on the feudal tenure still common with the Rájpúts.<sup>19</sup>

Arab descents on Sind by sea are mentioned as early as the califate of Omar;<sup>20</sup> but, if they ever took place, they were probably piratical expeditions for the purpose of carrying off the women of the country, whose beauty seems to have been much esteemed in Arabia.<sup>21</sup> Several detachments were also sent through the south of Mecerán during the reigns of the early califs, but seem all to have failed from the desert character of the country; which was that so well known, under the name of Gedrosia, for the sufferings of Alexander's army.

At length, in the reign of the calif Walíd, the Mussulman government was provoked to a more strenuous exertion. An Arab ship having been seized at Díval or Déwal, a seaport connected with Sind, Rája Dáhir was called on for restitution. He declined compliance on the ground that Déwal was not subject to his authority: his excuse was not admitted by the Mussulmans; and they sent a body of 1,000 infantry and 300 horse to enforce their demand. This inadequate detachment having perished like its predecessors, Hajjáj, the governor of Basra, prepared a regular army of 6,000 men at Shiráz, and gave the command of it to his own nephew,<sup>22</sup> Mohammed Cásim, A.D. 711, A.H. 92. then not more than twenty years of age; and by him it was conducted in safety to the walls of Déwal. Cásim was provided with catapults and other engines required for a siege, and commenced his operations by an attack on a temple contiguous to the town. It was a celebrated pagoda, surrounded by a high enclosure of hewn stone (like those which figure in our early

<sup>18</sup> ["A nephew of Chach, who established the Brahman dynasty in Sind about A.H. 10." (Sir H. Elliot's *Arabs in Sind*).—Ed.]

<sup>19</sup> Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 401, etc. See also Captain M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. p. 36. Abulfazl makes Dáhir's dominions include Cashmír: but that country was then in possession of one of its greatest rajas; for whom, like all considerable Hindú princes, his historians claim the conquest of all India. Sind is almost the only part of it with which they pretend to no connexion. The native accounts quoted

by Captain Pottinger (p. 386) extend the dominions of Sind to Cábul and Márwár; and those given to Captain Burnes (vol. iii. p. 76) add Candahár and Canouj.

<sup>20</sup> [An Arab expedition set out from Oman, A.H. 15 or 16, to pillage the coast of India, and proceeded as far as Tána in Bombay. The Khalif Omar, however, had a great dislike of naval expeditions, and discouraged them as much as possible. (Sir H. Elliot's *Arabs in Sind*).—Ed.]

<sup>21</sup> Pottinger, p. 388.

<sup>22</sup> [Sir H. Elliot says, "cousin and son-in-law."—Ed.]

wars in the Carnatic), and was occupied, in addition, to the numerous Bramin inhabitants, by a strong garrison of Rājāpūts.

While Cāsim was considering the difficulties opposed to him, he was informed by some of his prisoners that the safety of the place was believed to depend on the flag which was displayed on the tower of the temple. He directed his engines against that sacred standard, and at last succeeded in bringing it to the ground; which occasioned so much dismay in the garrison as to cause the speedy fall of the place.

Cāsim at first contented himself with circumcising all the Bramins; but, incensed at their rejection of this sort of conversion, he ordered all above the age of seventeen to be put to death, and all under it, with the women, to be reduced to slavery. The fall of the temple seems to have led to that of the town, and a rich booty was obtained, of which a fifth (as in all similar cases) was reserved for Hajjāj, and the rest equally divided. A son of Dāhir's who was in Dēwal, either as master or as an ally, retreated, on the reduction of that city, to Brāhmanābād, to which place, according to Ferishta, he was followed by the conqueror, and compelled to surrender on terms. Cāsim then advanced on Nérūn (now Heiderābād<sup>2</sup>), and thence upon Schwān, of which he undertook the siege.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding the natural strength of Schwān, it was evacuated at the end of seven days, the garrison flying to a fortress called Sālim, which was likewise speedily reduced.

Thus far Cāsim's progress had met with little serious opposition. He was now confronted by a powerful army under the command of the rājā's eldest son; and his carriage cattle failing about the same time, he was constrained to take post, and to wait for reinforcements, and a renewal of his equipments. He was joined in time by 2,000<sup>4</sup> horse from Persia, and was enabled to renew his operations, and to advance, though not without several indecisive combats, to the neighbourhood of Ahr itself.

Here he found himself opposed to the rājā in person, who advanced to defend his capital at the head of an army of 50,000 men; and, being impressed with the dangers of his situation, from the disproportion of his numbers, and the impossibility of retreat in case of failure, he availed himself of the advantage of the ground, and awaited the attack of the Hindus in a strong position which he had chosen. His prudence was rewarded by

<sup>1</sup> The name of Anahel does not occur in the accounts from Mulsara, and Scott's conjecture of Helan is probably correct. See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 26, 27.

<sup>3</sup> The *Asiatic Researches* state, "His engagements have been celebrated." See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 27, 28.

of good fortune. During the heat of the attack which made on him, a fire-ball struck the rájah's elephant, and the fied animal bore its master off the field, and could not be ped until it had plunged into the neighbouring river. The ppearance of the chief produced its usual effect on Asiatic es ; and although Dáhir, already wounded with an arrow, nted his horse and renewed the battle with unabated age, he was unable to restore the fortune of the day, and fighting gallantly in the midst of the Arabian cavalry.<sup>26</sup> The pusillanimity of the rájah's son, who fled to Bráhmaábá compensated by the masculine spirit of his widow. She cted the remains of the routed army, put the city into a ure of defence, and maintained it against the attacks of the ay, until the failure of provisions rendered it impossible to out longer. In this extremity her resolution did not desert and the Rájput garrison, inflamed by her example, deterd to devote themselves along with her, after the manner of : tribe. The women and children were first sacrificed in es of their own kindling ; the men bathed, and, with other monies, took leave of each other and of the world ; the s were then thrown open, the Rájputs rushed out sword in l. and, throwing themselves on the weapons of their enemies, shed to a man. Those of the garrison who did not share in act of desperation, gained little by their prudence : the city carried by assault, and all the men in arms were slaughtered ie storm. Their families were reduced to bondage.<sup>27</sup> he more desperate stand was made at Asheandra,<sup>28</sup> after h Multán seems to have fallen without resistance, and the ometans pursued their success unopposed, until they had pied every part of the dominions of Rája Dáhir.<sup>29</sup>

This battle must have taken place on ft bank of the Indus, though there is rticular account of Cásim's crossing iver. He first approached the right stern bank at a place called Ráwer. findús drew up on the opposite bank, any movements were made on both before a passage was effected. The named on those occasions are Jíwar, nd Ráwer, as above mentioned. It to have been after crossing that drew up his army at Jehem and d. and before the battle he was at a, a dependency of Jehem. These are not now in the maps. (*Turikhi o Sind*). Briggs's *Perishta*, vol. iv. p. 409 ; *Rijasthan*, vol. i. p. 327.

<sup>26</sup> Pottinger, p. 390 ; M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. p. 31.

<sup>27</sup> Déwal was probably somewhere near Koráchi, the present seaport of Sind. It could not be at Tatta, as supposed by Ferishta, because that city, though the great port for the river navigation, is inaccessible from the sea : the bar at the mouth of the river rendering the entrance impracticable, except for flat-bottomed boats (see Captain M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p. 29, and Burnes's *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 242, with the whole of his description of the mouths of the Indus, in Chap. IV.). The site of Bráhmaábád is generally supposed to be marked by the ruins close to the modern town of Tatta. [Sir H. Elliot considers it and Mansúra to be nearly

Their treatment of the conquered country showed the same mixture of ferocity and moderation which characterized the early conquests of the Arabs. On the first invasion, each city was called on, as the army approached, to embrace the Mahomedan religion, or to pay tribute." In case of refusal, the city was attacked, and if it did not capitulate, all the fighting men were put to death, and their families were sold for slaves. Four cities held out to this extremity; and in two of them, the number of soldiers who were refused quarter is estimated at 6,000 each. The merchants, artisans, and other inhabitants of such places were exempt from all molestation, except such as we must conclude they suffered when a town was stormed. When tribute was once agreed to, whether voluntarily or by compulsion, the inhabitants were entitled to all their former privileges, including the free exercise of their religion. When a sovereign consented to pay tribute, he retained his territory, and only became subject to the usual relations of a tributary prince.

One question relating to toleration seemed so nice, that Cāsim thought it necessary to refer it to Arabia. In the towns that were stormed, the temples had been razed to the ground, religious worship had been forbidden, and the lands and stipends of the Bramins had been appropriated to the use of the state. To reverse these acts, when once performed, seemed a more direct concession to idolatry than merely abstaining from interference, and Cāsim avowed himself uncertain what to do. The answer was, that as the people of the towns in question had paid tribute

identical with the modern Hindostani.

Arrian, *Strabo*, &c. &c. Encl. (Barbari, &c.) The opinion of the natives stated by certain M.M. and others to be authentic, is given by *Le Journal de Seinde*, N. 1, pages 30, 31, 32. M.M. are usually not so supple as they have been situated in the theatre of the present contest, and the natives much to be pitied, the case of Tatta, though the story is not confirmed, at least is not contradicted by the natives themselves. As to the case of the natives, I have seen the original, and it is a very good copy. The natives are not so supple as they have been situated in the theatre of the present contest, and the natives much to be pitied, the case of Tatta, though the story is not confirmed, at least is not contradicted by the natives themselves.

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great battle and large Army, and the natives are not so supple as they have been situated in the theatre of the present contest, and the natives much to be pitied, the case of Tatta, though the story is not confirmed, at least is not contradicted by the natives themselves.

This is the case, and the natives are not so supple as they have been situated in the theatre of the present contest, and the natives much to be pitied, the case of Tatta, though the story is not confirmed, at least is not contradicted by the natives themselves.

Arrian, *Strabo*, &c. &c. Encl. (Barbari, &c.)

were entitled to all the privileges of subjects; that they should be allowed to rebuild their temples and perform their sacrifices; that the land and money of the Bramins should be reduced; and that three per cent. on the revenue, which had been granted to them by the Hindú government, should be continued to the Mussulman.

Cásim himself, notwithstanding his extreme youth, seems to have been prudent and conciliating. He induced several of the Hindú princes to join with him during the war, and at the conclusion he appointed the Hindú who had been Dáhir's prime minister to the same office under him, on the express ground that he would be best qualified to protect old rights, and to maintain established institutions.<sup>31</sup> The Mahometan writers state that Cásim had begun to plan a march to Canouj on the Ganges, and an almost contemporary historian<sup>32</sup> states that he reached a place which seems to mean Oudipúr; but as he had only 6,000 men at first, which the 2,000 recruits afterwards added would not do more than keep up to their original number, it is inconceivable that he should have projected such an expedition, even if he could have left Sind without an army occupation.

In the midst of his projects a sudden reverse was awaiting

The Mahometan historians concur in relating that among numerous female captives in Sind were two daughters of

Dáhir, who, from their rank and their personal charms, were thought worthy of being presented to the Commander of the Faithful.<sup>33</sup> They were accordingly sent to the court and introduced to the harem. When the eldest was brought into the presence of the calif, whose curiosity had been stimulated by reports of her attractions, she burst into a flood of tears, and declared that she was now unworthy of his notice, having been dishonoured by Cásim before she was sent out of her own country. The calif was moved by her beauty, and enraged at the insult

<sup>31</sup> *Tárikhi Hind o Sind*, Persian MS. I do not see this work, which is in the library at the Indian House, until the narrative of Cásim's military transactions had been completed. It seems to be the source from which most of the other accounts are derived. In its present form it was written by Mohammed Ali Bin Hamid, in Hijra 1216; but it professes to be a translation of an Arabic work found in the library of the Cázi of Bakkar; and the original must have been written immediately after the event, as it constantly refers to the authority of living witnesses. Though loaded with tedious

speeches, and letters ascribed to the principal actors, it contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Mohammed Cásim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindú reigns. It is full of names of places, and would throw much light on the geography of that period, if examined by any person capable of ascertaining the ancient Sanscrit names, so as to remove the corruptions of the original Arab writer and the translator, besides the innumerable errors of the copyist.

<sup>32</sup> *Tárikhi Hind o Sind*.

<sup>33</sup> Walid, the sixth calif of the house of Ommeia.





character of its inhabitants, seemed to invite an invader, yet there were discouraging circumstances, which may not have been without effect on the blind zeal of the Arabs.

In Persia, the religion and government, though both assailed, afforded no support to each other. The priests of the worshippers of fire are among the most despised classes of the people.<sup>36</sup> Their religion itself has nothing inspiring or encouraging. The powers of good and evil are so equally matched, that the constant attention of every man is necessary to defend himself by puerile ceremonies against the malignant spirits from whom his deity is too weak to protect him.<sup>37</sup>

To the believers of such a faith, uninfluenced as they were by a priesthood, the annunciation of "one God, the most powerful and the most merciful," must have appeared like a triumph of the good principle; and when the overthrow of a single monarch had destroyed the civil government in all its branches, there remained no obstacle to the completion of the conquest and conversion of the nation.

But in India there was a powerful priesthood, closely connected with the government, and deeply revered by their countrymen; and a religion interwoven with the laws and manners of the people, which exercised an irresistible influence over their very thoughts. To this was joined a horror of change and a sort of passive courage, which is perhaps the best suited to allow time for an impetuous attack to spend its force. Even the divisions of the Hindús were in their favour: the downfall of one rája only removed a rival from the prince who was next behind; and the invader diminished his numbers, and got further from his resources, without being able to strike a blow which might bring his undertaking to a conclusion.

However these considerations may have weighed with the early invaders, they deserve the greatest attention from the inquirer, for it is principally to them that we must ascribe the slow progress of the Mahometan religion in India, and the comparatively mild and tolerant form which it assumed in that country.

At the time of the transactions which we are now relating, there were other causes which tended to delay the progress of the Mahometans. The spirit of their government was gradually altered. Their chiefs, from fanatical missionaries, became politic sovereigns, more intent on the aggrandizement of their

<sup>36</sup> For a very curious comparison of the ancient and modern tenets of the magi, see Mr. Erskine's Essay on the Sacred

Books and Religion of the Pársis, in the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. ii. p. 295. <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* p. 335.



following up the inquiry. It would be an important step to ascertain to which of the *three* great nations whom we include under the name of Tartars they belonged; but although the *Türks*, *Moguls*, and *Mánchús* are distinguished from each other by the decisive test of language, and though at present they are each marked by other peculiarities, yet there is a general resemblance in features and manners throughout the whole, which renders it difficult for a person at a distance to draw the line between them; even their languages, though as different as Greek and Sanscrit, have the same degree of family likeness with those two.<sup>40</sup> In making the attempt, we derive little aid from their geographical position. At present the *Mánchús* are in the east, the *Moguls* in the centre, and the *Türks* in the west; but the positions of the two last-named races have been partially reversed within the period of accurate history, and it is impossible to say what they may have been in still earlier ages. The Arabs and other wandering tribes in the south of Asia make long journeys, for fresh pastures or for change of climate, but each has some tract which it considers as its own, and many occupy the same in which they were found when first noticed by other nations. Not so the Tartars, who have always

been formed into great monarchies; and, besides migration for convenience within their own limits, have been led by ambition to general movements, and have been constantly expelling or subduing each other; so that they not only were continually changing their abodes, but forming new combinations and passing under new names according to that of the horde which had acquired a predominancy. A tribe is at one moment mentioned on the banks of the Wolga, and the next at the great wall of China; and a horde which at first scarcely filled a valley in the mountains of Altái, in a few years after cannot be contained in all Tartary. It is, therefore, as impossible to keep the eye on a particular horde, and to trace it through all this shifting and mixing, as to follow one emmet through the turmoil of an ant-hill.

The *Türks* at present are distinguished from the rest by their having the Tartar features less marked, as well as by fairer complexions and more civilised manners; and these qualities might afford the means of recognising them at all times, if we could be sure that they did not owe them entirely to their greater opportunities of intermixing with other races, and that the same superiority was not possessed in former times by

\* See Dr. Prichard on the Ethnography of Upper Asia, *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. ix.

portions of the other Tartars which may have then occupied the western territory.<sup>41</sup>

It may assist in distinguishing these races, to mention that the Uzbeks who now possess Transoxiana, the Türemans both on the Oxus and in Asia Minor, the wandering tribes of the north of Persia, and the Ottomans or Turks of Constantinople, are all *Türks*; as was the greater part of the army of Tamerlane. The ruling tribe, and the greater part of the army of Chengiz Khán, was Mogul. The Tartar dynasty that now reigns in China and the adjoining part of Tartary is Mánchú.

On the whole, I should suppose that a portion of the Türk-Turks in Transoxiana had settled in Transoxiana long before the Christian era; that though often passed over by armies and emigrations of Moguls, they have never since been expelled; and that they formed the bulk of the nomadic and part of the permanent population at the time of the Arab invasion.<sup>42</sup>

The ruling tribe at that time was, however, of much later arrival; they were probably Türks themselves, and certainly had just before been incorporated with an assemblage, in which that race took the lead, and which, although it had been tributary to Persia only a century before,<sup>43</sup> had since possessed an ephemeral empire, extending from the Caspian Sea and the Oxus to the Lake Báikal, and the mouths of the Yenisei in Siberia,<sup>44</sup> and was now again broken into small divisions and tributary to China.<sup>45</sup>

It was fifty-five years after the final conquest of Persia, and five years before the occupation of Sind, that the Arabs crossed the Oxus, under Cātibā, governor of Khorāsān. He first occupied Hisār, opposite Balkh. In the course of the next six years he had taken Samarcand and

<sup>41</sup> The Türks of Constantinople and Persia have completely lost the Tartar features, but some physiognists have perceived them; and, in fact, the Chinese and Japanese are almost the Tartar race. The Türks of Khorāsān and Transoxiana, the greater part of the settled and nomadic Persians, and the greater part of the settled and nomadic Chinese, have preserved some of the Tartar features, and some of the Tartar physiognomy. The Chinese and Japanese are almost the Tartar race, but they have lost the Tartar features, and have acquired the Chinese and Japanese physiognomy. The Türks of Khorāsān and Transoxiana, the greater part of the settled and nomadic Persians, and the greater part of the settled and nomadic Chinese, have preserved some of the Tartar features, and some of the Tartar physiognomy. The Chinese and Japanese are almost the Tartar race, but they have lost the Tartar features, and have acquired the Chinese and Japanese physiognomy.

physiognomy and some manners as from their fathers. Attila himself was remarkable for these national peculiarities, and may claim a portion of the race. As the majority of the soldiers of the Huns, who had previously settled among the Persians in Transoxiana, and among the Chinese in White Hana, from those of whom they had taken the name, were of the Tartar race, it is probable that they were of the Tartar race.

<sup>42</sup> The Arab and Persian Manners have changed, but their neighbours the Türks and Chinese were aware of the similarity of the Moguls, and applied the term Türk as vaguely and generally as we apply the term Sinitic, without the aid of the Chinese characters, and in the Arabic and Persian languages.

<sup>43</sup> The Chinese, in a part of the 10th century, called the Türks of the 10th century, and the Türks of the 10th century.

Bokhárá, overrun the country north of the Oxus, and subdued the kingdom of Khárizm, on the Lake of Aral;<sup>46</sup> and although his power was not introduced without a severe contest, often with doubtful success, against the Túrks, yet in the end it was so well established, that by the eighth year he was able to reduce the kingdom of Ferghána, and extend his acquisitions to Mount Imaus and the Jaxartes. A.D. 713,  
A.H. 94.

The conquest of Spain took place in the same year; and the Arab empire had now reached the greatest extent to which it ever attained. But it had already shown symptoms of internal decay which foreboded its dismemberment at no distant period.

Even in the first half-century of the Hijra, the murder of Othmán, and the incapacity of Alí led to a successful revolt, and the election of a calif beyond the limits of Arabia. The house of Ommeia, who were thus raised to the califate, were disturbed during their rule of ninety years by the supposed rights of the posterity of the prophet through his daughter Fátima, whose claims afforded a pretext in every case of revolt or defection; until, in A.D. 753, the rebellion of the great province of Khorásán gave the last blow to their power, and placed the descendants of Abbás, the prophet's uncle, on the throne. A.D. 659,  
A.H. 38.

Spain held out for the old dynasty, and the integrity of the empire was never restored.

## CHAPTER II.

### DYNASTIES FORMED AFTER THE BREAKING UP OF THE EMPIRE OF THE CALIFS.

THE death of Hárún al Rashid, fifth calif of the house of Abbás, was accelerated by a journey undertaken in consequence of an obstinate revolt of Transoxiana,<sup>1</sup> which was quelled by his son, Mámún; and the long residence of that prince in Khorásán maintained for a time the connexion of that province with the empire. But it was by means of a revolt of Khorásán that Mámún had himself been enabled to wrest the califate from his brother Amín; and he had not long removed his court to Baghdád, before Táhir, who had been the principal instrument of his elevation, began to establish his own authority in Kho- A.D. 806,  
A.H. 190.

<sup>46</sup> Now called Khíva or O'rganj.

<sup>1</sup> Price, vol. ii. p. 79. His authority is generally the *Tárikhi Tabari*.

riśān, and soon became virtually independent: Khorāsān, and Transoxiana were never again united to the califate; and the Commanders of the Faithful being not long afterwards reduced to pageants in the hands of the Turkish guards, the dissolution of the Arab empire may from that time be regarded as complete.

The family of Tāhīr ruled quietly and obscurely for upwards of fifty years, when they were deposed by the Sāmānīdēs, a more conspicuous dynasty, though of even shorter duration.<sup>1</sup> Yācūb, the son of Leith, the founder, was a brazier of Sīstān, who first raised a revolt in his native province, and afterwards overran all Persia to the Oxus, and died while on his advance against the calif in Baghādād. His brother, Omar, was defeated and made prisoner by the Sāmānīdēs, which put an end to the greatness of the family, though a younger member maintained himself in Sīstān for a few years after the loss of their other possessions.<sup>2</sup>

Their whole reign did not last above forty years: but their memory must have survived in Sīstān, for at the end of half a century we find that country again asserting its independence under one of their descendants,<sup>3</sup> who was finally subdued by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, more than 100 years after the downfall of the original dynasty.<sup>4</sup>

The house of Sāmānī subsisted for more than 120 years;<sup>5</sup> and though not themselves invaders of India, they had more connexion than their predecessors with the history of that country. They derive their name either from one of their ancestors, or from a town in Bokhārā, or in Balkh, from which they drew their origin.<sup>6</sup> The first of the family mentioned in history was already a person of consideration, when he attracted the notice of the Calif Māmūn, then residing in Khorāsān. By the directions of that prince, three of the Calif's sons were appointed to governments beyond the Oxus, and one to that of Herāt. They were entrusted with the Tāzīs, and retained Transoxiana after the death of Yācūb Leith, until the death of Yācūb Leith's successor, who pressed the Oxes at the head of a large army of cavalry, composed of many Türkī subjects, made Omar Leith's sons, as before related, and took possession of all the provinces that he had conquered. They governed it as the viceroyalty of a perfectly independent, of the calif, but

<sup>1</sup> *Tab. Hist. Ind. p. 102.* <sup>2</sup> *Tab. Hist. Ind. p. 102.* <sup>3</sup> *Tab. Hist. Ind. p. 102.*

<sup>4</sup> *Tab. Hist. Ind. p. 102.* <sup>5</sup> *Tab. Hist. Ind. p. 102.* <sup>6</sup> *Tab. Hist. Ind. p. 102.*

they were deprived of a large portion of it by the family of Búya, called also the Deilemites, from the district in Mázerán in which their founder was a fisherman on the Caspian Sea. Cut off by a high range of mountains from the rest of Persia, and protected by the difficulty of access, the extensive forests, and the unwholesome climate, Mázerán had never been perfectly converted, and probably never entirely subdued : it was the seat of constant insurrections, was often in the hands of worshippers of fire, and presented a disturbed scene, in which the Deilemites rose to consequence, and at length acquired sufficient force to wrest the western provinces of Persia from the Sámánis, to seize on Baghdád and the person of the calif, and to rule over an extensive territory in his name for a period exceeding 100 years.

The Búyades  
OR  
Deilemites.

A.D.  
932-1055,  
A.H.  
321-448.

After their losses by the Deilemite conquests, the Sámánis remained masters of Khorásán and Transoxiana, and gave rise to the dynasty of Ghazní, who were the founders of the Mussulman empire of India.

It was in the reign of Abdulmelek, the fifth prince of the house of Sámání, that Alptegín, the founder of this new dynasty, rose into importance. He was a Túrki slave, and his original duty is said to have been to amuse his master by tumbling and tricks of legerdemain.<sup>10</sup>

Alptegín,  
founder of  
the house of  
Ghazní.

It was the fashion of the time to confer offices of trust on slaves ; and Alptegín, being a man of good sense and courage, as well as integrity, rose in time to be governor of Khorásán. On the death of his patron,<sup>11</sup> he was consulted about the best person of the family for a successor ; and happening, unluckily to give his suffrage against Mansúr, on whom the choice of the other chiefs had fallen, he incurred the ill-will of his sovereign, was deprived of his government, and if he had not displayed great military skill in extricating himself from among his enemies, he would have lost his liberty, if not his life. He had, however, a body of trusty adherents, under whose protection he made good his retreat until he found himself in safety at Ghazní, in the heart of the mountains of Solimán. The plain country, including Balkh, Herát, and Sistán, received the new governor, and remained in obedience to the Sámánis ; but the strong tract between that

A.D. 901,  
A.H. 350.

<sup>10</sup> D'Herbelot, article "Alpteghin."

<sup>11</sup> Price, vol. ii. p. 243 ; De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 155. Ferishta (vol. i. p. 12) makes his revolt A.D. 962, A.H. 351 ; D'Herbelot makes his date A.D. 917, A.H.

305 ; but it is evidently a slip, either of the author or the printer, for in the date of Alptegín's death he comes within a moderate distance of the other authorities.





He had scarcely time to take possession of his new kingdom before he was called on to exert himself in its defence.<sup>21</sup>

The establishment of a Mahometan government so near to their frontier as that of Ghazní, must naturally have disquieted the Hindús on the Indus, and appears to have led to their being harassed by frequent incursions. At length Jeipál, <sup>Invasion of</sup> ~~rāja~~ <sup>Jeipál, rāja</sup> of Láhór,<sup>22</sup> whose dominions were contiguous to those of <sup>of Láhór.</sup> Ghazní, determined to become assailant in his turn. He led a large army into Laghmán, at the mouth of the valley which extends from Pesháwer to Cábul and was there met by Sabuktegín. While the armies were watching a favourable opportunity for engaging, they were assailed by a furious tempest of wind, rain, and thunder, which was ascribed to supernatural causes, and so disheartened the Indians, naturally more sensible to cold and wet than their antagonists, that Jeipál was induced to make proposals of an accommodation. Sabuktegín was not at first disposed to hearken to him; but, being made aware of the con- <sup>Repelled.</sup> sequence of driving Hindús to despair, he at length consented to treat; and Jeipál surrendered fifty elephants, and engaged to pay a large sum of money.

When he found himself again in safety, he refused to fulfil this part of his agreement, and even threw the messengers sent to demand the execution of it into prison.

Sabuktegín was not likely to submit to such an insult and breach of faith: he again assembled his troops, and <sup>Hindú con-</sup> recommenced his march towards the Indus, while Jeipál <sup>federacy.</sup> called in the assistance of the rajas of Delhi, Ajmír, Cálínjar, and Canouj, and advanced to Laghmán with an army of 100,000 horse, and a prodigious number of foot soldiers. Sabuktegín ascended a height to view the enemy, and beheld the whole plain covered with their innumerable host; but he was nowise dismayed at the prospect; and, relying on the courage and discipline of his

<sup>21</sup> From this time forward my principal dependence will be on Ferishta, a Persian historian, who long resided in India, and wrote in the end of the sixteenth century, a history of all the Mahometan dynasties in that country down to his own time. I think myself fortunate in having the guidance of an author so much superior to most of his class in Asia. Where the nature of my narrative admitted of it, I have often used the very expressions of Ferishta, which, in Colonel Briggs's translation, it would be difficult to improve. [For Sabuktagin's reign, and the first 20 years of that of Mahmúd, we have also the contemporary work of Al Utbí, the *Kutáb i Ya-*

*miní*, translated by the Rev. J. Reynolds, (London, 1858,) but it adds little to Ferishta.—Ed.]

<sup>22</sup> [We learn from Albirání that a dynasty of Hindú kings reigned in Kábul during the tenth century; a Brahman named Samand (*Samanta*) was one of the first. Some of his successors seem to have been Rájputa, and to have possessed Láhór as well as Kábul. Jaipál and his son Anangapál were in all probability Rájput kings of Delhi, who had annexed Láhór to their dominions, after Kábul was seized by the Muhammadans. The name *Samanta* appears on Anangapál's coins. See Mr. Thomas, *Journ. R.A.S.*, vol. ix.—Ed.]

own troops, he commenced the attack with an assurance of victory. He first pressed one point of the Indian army with a constant succession of charges by fresh bodies of cavalry; and when he found them begin to waver, he ordered a general assault along the whole line: the Indians at once gave way, and were pursued, with a dreadful slaughter, to the Indus. Sabuktigin found a defeated—rich plunder in their camp, and levied heavy contributions on the surrounding districts. He also took possession of the country up to the Indus, and left an officer with 10,000 horse, as his governor of Peshāwer. The Afghāns and Khiljis<sup>21</sup> of Laghmān immediately tendered their allegiance, and furnished useful recruits to his army.<sup>22</sup> After these expeditions, he employed himself in settling his own dominions (which now extended on the west to beyond Candahār); when an opportunity presented itself of promoting his own aggrandizement by a timely interposition in favour of his nominal sovereign.

Nūh or Noah (the seventh of the Sāmāni kings) had been driven from Bokhārā, and forced to fly across the Oxus, by an invasion of Bōgrā Khān, king of the Hōsiké Tartars, who at that time possessed almost all Tartary beyond the Imāus, as far east as China.<sup>23</sup> The fortunate sickness, retreat, and death of Bōgrā Khān restored Nūh to his throne. An attempt he soon after made to punish the disaffection shown by his governor of Khōrāsān, during his misfortunes, drove that chief into an alliance with Fārk, another noble of Bokhārā, whose turbulence makes a conspicuous figure for a long period of the latter days of the Sāmānis; and the confederates, more anxious about their own interests than the safety of the state, called in the aid of the Dilemite prince who ruled in the adjoining provinces of Persia, and was well disposed to extend his dominion by promoting dissensions among his neighbours. To resist this powerful combination, Nūh had recourse to Sabuktigin, and that leader marched towards Bokhārā at the head of his army, not on the footing of an ally, than a subject. He had stipulated, on the pretext of his infirmities, that he should not dismount at receiving; but he no sooner came in sight of his sovereign, than

<sup>21</sup> The Khiljis or Khājis were a Tartar tribe, part of which inhabited the country between the Oxus and the Indus, and part of which dwelt in the mountains between the Oxus and the Saryn, and part of which dwelt in the mountains of the Afghan country. In the tenth century they were a powerful tribe. They were very friendly to the Sāmānis, and connected with the Afghāns, with whom their language was nearly the same, to

For their original stock and residence, see *De Ganges*, vol. i. p. 100, note. In Herbelot's article, *Khānis*, *Ulu-Hu-Kan*, p. 202, and in the notes given in the *Arabian Geography*, *Tab.* p. 207. The first of these wars between 1002 and 1005.

<sup>22</sup> *Bezzes' Histoire*, vol. i. p. 152.

<sup>23</sup> *De Ganges*, vol. i. p. 157, *Pers.* vol. i. p. 217.

he threw himself from his horse, and would have kissed the royal stirrup if he had not been prevented by Núh, who hastened to receive him in his arms.

Their united force might not have been sufficient to oppose their enemies, if it had not been for the treachery of the Deilemite general, who in the critical moment of the action, threw his shield over his back as a sign of peace, and went over with his troops to Sabuktegin. The rebels now evacuated their usurpations, and Núh rewarded the services of Sabuktegin, by confirming him in his own government, and conferring that of Khorásán on his son Mahmúd. But the rebels, though disconcerted at the moment, were able once more to collect their forces, and next year they returned so unexpectedly, that they surprised and defeated Mahmúd at Nishápúr. It was with some exertion that Sabuktegin was enabled again to encounter them. The contest ended in their being totally defeated in the neighbourhood of Tús (now Meshhed).<sup>26</sup> Their force was completely broken; and Fáik, abandoning the scene of his former importance, fled to I'lak Khán, the successor of Bógrá, by whose powerful interposition he was soon after reconciled to Núh, and appointed to the government of Samarcand.

A.D. 995.  
A.H. 385.

Immediately after this arrangement Núh died; and I'lak Khán, profiting by the occasion of a new succession, advanced on Bokhárá, supported by his ally from Samarcand, and ultimately compelled the new Prince, Mansúr II., to place all the power of his government in the hands of Fáik.

During these transactions Sabuktegin died on his way back to Ghazní.<sup>27</sup>

Death of Sabuktegin.

## HOUSE OF GHAZNÍ.

### CHAPTER III.

#### SULTÁN MAHMÚD.

MAHMÚD had from his boyhood accompanied his father on his campaigns, and had given early indications of a warlike and decided character. He was now in his thirtieth year, and, from his tried courage and capacity, seemed in every way fitted to succeed to the throne; but his birth was probably

Disputed succession.  
A.D. 997,  
A.H. 387.

<sup>26</sup> De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 158; Price, vol. ii. p. 248; Ferishta, vol. i. p. 22. A.D. 997. A.H. 387. (Ferishta. De Guignes. Price. D'Herbelot.)

<sup>27</sup> He died within a month of Núh,

illegitimate; and, from his absence at his government of Nishápur, his younger brother Ismail was enabled (according to some accounts) to obtain the dying nomination of Sabuktegin, and certainly to seize on the reins of government and cause himself to be proclaimed without delay. Not the least of his advantages was the command of his father's treasures; he employed them to conciliate the leading men with presents, to augment the pay of the army, and to court popularity with all classes by a lavish expenditure on shows and entertainments.

By these means, though still more by the force of actual possession, and perhaps an opinion of his superior right, he obtained the support of all that part of the kingdom which was not under the immediate government of Mahmúd.

The conduct of the latter prince, on this contempt of his claims, may either have arisen from the consciousness of a weak title, or from natural or assumed moderation. He professed the strongest attachment to his brother, and a wish to have given way to him if he had been of an age to undertake so arduous a duty; and he offered that, if Ismail would concede the supremacy to his superior experience, he would repay the sacrifice by a grant of the provinces of Balkh and Khorásán. His offers were immediately rejected; and, seeing no further hopes of a reconciliation, he resolved to bring things to an issue by an attack on the capital. Ismail, who was still at Balkh, penetrated his design, and interposing between him and Ghazni, obliged him to come to a general engagement. It was better contested than might have been expected from the unequal skill of the generals, but was favourable to Mahmúd: Ghazni fell, Ismail was made prisoner, and passed the rest of his life in confinement, though allowed every indulgence consistent with such a situation.

These internal contests, which lasted for seven months, contributed to the success of Ulak Khán, who had now established his own influence over Mansúr II., by compelling him to receive Fák as his minister, or, in other words, his master.

Dissimbling his consciousness of the ascendancy of his enemies, Mahmúd made a respectful application to Mansúr for the continuance of his government of Khorásán. His request was abruptly rejected, and a creature of the new administration appointed his successor.

But Mahmúd was not so easily dispossessed; he repelled the new governor, and although he avoided an immediate conflict with

Mansúr, who was brought in person against him, he withheld all appearance of concession, and remained in full preparation for defence ; when some disputes and jealousies at court led to the dethronement and blinding of Mansúr, and the elevation of Abdulmalik as the instrument of Fáik. On this, Mahmúd ordered the name of the Sámánis to be left out of the public prayers ; took possession of Khorásán in his own name ; and, having soon after received an investiture from the calif (the dispenser of powers which he himself no longer enjoyed), he declared himself an independent sovereign, and first assumed the title of Sultán, since so general among Mahometan princes.<sup>2</sup>

A.D. 999,  
A.H. 389.  
Mahmúd  
declares  
his inde-  
pendence.

I'lak Khán, not to be shut out of his share of the spoil, advanced on Bokhárá, under pretence of supporting Abdulmalik ; and, taking possession of all Transoxiana, put an end to the dynasty of Sámání, after it had reigned for more than 120 years.

Mahmúd, now secure in the possesssion of his dominions, had it almost in his own choice in which direction he should extend them. The kingdoms on the west, so attractive from their connexion with the Mahometan religion and their ancient renown, were in such a state of weakness and disorder that a large portion ultimately fell into his hands without an effort ; and the ease with which the rest was subdued by the Seljúks, who were once his subjects, showed how little obstruction there was to his advancing his frontier to the Hellespont.

But the undiscovered regions of India presented a wider field for romantic enterprise. The great extent of that favoured country, the rumours of its accumulated treasures, the fertility of the soil, and the peculiarity of its productions, raised it into a land of fable, in which the surrounding nations might indulge their imaginations without control. The adventures to be expected in such a country derived fresh lustre from their being the means of extending the Mahometan faith, the establishment of which among a new people was in those times the most glorious exploit that a king or conqueror could achieve.

These views made the livelier impression on Mahmúd, from his first experience in arms ; having been gained in a war with Hindús ; and were seconded by his natural disposition, even at that time liable to be dazzled by the prospect of a rich field for plunder.

Influenced by such motives, he made peace with I'lak Khán,

<sup>2</sup> Though not before adopted by the Mussulmans, it is an old Arabic word for a king.

leaving him in possession of Transoxiana; cemented the alliance by a marriage with the daughter of that prince; and, having quelled an insurrection of a representative of the Saffarides, who had been tolerated in a sort of independence in Sistán, and who, on a subsequent rebellion,<sup>4</sup> he seized and imprisoned, he proceeded on his first invasion of India.

Three centuries and a half had elapsed since the conquest of Persia by the Mussulmans when he set out on this expedition. He left Ghazni with 10,000 chosen horse, and was met by his father's old antagonist, Jeipál, of Láhor, in the neighbourhood of Pesháwer. He totally defeated him, took him prisoner, and pursued his march to Batinda, beyond the Satlaj. He stormed and plundered that place, and then returned with the rich spoils of the camp and country to Ghazni. He released the Hindú prisoners for a ransom, on the rájá's renewing his promises of tribute; but put some Afgháns who had joined them to death. Jeipál, on returning from his captivity, worn out by repeated disasters, and perhaps constrained by some superstition of his subjects, made over his crown to his son Anang Pál; and mounting a pyre which he had ordered to be constructed, set it on fire with his own hands, and perished in the flames. Anang Pál was true to his father's engagements; but the rájá of Bhatia, a dependency of Láhor, on the southern side of Multán, refused to pay his share of the tribute, and resolutely opposed the Sultan, who went against him in person. He was driven, first from a well-defended entrenchment, then from his principal fortress, and at last destroyed himself in the thickets of the Indus, where he had fled for concealment, and where many of his followers fell in endeavouring to revenge his death.

Mahmúd's next expedition was to reduce his dependant, the Afghán chief of Multán, who, though a Mussulman, had renounced his allegiance, and had formed a close alliance with Anang Pál.

<sup>1</sup> Khutab Al-Mulúk, p. 10.  
<sup>2</sup> See the account of the expedition in the *Khutab Al-Mulúk*, p. 10. The expedition was led by Mahmúd's brother, the Sultan of Ghazni, who was defeated by the Afghán chief of Multán, who was then a Hindu. The Sultan of Ghazni was then defeated by the Afghán chief of Multán, who was then a Hindu. The Sultan of Ghazni was then defeated by the Afghán chief of Multán, who was then a Hindu.

<sup>3</sup> When the news of the defeat of the Afghán chief of Multán was received by Mahmúd, he was at Ghazni. He then sent a messenger to the Sultan of Ghazni, who was at Multán, to inform him of the defeat. The messenger was killed by the Afghán chief of Multán. Mahmúd then sent a messenger to the Sultan of Ghazni, who was at Multán, to inform him of the defeat. The messenger was killed by the Afghán chief of Multán. Mahmúd then sent a messenger to the Sultan of Ghazni, who was at Multán, to inform him of the defeat. The messenger was killed by the Afghán chief of Multán.

The tribes of the mountains being probably not sufficiently subdued to allow of a direct march from Ghazní to Multán, the rája was able to interpose between Mahmúd and his ally. The armies met somewhere near Pesháwer, when the rája was routed, pursued to Sódra (near Vazírábád, on the Acesines, and compelled to take refuge in Cashmír. Mahmúd then laid siege to Multán : at the end of seven days, he accepted the submission of the chief, together with a contribution ; and returned to Ghazní.

A.D. 1005,  
A.H. 396.

He was led to grant these favourable terms in consequence of intelligence that had reached him of a formidable invasion of his dominions by the armies of I'lak Khán. Though so closely connected with him, the Tartar prince had been tempted, by observing his exclusive attention to India, to hope for an easy conquest of Khorásán, and had sent one army to Herát and another to Balkh, to take possession.

Invasion of  
the Tartars  
under I'lak  
Khán.

But he had formed a wrong estimate of the vigour of his opponent, who committed the charge of his territories on the Indus to Séwuk, or Súk Pál, a converted Hindú, and turning, by rapid marches, towards Khorásán, soon forced I'lak Khán's generals to retire to their own side of the Oxus.

I'lak Khán was now threatened in his turn, and applied for assistance to Kadr Khán of Khóten, who marched to join him with 50,000 men. Thus strengthened, I'lak Khan did not hesitate to cross the Oxus, and was met by Mahmúd near Balkh. On this occasion he brought 500 elephants into the field, and contrived, by his judicious arrangements, that they should not be liable to derange his own line, while they should produce their full effect on the men and horses of the enemy, unaccustomed to their huge bulk and strange appearance. Accordingly the mere sight of them checked the impetuosity of the Tartar charge ; on which the elephants advanced, and at once pushed into the midst of the enemy, dispersing, overthrowing, and trampling under foot whatever was opposed to them ; it is said that Mahmúd's own elephant caught up the standard-bearer of I'lak Khán and tossed him aloft with his trunk, in sight of the Tartar king and his terrified fellow-soldiers. Before this disorder could be recovered, the armies closed ; and so rapid and courageous was the onset of the Ghaznevites, that the Tartars gave way on all sides, and were driven with a prodigious slaughter from the field of battle.<sup>7</sup>

A.D. 1006,  
A.H. 397.

I'lak Khán escaped across the Oxus, with a few attendants,

<sup>7</sup> Ferishta. De Guignes. D'Herbelot.



defeated by and never again attempted to make head against  
 Mahmūd.

The Sultan was at first disposed to pursue the enemy ; but the advance of winter compelled him to abandon this design ; and he did not regain his capital without the loss of some hundreds of men and horses by the inclemency of the season.

Meanwhile Śūk Pāl had revolted and relapsed into idolatry. Mahmūd came unexpectedly upon him, and, making him prisoner, confined him in a fort for life.

Mahmūd had been prevented, by the invasion of Ilāk Khān from resenting the opposition which he had met with from Anang Pāl. As he was now at leisure to attend to Indian affairs, he assembled a large army, and set out in the spring of A.D. 1008, to resume his operations against the rāja.

But Anang Pāl had not been insensible to the risk to which he was exposed. He had sent ambassadors to the Hindū <sup>part</sup> <sup>expectation</sup> <sup>A.D. 1008</sup> <sup>A.D. 1000</sup> princes far and near, pointing out to them the danger with which all were threatened by the progress of the Mahometans, and the necessity of an immediate combination to prevent the total destruction of their religion and independence. His arguments, which were probably in accordance with their own previous feelings, made an impression on those to whom they were addressed : the rājas of Ujein, Gwālīor, Gālingjer, Canouj, Delhi, and Ajmir, entered into a confederacy ; and, uniting their <sup>forces</sup> <sup>that</sup> forces, advanced into the Panjāb, with the largest army that had ever yet taken the field. Mahmūd was alarmed at this unexpected display of force ; and, instead of meeting the danger with his usual alacrity, he halted in the presence of the enemy, and took up a position near Pīshāwer, in which he remained on the defensive. During his inaction the hostile army daily increased : the Hindū women sold their jewels, melted down their golden ornaments, and sent their contributions from a distance, to furnish resources for this holy war ; and the Gakkars and other warlike tribes, joining their army, they surrounded the Mahometans, who were obliged to intrench their camp. But Mahmūd, though somewhat disconcerted, was far from having lost his courage : and, wishing to profit by the strength of his position, he sent out a strong body of archers to provoke an attack on his intrenchments. The result was different from his expectations : the archers were at once repulsed by the Gakkars, who, in spite of the presence and exertions of the king, followed them up so closely, that a numerous body of these mountaineers, bare-headed and barefooted, variously and strangely armed, passed

the intrenchments on both flanks, and, falling in with astonishing fury among the cavalry, proceeded, with their swords and knives, to cut down and maim both horse and rider until, almost in the twinkling of an eye, between 3,000 and 4,000 Mussulmans had fallen victims to their savage impetuosity.<sup>8</sup>

The attacks, however, gradually abated; and Mahmúd at length discovered that the elephant of his antagonist, who had advanced to profit by the confusion, had taken fright at the flights of arrows,<sup>9</sup> and had turned and fled from the field. This incident struck a terror into the enemy; the Hindús, thinking themselves deserted by their general, first slackened their efforts, and at last gave way and dispersed. Mahmúd took immediate advantage of their confusion, and, sending out 10,000 chosen men in pursuit of them, destroyed double that number of his enemies before they reached a place of safety.

After this providential deliverance, Mahmúd allowed the Indians no time to reassemble: he followed them into the Panjáb, and soon found them so effectually dispersed, that he had time to execute one of those schemes of plunder in <sup>Temple of</sup> Nagarcót, which he seems to have taken so much delight. It was directed against Nagarcót, a fortified temple on a mountain connected with the lower range of Himálaya. This edifice, as it derived peculiar sanctity from a natural flame which issued from the ground within its precincts, was enriched by the offerings of a long succession of Hindú princes, and was likewise the depository of most of the wealth of the neighbourhood; so that, according to Ferishta, it contained a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, than ever was collected in the royal treasury of any prince on earth.

Such a place might have opposed a successful resistance to any assailant; but the garrison had been drawn off in the late great effort, and Mahmúd, on approaching the walls, found them lined by a crowd of defenceless priests, who called loudly for quarter, and offered unqualified submission. Their terms were gladly acceded to, and the conqueror, entering with the principal officers of his court and household, took possession of

<sup>8</sup> Price, vol. ii. p. 234.

<sup>9</sup> In the original this is "cannon and musquetry"; and although Colonel Briggs finds a most ingenious solution, which, by a slight change of the diacritical points in the Persian, turns these words into "naphtha balls and arrows," yet he is staggered by the agreement of all the MSS., and suspects an anachronism in the author. I

have adopted the simplest explanation [Col. Briggs in his Persian text reads *naft u khadang*, instead of *top u tufang*, and Sir H. Elliot approves the correction. See *Historians of India*, note H, p. 340. But Ferishta has a similar anachronism afterwards, when he makes Prithwí Ráí speak of his *piyádaht-i topchtí* in his letter to Shaháb ud din (Persian text, p. 101, l. 8.—Ed.)

their accumulated treasures, 700,000 golden dinārs, 700 mans of gold and silver plate, 200 mans of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 mans of unwrought silver, and twenty mans of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies, collected since Rāja Bhīma, in the Hindū heroic ages, are said to have fallen at once into his hands.<sup>17</sup>

With this vast booty Mahmūd returned to Ghazni, and next year celebrated a triumphal feast, at which he displayed to the people the spoils of India, set forth in all their magnificence on golden thrones and tables of the precious metals. The festival was held on a spacious plain and lasted three days; sumptuous banquets were provided for the spectators, alms were liberally distributed among the poor, and splendid presents were bestowed on persons distinguished for their rank, merits, or sanctity.

In A.D. 401, he went in person against the strong country of *Ghor*, in the mountains east of Herāt. It was then inhabited by the Afghāns, of the tribe of Sūr, had been early converted, and was completely reduced under the califs in A.D. 111. The chief had occupied an unassailable position, but was drawn out by a pretended flight (an operation which, though it seems so dangerous, yet, in the hands of historians, appears never to fail), and being entirely defeated, swallowed poison. His name was Mohammed Sūr, and the conquest of his country is the more remarkable, as it was by his descendants that the house of Ghazni was overthrown.

In the course of the next year but one, the mountainous country of *Jurgistān*, or *Ghurjistān*, which lies on the upper course of the river *Murghāb*, adjoining to *Ghor*, was reduced by Mahmūd's generals.<sup>18</sup>

It must have been some act of aggression, that drew Mahmūd again to *Ghor*, for, in the same year (A.D. 1010, A.H. 401), he again turned to India, which seems to have been the object of his life: he took Multān, and brought Abū Fath Lohi, a person of rank, to Ghazni.

The next year he made an expedition of unusual length to

<sup>17</sup> The number of the jewels is not given, the number of the *Araks* is 2000, the number of the *Araks* is 2000. The number of the *Araks* is 2000. The number of the *Araks* is 2000.

<sup>18</sup> The number of the *Araks* is 2000, the number of the *Araks* is 2000. The number of the *Araks* is 2000. The number of the *Araks* is 2000.

The number of the *Araks* is 2000, the number of the *Araks* is 2000. The number of the *Araks* is 2000. The number of the *Araks* is 2000.

The number of the *Araks* is 2000, the number of the *Araks* is 2000. The number of the *Araks* is 2000. The number of the *Araks* is 2000.

Tanésar, not far from the Jumna, where he plundered the temple (a very holy one), sacked the town, and returned with an incredible number of captives to Ghazni, before the Indian princes could assemble to oppose him.

Sixth  
expedition.  
Capture of  
Tanésar.

Nothing remarkable occurred in the next three years, except two predatory expeditions to Cashmír; in returning from the last of which the army was misled, and, the season being far advanced, many lives were lost: the only wonder is, that two invasions of so inaccessible a country should have been attended with so few disasters.

Seventh  
and eighth  
expeditions.

These insignificant transactions were succeeded by an expedition which, as it extended Mahmúd's dominions to the Caspian Sea, may be reckoned among the most important of his reign. I'lak Khán was now dead, and his successor, Toghán Khán, was engaged in a desperate struggle with the Khitan Tartars,<sup>13</sup> which chiefly raged to the east of Imaus. The opening thus left in Transoxiana did not escape Mahmúd, nor was he so absorbed in his Indian wars as to neglect so great an acquisition.

Conquest of  
Transoxiana.

Samarcand and Bokhára seem to have been occupied without opposition; and the resistance which was offered in Khárizm did not long delay the conquest of that country.<sup>14</sup>

A.D. 1016,  
A.H. 407.

The great scale of these operations seems to have enlarged Mahmúd's views, even in his designs on India; for, quitting the Panjáb, which had hitherto been his ordinary field of action, he resolved on his next campaign to move direct to the Ganges, and open a way for himself or his successors into the heart of Hindostan. His preparations were commensurate to his design. He assembled an army which Ferishta reckons at 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot, and which was drawn from all parts of his dominions, more especially from those recently conquered; a prudent policy, whereby he at once removed the soldiery which might have been dangerous if left behind, and attached it to his service by a share of the plunder of India.

Ninth  
expedition  
to India.

<sup>13</sup> From A.D. 1012 to 1025. (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 31.)

<sup>14</sup> No previous expedition in the direction of the Oxus is mentioned by any historian after the battle with I'lak Khán in A.D. 1006; and Ferishta ascribes this invasion to the resentment of Mahmúd at the murder of the king of Khárizm, who was married to his daughter; but D'Herbelot (art. "Mahmoud") and De Guignes

(who quotes Abúlfedá, vol. ii. p. 166) assert as positively that it was to put down a rebellion; and as Ferishta himself alludes to an application to the calif for an order for the surrender of Samarcand in A.D. 1012, it is not improbable that Mahmúd may have employed that year in the conquest of Transoxiana, especially as there is no mention of his being then personally engaged in any other expedition.

He had to undertake a march of three months, across seven great rivers, and into a country hitherto unexplored; and he seems to have concerted his expedition with his usual judgment and information. He set out from Peshawer, and, passing near Cashmir, kept close to the mountains, where the rivers are most easily crossed, until he passed the Jumna, when he turned towards the south, and unexpectedly presented himself before the great capital of Canouj.

It is difficult to conjecture the local or other circumstances which tended so greatly to enrich and embellish this city. The dominions of the rāja were not more extensive than those of his neighbours, nor does he exhibit any superiority of power in their recorded wars or alliances; yet Hindū and Mahometan writers vie with each other in extolling the splendour of his court and the magnificence of his capital; and the impression made by its stately appearance on the army of Mahmūd is particularly noticed by Ferishta.<sup>5</sup>

The rāja was taken entirely unprepared, and was so conscious of his helpless situation, that he came out with his family, and gave himself up to Mahmūd. The friendship thus unexpectantly commenced appears to have been sincere and permanent: the Sultan left Canouj uninjured at the end of three days, and returned some years after, in the hope of assisting the rāja against a confederacy which had been formed to punish his alliance with the common enemy of his nation.

No such clemency was shown to Mattra, one of the most celebrated seats of the Hindū religion. During a halt of twenty days the city was given up to plunder, the idols were broken, and the temples profaned. The excesses of the troops led to a fire in the city, and the effects of this conflagration were added to its other calamities. It is said by some, that Mahmūd was unable to destroy the temples on account of their solidity. Less zealous Mahometans relate that he spared them on account of their beauty. All agree that he was struck with the highest admiration of the buildings which he saw at Mattra, and it is not improbable that the impression they made on him gave the first impulse to his own undertakings of the same nature.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> A Hindū writer, writing their extravagant praises of the Emperor, p. 7, says the walls were thirty miles in length. Mahometan Writers, however, assert that it contained only six miles of the city. The latter is the true Mahometan writers say the rāja the emperor's name. It is

being him, chapter 1. of the Indian, and the Hakkal, a century before Mahmūd, and to be Canouj as the chief city. Ferishta, Ouseley's *Ind. Hist.* p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> The following extract has been preserved in a letter from Mahmūd to the Governor of Ghazni. "Here there are a

This expedition was attended with some circumstances more than usually tragical. At Maháwan, near Mattra, the rája had submitted, and had been favourably received; when a quarrel accidentally breaking out between the soldiers of the two parties, the Hindús were massacred and driven into the river, and the rája, conceiving himself betrayed, destroyed his wife and children, and then made away with himself.

At Munj, after a desperate resistance, part of the Rájput garrisons rushed out between the breaches on the enemy, while the rest dashed themselves to pieces from the works, or burned themselves with their wives and children in their houses; so that not one of the whole body survived. Various other towns were reduced, and much country laid waste; and the king returned to Ghazní, loaded with spoil, and accompanied by 5,300 prisoners.<sup>17</sup>

Having now learned the way into the interior, Mahmúd made two subsequent marches into India at long intervals from the present: the first was to the relief of the rája of Canouj, who had been cut off before the Sultan arrived, by the rája of Cálínjer in Bundélcand, against whom Mahmúd next turned his arms, but made no permanent impression, either in this or a subsequent campaign.

Tenth and  
eleventh  
expeditions.

A.D. 1022,  
A.H. 413.

A.D. 1023,  
A.H. 414.

On the first of these expeditions an event occurred which had more permanent effects than all the Sultan's great victories. Jeipál II., who had succeeded Anang Pál in the government of Láhór, seems, after some misunderstandings at the time of his accession, to have lived on good terms with Mahmúd. On this occasion, his ill destiny led him to oppose that prince's march to Canouj. The results were, the annexation of Láhór and its territory to Ghazní: the first instance of a permanent garrison on the east of the Indus, and the foundation of the future Mahometan empire in India.

Permanent  
occupation  
of the Pan-  
jáb.

thousand edifices as firm as the faith of the faithful, most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples; nor is it likely that this city has attained its present condition but at the expense of many millions of deenars: nor could such another be constructed under a period of two centuries." (Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 58.)

<sup>17</sup> The whole of this expedition is indistinctly related by *Ferishta*. He copies the Persian writers, who, adverting to the seasons in their own country, make Mahmúd begin his march in spring. Had he done so, he need not have gone so high in search of fords; but he would have reached

Canouj at the beginning of the periodical rains, and carried on all his subsequent movements in the midst of rivers during that season. It is probable he would go to Pesháwer before the snow set in above the passes, and would pass the Indus early in November. His marches are still worse detailed. He goes first to Canouj, then back to Mirat, and then back again to Mattra. There is no clue to his route, advancing or retiring; he probably came down by Mirat, but it is quite uncertain how he returned. For a good discussion of his marches, see Birl's *History of Gujarat*, Introduction, p. 31.

After this, Mahmūd's attention was drawn to Transoxiana, and he marched thither in person, crushed a revolt, and subsequently returned to Ghazni.

Since his great expedition to Canouj, Mahmūd seems to have lost all taste for predatory incursions, and the ravages last mentioned were scarcely the result of chance. He seems, at this time, to have once more called up his energy, and determined on a final effort which should transmit his name to posterity among the greatest scourges of idolatry, if not of the greatest promoters of Islam.

This was his expedition to Sūmmāt, which is celebrated everywhere, wherever there is a Mussulman, as the model of a noble religious invasion.

Sūmmāt was a temple of great sanctity, situated near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Gūzerāt.<sup>1</sup> Though scarcely known in India from the history of Mahmūd's expeditions, it seems, at the time we are writing of, to have been the holiest and most frequented, as well as most famous, place of worship in the country.<sup>2</sup>

To reach this place, Mahmūd, besides having to march through inhabited countries, had to cross a desert, forty miles broad, of loose sand or hard clay almost entirely without water, and with very little forage for horses.

To cross this with an army, even into a friendly country, would be an exceedingly difficult undertaking at the present day; to cross it for the first time, with a chance of meeting a hostile army on the edge, required an extraordinary share of skill, no less than enterprise.

The army moved from Ghazni in September, A.D. 1024, and reached Multan in October. The Sultan had collected 20,000 camels for carrying supplies, besides ordering his troops to provide themselves, as far as they could, with forage, water, and provisions. The number of his army is not given. It is said to have been accompanied by a caravan of

<sup>1</sup> *See* the account of this temple, in the *Shah-nāma*, written by Kāfi, in the reign of Shah Rūkh.

<sup>2</sup> *See* the account of this temple, in the *Shah-nāma*, written by Kāfi, in the reign of Shah Rūkh. The temple was destroyed by the British in 1818.

<sup>3</sup> *See* the account of this temple, in the *Shah-nāma*, written by Kāfi, in the reign of Shah Rūkh. The temple was destroyed by the British in 1818.

<sup>4</sup> *See* the account of this temple, in the *Shah-nāma*, written by Kāfi, in the reign of Shah Rūkh. The temple was destroyed by the British in 1818.

volunteers, chiefly from beyond the Oxus, attracted by love of adventure and hopes of plunder, at least as much as by religious zeal.<sup>20</sup>

As soon as he had completed his arrangements for the march he crossed the desert without any disaster, and made good his footing on the cultivated part of India near Ajmír. The Hindús, if they were aware of the storm that was gathering, were not prepared for its bursting on a point that seemed so well protected, and the rája of Ajmír had no resource but in flight. His country was ravaged, and his town, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, was given up to plunder; but the hill fort, which commands it, held out; and as it was not Mahmúd's object to engage in sieges, he proceeded on his journey, which was now an easy one; his route probably lying along the plain between the Aravalli mountains and the desert. Almost the first place he came to in Guzerát was the capital, Anhalwára, where his appearance was so sudden, that the rája, though one of the greatest princes in India, was constrained to abandon it with precipitation.

Without being diverted by this valuable conquest, Mahmúd pursued his march to Sómnat, and at length reached that great object of his exertions. He found the temple situated on a peninsula connected with the main land by a fortified isthmus, the battlements of which were manned in every point, and from whence issued a herald, who brought him defiance and threats of destruction in the name of the god. Little moved by these menaces, Mahmúd brought forward his archers, and soon cleared the walls of their defenders, who now crowded to the temple, and, prostrating themselves before the idol, called on him with tears for help. But Rájputés are as easily excited as dispirited; and hearing the shouts of "Alláh Akbar!" from the Mussulmans, who had already begun to mount the walls, they hurried back to their defence, and made so gallant a resistance that the Mussulmans were unable to retain their footing and were driven from the place with loss.

The next day brought a still more signal repulse. A general assault was ordered; but, as fast as the Mussulmans scaled the walls, they were hurled down headlong by the besieged, who seemed resolved to defend the place to the last.

On the third day the princes of the neighbourhood, who had assembled to rescue the temple, presented themselves in order

<sup>20</sup> Ferishta reckons the volunteers at 30,000. (Briggs, vol. i. p. 68.)



of battle, and compelled Mahmūd to relinquish the attack, and move in person against his new enemy.

The battle raged with great fury, and victory was almost doubtful, when the rāja of Anhalwāra arrived with a strong reinforcement to the Hindūs. This unexpected addition to their enemies so dispirited the Mussulmans that they began to waver, when Mahmūd, who had prostrated himself to implore the Divine assistance, leaped upon his horse, and cheered his troops with such energy, that, ashamed to abandon a king under whom they had so often fought and bled, they, with one accord, gave a loud shout, and rushed forwards with an impetuosity which could no longer be withstood. Five thousand Hindūs lay dead after the charge; and so complete was the rout of their army, that the garrison gave up all hopes of further defence, and breaking out to the number of 4,000 men, made their way to their boats; and, though not without considerable loss, succeeded in escaping by sea.

Mahmūd entered the temple, and was struck with the grandeur of the edifice, the lofty roof of which was supported by fifty-six pillars curiously carved and richly ornamented with precious stones. The external light was excluded, but the temple was illuminated by a lamp which hung down in the centre from a golden chain. Facing the entrance was Śiva, an idol five yards high, of which two were buried in the ground. Mahmūd instantly ordered the image to be destroyed; and the Brahmans of the temple threw themselves before him, and offered an enormous ransom if he would spare their deity. Mahmūd hesitated; and his courtiers hastened to offer the advice which they knew would be acceptable; but Mahmūd, after a moment's pause, exclaimed that he would rather be remembered as the breaker than the seller of idols, and struck the image with his mace. His example was instantaneously followed; and the image, which was hollow, burst with the blow, and poured forth a quantity of diamonds and other jewels which had been concealed in it, that amply repaid Mahmūd for the sacrifice of the ransom. Two pieces of this idol were sent to Meccah and Medina, and two to Ghazni, where one was to be seen at the palace, and one at the public mosque, as late as 1722. Thus the worship of idols terminated.

1. The account of Mahmūd's destruction of the idol of Śiva at Anhalwāra is given by the Chinese, and is confirmed by the Arabic writers. The story is also mentioned in the *Abd-ul-Firdaws* and the *Abd-ul-Firdaws*. The story is also mentioned in the *Abd-ul-Firdaws* and the *Abd-ul-Firdaws*.

The treasure taken on this occasion exceeded all former captures ; but even the Asiatic historians are tired of enumerating the mans of gold and jewels.

Meanwhile the rája of Anhalwára had taken refuge in Gundába, a fort which was considered to be protected by the sea. Mahmúd ascertained it to be accessible, though not without danger, when the tide was low ; entered the water at the head of his troops, and carried the place by assault, but failed to capture the rája.

Mahmúd, thus victorious, returned to Anhalwára, where it is probable that he passed the rainy season ; and so much was he pleased with the mildness of the climate and the beauty and fertility of the country, that he entertained thoughts of transferring his capital thither (for some years at least), and of making it a new point of departure for further conquests. He appears, indeed, at this time to have been elated with his success, and to have meditated the formation of a fleet, and the accomplishment of a variety of magnificent projects. His visions, however, were in a different spirit from those of Alexander ; and were not directed to the glory of exploring the ocean, but the acquisition of the jewels of Ceylon and the gold mines of Pegu. Mature reflection concurred with the advice of his ministers in inducing him to give up those schemes ; and as the rája still kept at a distance, and refused submission, he looked around for a fit person whom he might invest with the government, and on whom he could rely for the payment of a tribute. He fixed his eyes on a man of the ancient royal family who had retired from the world, and embraced the life of an anchoret, and whom he probably thought more likely than any other to remain in submission and dependence.<sup>22</sup>

Mahmúd  
sets up a  
rája in  
Guzerát.

There was another pretender of the same family, whom Mahmúd thought it necessary to secure in his camp, and whom, when he was about to leave Guzerát, the new rája

commencement of the 13th century. That writer describes it as five cubits high, two of which are set in the ground, and it is destroyed by fire lighted round it to split the hardness of the stone. Every subsequent author adds something to the account, until it reaches the exaggerations in Ferishta, whence it has been copied (with further embellishments by Dow's unfaithful translation) into our common histories. See *Asiatic Journal*, 1843.--Ep.]

<sup>22</sup> The person selected is said to have

been a descendant of Dabishlím, an ancient Hindú rája, so called by the Persians, to whom his name is familiar as the prince by whose orders the fables of Pilpay were composed. Ferishta calls both the pretenders in the following story by the name of their supposed ancestor ; but they probably were representatives of the family of Cháwara, to whom the father of the reigning rája of the family of Chálúka had succeeded through the female line. (Bird's *Mírátí Ahmadi*, p. 142. and Tod's *Rijasthan*, vol. i. p. 197.)



At length they arrived at Multán,<sup>24</sup> and from thence proceeded to Ghazní.<sup>25</sup>

Mahmúd allowed himself no repose after all that he had endured. He returned to Multán before the end of the year, to chastise a body of Jats in the Jund mountains who had molested his army on its march from Sómnát. These marauders took refuge in the islands enclosed by the smaller channels of the Indus, which are often not fordable, and where they might elude pursuit by shifting from island to island. Mahmúd, who was on his guard against this expedient, had provided himself with boats, and was thus able not only to transport his own troops across the channel, but to cut off the communications of the enemy, to seize such boats as they had in their possession, and, in the end, to destroy most of the men, and make prisoners of the women and children.<sup>26</sup>

This was the last of Mahmúd's expeditions to India. His

<sup>24</sup> [One historian states that on his way through Sind he placed a Muhammadan chief in possession of Mansúra, as the former occupant had abjured Islamism,—probably thus expelling the Karmathian or Súfí ruler there, as he had done in Multán. The Súfís recovered their power under his successors. (Sir H. Elliot's *Arabs in Sind*, p. 192.)—Ed.]

<sup>25</sup> It seems surprising, when we read of all these sufferings, that Mahmúd should neither in going nor returning have availed himself of the easy and safe passage along the banks of the Indus, with which he could not fail to be well acquainted, both by the accounts of Mohammed Cásim's expedition, and by the neighbourhood of the Afgháns. So unaccountable is the neglect of this route, that we are led to think that some physical obstacles may then have existed which have now ceased to operate. It seems certain that the Rin, which is now a hard desert in the dry season, and a salt marsh in the rains, was formerly a part of the sea. The traditions of seaports on the north of Cach, and the discovery of ships in the Rin, appear to put this question beyond a doubt; while the rapidity of the changes which have taken place under our own eyes prepare us to believe that still greater may have occurred in the 800 years that have elapsed since the taking of Sómnát. (See Burnes's *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 309.) I suppose Mahmúd's expedition to Sómnát to have occupied more than a year and a half, i.e. from October or November, 1024, to April or May, 1026. Ferishta says it occupied two years and a half, and Price, in one place, two years and a half, and, in another, more than three. (Vol. ii. p. 291.) But

these periods are inconsistent with the dates in Ferishta, which are as follows:—March from Multán, October, A.D. 1024, A.H. 415; return to Ghazní, A.D. 1026, A.H. 417. The return must have taken place before the middle of the year, as Mahmúd's sufferings in the desert would not have happened in the rainy season, and, moreover, as no time would be left for the expedition against the Jats, which took place in the same year. The two years and a half, therefore, could only be made up by supposing Ferishta to have made a slip in ascribing Mahmúd's return to A.D. 1026, instead of A.D. 1027: but A.D. 1027 appears, by his own account, to have been employed in an expedition against the Seljúks. (Briggs, vol. i. p. 83.) Supposing Mahmúd to have remained for two years in Guzerát, it would be difficult to explain how he kept up his communications with Ghazní; as well as to account for his inaction during so long a period, in which not a march nor a transaction of any kind is recorded.

<sup>26</sup> I have endeavoured to reconcile this account, which is entirely on Ferishta's authority, with the size of the river and the geography of the neighbourhood. His own description gives an idea of a regular naval armament and a sea-fight; Mahmúd, he says, had 1,400 boats built for the occasion, each capable of containing twenty-five archers and fire-ball men, and armed with spikes in a peculiar manner. The enemy had a fleet of 4,000, and some say 8,000, boats, and a desperate conflict took place; yet Mahmúd's boats must have been constructed after his return during the present year, and the mountaineers could scarcely have possessed a

activity was soon called forth in another direction : for the <sup>first revolt of the Seljûks</sup> the Tûrki tribe of Seljûk, whose growth he had incautiously favoured, had become too unruly and too powerful to be restrained by his local governors : and he was obliged to move <sup>suppressed in 1027</sup> in person against them. He defeated them in a great battle, and compelled them, for a time, to return to their respect for his authority.<sup>5</sup>

This success was now followed by another of greater consequence, which raised Mahmûd's power to its highest pitch of elevation. The origin of the family of Bûya, or the Deilemites, has already been mentioned.<sup>6</sup> They subsequently divided into three branches ; and, after various changes, one branch remained in possession of Persian Irâk, extending from the frontier of Khorisân, westward to the mountains of Kurdistan, beyond Hamudân. The chief of this branch had died about the time of Mahmûd's accession, leaving his dominions under the regency of his widow ; and the Sultan was at first disposed to take advantage of the circumstance. He was dissuaded by a letter from the regent, who told him that she might have feared him when her warlike husband was alive, but now felt secure in the conviction that he was too generous to attack a defenceless woman, and too wise to risk his glory in a contest where no addition to it could be gained.<sup>7</sup>

If Mahmûd ever evinced this magnanimity towards the widow, it was not extended to her son. This young man's reign was a continued scene of misgovernment ; and the rebellions it at last engendered either obliged him (as some state) to solicit the intervention of Mahmûd, or enabled that monarch to interfere unsolicited, and to turn the distracted state of the kingdom to his own profit. He invaded Irâk, and ungenerously, if not perfidiously, seized the person of the prince, who had trusted himself in his camp before Rei. He then took possession of the whole territory ; and, having been opposed at Isfahân and Garzin, he punished their resistance by putting to death some thousands of the inhabitants of each city.<sup>8</sup>

These transactions, which leave so great a stain on the memory of Mahmûd, were the last acts of his reign. He was taken ill soon after his return to his capital, and died at Ghazni on the 20th of April, viz. 1030.

<sup>5</sup> *History of the Seljûks*, p. 102.   
 <sup>6</sup> *History of the Seljûks*, p. 102.   
 <sup>7</sup> *History of the Seljûks*, p. 102.   
 <sup>8</sup> *History of the Seljûks*, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> *History of the Seljûks*, p. 102.   
 <sup>6</sup> *History of the Seljûks*, p. 102.   
 <sup>7</sup> *History of the Seljûks*, p. 102.   
 <sup>8</sup> *History of the Seljûks*, p. 102.

Shortly before his death he commanded all the most costly of his treasures to be displayed before him ; and after long contemplating them, he is said to have shed tears at the thought that he was so soon to lose them. It is remarked that, after this fond parting with his treasures, he distributed no portion of them among those around him, to whom also he was about to bid farewell.<sup>32</sup>

Thus died Mahmúd, certainly the greatest sovereign of his own time, and considered by the Mahometans among the greatest of any age. Though some of his qualities have been overrated, he appears on the whole to have deserved his reputation. Prudence, activity, and enterprise he possessed in the highest degree ; and the good order which he preserved in his extensive dominions during his frequent absences is a proof of his talents for government. The extent itself of those dominions does little towards establishing his ability, for the state of the surrounding countries afforded a field for wider ambition than he attempted to indulge : and the speedy dissolution of his empire prevents our forming a high opinion of the wisdom employed in constructing it. Even his Indian operations, for which all other objects were resigned, are so far from displaying any signs of system or combination, that their desultory and inconclusive nature would lead us to deny him a comprehensive intellect, unless we suppose its range to have been contracted by the sordid passions of his heart.

He seems to have made no innovation in internal government : no laws or institutions are referred, by tradition, to him.

The real source of his glory lay in his combining the qualities of a warrior and a conqueror, with a zeal for the encouragement of literature and the arts, which was rare in his time, and has not yet been surpassed. His liberality in those respects is enhanced by his habitual economy. He founded a university in Ghazní, with a vast collection of curious books in various languages, and a museum of natural curiosities. He appropriated a large sum of money for the maintenance of this establishment, besides a permanent fund for allowances to professors and to students.<sup>33</sup> He also set aside a sum, nearly equal to 10,000*l.* a year, for pensions to learned men ; and showed so much munifi-

<sup>32</sup> It was probably this anecdote that suggested to Sádi a story which he relates in the "*Gulistán*." A certain person, he says, saw Sultán Mahmúd (then long dead) in a dream. His body was reduced to a bare skeleton ; but his eyes (the organs of

covetousness with the Asiatics) were still entire, and gazed eagerly from their sockets, as if they were insatiable and indestructible, like the passion which animated them.

<sup>33</sup> Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 60.

cence to individuals of eminence, that his capital exhibited a greater assemblage of literary genius than any other metropolis in Asia has ever been able to produce."

Of the many names that adorned his court, few are known in Europe. Unsuri may be mentioned as the first instance, in Asia, of a man raised to high rank and title for poetical merit alone; but it is to Ferdousi that we must ascribe the universal reputation of Mahmūd as a patron of poetry; and it is to him, also, that his country is indebted for a large portion of her poetical fame.

The history of this poet throws a strong light on Mahmūd's literary ardour; and is improved in interest as well as authenticity by its incidental disclosure of the conqueror's characteristic foible. Perceiving that the ancient renown of Persia was on the point of being extinguished, owing to the bigotry of his predecessors, Mahmūd early held out rewards to any one who would embody in an historical poem the achievements of her kings and heroes, previous to the Mahometan conquest. Dākie, a great poet of the day, whom he had first engaged in this undertaking, was assassinated by a servant, before he had finished more than one thousand couplets; when the fame of Mahmūd's liberality fortunately attracted Ferdousi to his court. By him was this great work completed; and in such a manner, that, although so obsolete as to require a glossary, it is still the most popular of all books among his countrymen, and is admired even by European readers for the spirit and fire of some passages, the tenderness of others, and the Homeric simplicity and grandeur that pervade the whole. A remarkable feature in this poem (perhaps an indication of the taste of the age) is the fondness for ancient Persian words, and the studious rejection of Arabic. It is said, though not, perhaps, quite correctly, that not one exclusively Arabic word is to be found in the sixty thousand couplets. The poem was from time to time recited to the Sultan, who listened to it with delight, and showed his gratitude by gifts to the poet; but when the whole was concluded, after thirty years of labour, as Ferdousi himself asserts, the reward was entirely disproportioned to the greatness of

<sup>1</sup> The history of the great Persian poet, Ferdousi, is related by the Sultan's physician, in the *Shah-nāma*, and by the poet himself in the *Shah-nāma*. The story is, that Ferdousi, a native of Herat, was brought to the court of Mahmūd by a merchant, who had discovered him in a village near Herat. Mahmūd, who was then at the height of his power, was struck by the poet's genius, and offered him a high rank and a large pension. Ferdousi, however, refused the offer, and continued to live in his native village, where he composed the *Shah-nāma*. Mahmūd, who was then at the height of his power, was struck by the poet's genius, and offered him a high rank and a large pension. Ferdousi, however, refused the offer, and continued to live in his native village, where he composed the *Shah-nāma*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Shah-nāma* is a work of 60,000 couplets.

<sup>3</sup> The *Shah-nāma* is a work of 60,000 couplets. It is a history of the kings of Persia, from the time of the first king, Kishr, to the time of the last king, Mahmūd. It is a work of great value, and is one of the most important works of the Persian language.

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the work.<sup>36</sup> Ferdousí rejected what was offered, withdrew in indignation to his native city of Tús, launched a bitter satire at Mahmúd, and held himself prepared to fly from that monarch's dominions, if it were necessary, to shun the effects of his revenge. But Mahmúd magnanimously forgot the satire, while he remembered the great epic, and sent so ample a remuneration to the poet as would have surpassed his highest expectations. But his bounty came too late; and the treasure entered one door of Ferdousí's house as his bier was borne out of another. His daughter at first rejected the untimely gift; by the persuasion of Mahmúd, she at length accepted it, and laid it out on an embankment, to afford a supply of water to the city where her father had been born, and to which he was always much attached. The satire, however, has survived. It is to it we owe the knowledge of Mahmúd's base birth; and to it, beyond doubt, is to be ascribed the preservation of the memory of his avarice, which would otherwise long ago have been forgotten.<sup>37</sup>

Mahmúd's taste for architecture, whether engendered, or only developed, by what he witnessed at Mattra and Canonj, displayed itself in full perfection after his return from that expedition. He then founded the mosque called "the Celestial Bride," which, in that age, was the wonder of the East. It was built of marble and granite, of such beauty as to strike every beholder with astonishment,<sup>38</sup> and was furnished with rich carpets, candelabras, and other ornaments of silver and gold. It is probable, from the superiority long possessed by Indian architects, that the novelty and elegance of the design had even a greater effect than the materials, in commanding so much admiration. When the nobility of Ghazní, says Ferishta, (from whom most of the above is transcribed,) saw the taste of the monarch evince itself in architecture, they vied with each other in the magnificence of their private palaces, as well as in public buildings, which they raised for the embellishment of the city. Thus, in a short time, the capital was ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts, and cisterns, beyond every city in the East.

<sup>36</sup> The story told is, that Mahmúd had promised a dirhem for every verse; and that although he had meant golden dirhems, the sight of the sum was too much for his covetous nature, and he changed the payment into silver dirhems; but Mahmúd had too much prudence to have promised an unlimited sum for verses, even of Ferdousí's, and too much taste to

have thought that he would improve their value by offering a premium on their number.

<sup>37</sup> D'Herbelot; Kennedy on Persian Literature, *Bombay Transactions*; Malcolm's *Persia*; Introduction to *Shahnámeh*, *Oriental Magazine*, vol. vi.

<sup>38</sup> Ferishta.



All writers attest the magnificence of Mahmūd's court, which exhibited the solemnity of that of the califs, together with all the pomp and splendour which they had borrowed from the great king; so that when to all this we add the great scale of his expeditions, and the high equipments of his armies, we must accede to the assertion of his historian, that if he was rapacious in acquiring wealth, he was unrivalled in the judgment and grandeur with which he knew how to expend it.

As avarice is the great imputation against Mahmūd in the East, so is bigotry among European writers. The first of these charges is established by facts; the other seems the result of a misconception. Mahmūd carried on war with the infidels because it was a source of gain, and, in his day, the greatest source of glory. He professed, and probably felt, like other Mussulmans, an ardent wish for the propagation of his faith; but he never sacrificed the least of his interests for the accomplishment of that object; and he even seems to have been perfectly indifferent to it, when he might have attained it without loss. One province, permanently occupied, would have done more for conversion than all his incursions, which only hardened the hearts of the Hindūs against a religion which presented itself in such a form.

Even where he had possession he showed but little zeal. Far from forcing conversions like Mohammed Cāsim, we do not hear that in his long residence in Guzerāt, or his occupation of Lāhōr, he ever made a convert at all. His only ally (the rājā of Cānoor) was an unconverted Hindū. His transactions with the rājā of Lāhōr were guided entirely by policy, without reference to religion; and when he placed a Hindū devotee on the throne of Guzerāt, his thoughts must have been otherwise directed than to the means of propagating Islām.

It is nowhere asserted that he ever put a Hindū to death except in battle, or in the storm of a fort. His only massacres were among his brother Mussulmans in Persia. Even they were owing to the spirit of the age, not of the individual, and sink into insignificance, if compared with those of Chingiz Kibān, who was not a Mussulman, and is eulogized by one of our most liberal historians as a model of philosophical toleration.

Perhaps the most obscure trait of his religious wars is given incidentally by a Mahomedan author, quoted in Price, who states that one was the multitude of captives brought from

India, that a purchaser could not be found for a slave at four shillings and sevenpence a head.<sup>39</sup>

The Mahometan historians are so far from giving him credit for a blind attachment to the faith, that they charge him with scepticism, and say that he rejected all testimony, and professed his doubts of a future state: and the end of the story, as they relate it, increases its probability; for, as if he felt that he had gone too far, he afterwards announced that the Prophet had appeared to him in a dream, and in one short sentence had removed all his doubts and objections.

It is, however, certain that he was most attentive to the forms of his religion.<sup>40</sup> He always evinced the strongest attachment to the orthodox calif, and rejected all offers from his Egyptian rival.<sup>41</sup> Though he discouraged religious enthusiasts and ascetics, he showed great reverence for men of real sanctity.<sup>42</sup>

Hardly one battle of importance is described in which he did not kneel down in prayer, and implore the blessing of God upon his arms.<sup>43</sup>

Notwithstanding the bloodshed and misery of which he was the occasion, he does not seem to have been cruel. We hear of none of the tragedies and atrocities in his court and family which are so common in those of other despots. No inhuman punishments are recorded; and rebels, even when they are persons who had been pardoned and trusted, never suffer anything worse than imprisonment.

Mahmúd was about the middle size; athletic, and well-proportioned in his limbs, but disfigured with the small-pox to a degree that was a constant source of mortification to him in his youth, until it stimulated him to exertion, from a desire that the bad impression made by his appearance might be effaced by the lustre of his actions.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> [Al Utbí says (p. 462) that, after the ninth expedition, the number of slaves was so great that the price of each never exceeded from two to ten dirhems at the utmost.—Ed.]

<sup>40</sup> [Al Utbí, however (pp. 438-444), represents him as a zealous upholder of orthodox Muhammadanism in opposition to the heretical sects of the Karmathians, Batinians, etc.—Ed.]

<sup>41</sup> [The Fátimite Khalif Moizz founded Cairo about A.D. 972, and his second successor, the celebrated Hákim, ruled from 996 to 1021. During his reign, the Muhammadan world was kept in a continual ferment.—Ed.]

<sup>42</sup> See a letter from Aurangzib, in the *Asiatic Register* for 1801, p. 92.

<sup>43</sup> A story is told of him in Ferishta and in the "*Rauzat us Safá*," that puts his zeal for religion in a new light. A citizen of Nishápúr was brought before him on an accusation of heresy. "O King," said he, "I am rich, but I am no heretic; can you not take my property without injuring my reputation?" The king heard his proposal with great good humour, took the bribe, and gave him a certificate under the royal signet of his perfect orthodoxy.

<sup>44</sup> Ferishta. D'Herbelot. Price.

He seems to have been of a cheerful disposition, and to have lived on easy terms with those around him.

The following well-known story shows the opinion entertained of his severity to military licence, one of the first virtues of a general. One day a peasant threw himself at his feet, and complained that an officer of the army, having conceived a passion for his wife, had forced himself into his house, and driven him out with blows and insults; and that he had renewed the outrage, regardless of the clamours of the husband. Mahmūd directed him to say nothing, but to come again when the officer repeated his visit. On the third day the peasant presented himself, and Mahmūd took his sword in silence, and wrapping himself in a loose mantle followed him to his house. He found the guilty couple asleep, and, after extinguishing the lamp, he struck off the head of the adulterer at a blow. He then ordered lights to be brought, and, on looking at the dead man's face burst into an exclamation of thanksgiving, and called for water, of which he drank a draught. Perceiving the astonishment of the peasant, he informed him he had suspected that so bold a criminal could be no other than his own nephew; that he had extinguished the light, because his justice should give way to affection; that he now saw that the offender was a stranger; and, having vowed neither to eat nor drink till he had given redress, he was nearly exhausted with thirst.

Another example is given of his sense of his duty to his people. Soon after the conquest of Irak, a caravan was cut off in the desert to the east of that country, and the mother of one of the merchants who was killed went to Ginnazul to complain. Mahmūd urged the impossibility of keeping order in so remote a part of his territories; when the woman boldly answered, "Woe, then, do you take countries which you cannot govern, and for the protection of which you must answer in the day of judgment?" Mahmūd was struck with the argument, and, after satisfying the woman by a liberal present, he took other and more effectual measures for the protection of the caravans.

Mahmūd was, perhaps, the most striking character of the latter part of the twelfth century, of some former dynasty, who had accumulated jewels on him to the seven measures, so, to explain the story to those who have given me a hundred measures."

As all the celebrated dynasties of India spring from the same source, it is not surprising to find a great deal of confusion in the history of Ginnazul, it is to be regretted that we have so few materials for a history of the state of Ginnazul, and of the persons who ruled it. Things were much changed since the time

of the Arab conquests, and new actors had come on the stage widely different from those who had preceded them. Though many Arabs were still employed, both as soldiers and magistrates, even they were only Arabs by descent, while a great portion of the court and army were Túrks, and the rest, with almost all the people, were Persians.

The Túrks had not come into Ghazní as conquerors. Numbers of Turkish slaves had been brought into the southern <sup>Túrks.</sup> countries after the conquest of Transoxiana; and their courage, their habits of obedience, their apparently dependent condition and want of connexion with all around them, recommended them to the confidence of absolute monarchs, and led to their general employment. Some princes formed bodies of *Mamlúk* (*slave*) guards; and some employed individuals in offices of trust; so that they already occupied an important place in what had been the Arab empire, and soon after the death of Mahmúd brought the greater part of Asia under their dominion.

The house of Ghazní, though Túrks themselves, were less under the influence of their countrymen than most of their contemporaries. Alptegín was a single slave, and rose to power as governor of Khorásán. He may have had some Mamlúks and other Túrks in his service; but the main body of his army, and all his subjects, were natives of the country round Ghazní. Mahmúd himself was born of a Persian mother,<sup>45</sup> and was in language and manners a Persian; but his increased resources, and the conquest of Transoxiana, would draw more Turks about him, and their importance in the neighbouring countries would give more weight to their example. The existence of wandering tribes in both nations leads us at first to suppose a resemblance between the Tartars and the Arabs; while the reality would be better shown by a contrast.

From the first mention of the Tartars, in the thirteenth century before Christ, they formed great nations under despotic governments. They fed sheep, on uncultivated but not unfertile plains, and were not exposed to the sufferings and privations which fell to the lot of those who follow camels in the desert. They did not live in towns; and the extent of the dominions of their princes kept them from the anxiety arising from close contact with their external enemies.

They had, therefore, nothing to sharpen their intellect, or to give birth to feelings of independence; and though they were as brave and hardy as the Arabs, they seem to have been made of

<sup>45</sup> From Zábúl, the country adjoining Ghazní, and extending to, perhaps including, Sístán on the west.

grosser materials than that fiery and imaginative people; their wars originated in obedience, not in enthusiasm; and their cruelty arose from insensibility, not bigotry or revenge; among themselves, indeed, they were sociable and good-natured, and by so means much under the influence of the darker passions.

Wherever the Arabs conquered, they left indelible traces of their presence; religion, law, philosophy, and literature, all took a new character from them. Their bad qualities, as well as their good, were copied by their subjects and disciples; and, wherever we find a Mussulman, we are sure to see a tinge of the pride, violence, and jealousy, with something of the hospitality and magnificence, of the early Arab. The Tartars, on the other hand, have neither founded a religion nor introduced a literature; and, so far from impressing their own stamp on others, they have universally melted into that of the nations among whom they settled; so that, in manners and in outward appearance, there is scarcely a feature left in common between a Tartar of Persia and one of China.

Amidst all these changes of form, there is some peculiarity of genius or temperament, which preserves a sort of national character; and, when improved by the qualities of more refined nations, they exhibit more of the manly and practical turn of Europeans than is found in any other among the nations of the East.

In the present instance, their character took its bias from the Persians, a people very likely to influence all who came into contact with them.

With a good deal of the energy of the Arabs and Tartars, besides the Persians combine the suppleness and artifice of the Hindus, and a fund of talents and ingenuity peculiar to themselves; and being a lively and restless people, they have been able (although always depressed by a singularly grievous despotism) to make a figure in the history of the world out of all proportion to their numbers or the resources of their territory.

From the first conquest of their country the Persians must have been employed in all manual and civil business, in which the Arabs were no adepts; and their rapid conversion early opened the way for them to offices of trust and power. Al-Mosaddik, who placed the Abbassides on the throne, was a Persian of Isfahan; the celebrated Barmecides were Persians of Balkh; and the nation seems before long to have extended its arms to the recovery of its independence. Tahir, though an Arab, was supported by Persians in his rebellion. The

Soffárides, the Búyides, and probably the Sámánides,<sup>40</sup> were Persians; and, at the time we are writing of, Mahmúd was the only sovereign not of Persian origin between the Jaxartes and the Euphrates.

Their agreeable manners and refined way of living rendered the Persians models in those respects, even in countries at a distance from their own; and their language, which had been enriched by vast accessions from the Arabic, became, a little before this time, what it still continues, the main channel of polite literature, and in some degree, of science, through all the Mahometan part of Asia.

These nations were in various degrees of obedience, and influenced the government in various manners.

Relation of the different nations to the government.

The inhabitants of towns and plains (including the Arabs, almost all the Persians, and such of the small bodies of Túrks as had long confined themselves to particular tracts) were entirely submissive to the Sultan. The mountaineers were probably in every stage from entire obedience to nearly personal independence. The Túrki hordes (as the Seljúks) were separate communities unconnected with the territory they occupied, which sometimes, in the same generation, was on the A'múr and on the Wolga. Their relation to the Sultan depended on the will of their chiefs, and was as fluctuating as might be expected in such circumstances; during the vigorous reign of Mahmúd they seem in general to have been submissive.

The small portion of India possessed by Mahmúd was so recent an acquisition, that the limits of his authority, both in degree and extent, must have been ill-defined. I suppose he was powerful in the plains, and had little influence in the hills.

Their shares in the government may be conjectured from the circumstances of the different nations.

Religion and law were Arabian (though modified in the latter department by local customs); and the lawyers and divines would, in many cases, be from the same country.

The Sultan had a body of guards mounted on his own horses, who, we may conclude, were *Mamlúks* (or Túrki slaves); and separate troops of Tartar horse, from beyond the Oxus, no doubt

<sup>40</sup> The Sámánides are generally reckoned Túrks; but their founder was presented to the Calif Mámún at Merv in Khorásán, and was neither a Túrki chief nor a slave. The family claimed a Persian ancestor at a time when a descent from Guebres would not have been an object of ambition to men of another race. De Guignes,

who exhausts all Tartar tribes, and even adopts single Túrks like the Ghaznevites, lays no claim to the Sámánis. Whether they came from Bokhára or Balkh, the fixed inhabitants of either country are Persians; and their being the first encouragers of Persian literature is another argument for their descent.



It is owing to this circumstance that, although India was never directly conquered by Persia, the language of business, and of writing in general, is all taken from the latter country. The Persian language is also spoken much more generally than French is in Europe. It likewise furnishes a large proportion of the vernacular language of Hindostan, the basis of which is an original Indian dialect.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### OTHER KINGS OF THE HOUSES OF GHAZNÍ AND GHÓR.

SULTÁN MAHMÚD left two sons, one of whom, Mohammed, had, by his gentleness and docility, so ingratiated himself with his father, that he fixed on him for his successor in preference to his more untractable brother, Masaúd. Mohammed was accordingly put in possession, and crowned as soon as Mahmúd was dead; but the commanding temper and headlong courage of Masaúd, together with his personal strength and soldier-like habits, made him more popular, and, in fact, more fit to govern, in the times which were approaching. Accordingly a large body of guards deserted from Mohammed immediately after his accession; and by the time Masaúd arrived from his government of Isfahán, the whole army was ready to throw off its allegiance. Mohammed was seized, blinded, and sent into confinement: and Masaúd ascended the throne within four months after his father's death.

The situation of the new monarch required all the energy by which he was distinguished; for the power of the Seljúks had already risen to such a height as to threaten his empire with the calamities which they afterwards brought on it.

The origin of this family is not distinctly known; and their early history is related in different ways. The most probable account is, that the chief from whom they derived their name held a high station under one of the great Tartar princes; that he incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, and emigrated with his adherents to Jaund, on the left bank of the Jaxartes. His sons were afterwards subject to Sultán Mahmúd; and, by one account, were either induced or compelled by him to move to

Sultán  
Mohammed,  
A.D. 1030,  
A.H. 421.

Sultán  
Masaúd,  
A.D. 1030,  
A.H. 421.  
Rise of the  
Seljúks.



the south of the Oxus, and settle in Khorásán.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, more probable that they remained in Transoxiana, under a loose subjection to the Sultan, carrying on wars and incursions on their own account, until the end of his reign, when they began to push their depredations into his immediate territories. They received a check at that time, as has been related, and did not enter Khorásán in force until the reign of Mas'úd.

Though individuals of the Türkí nation had long before made themselves masters of the governments which they served, as the Mamlük guards at Baghdád, Alptegín at Ghazni, &c.; yet the Seljúks were the first *Jurds*, in modern times, that obtained possession to the south of the Oxus; and, although the invasions of Chengiz Khán and Tamerlane were afterwards on a greater scale, the Seljúk conquest was raised to equal importance from the fact that the representative of one of its branches still fills the throne of Constantinople.

At the time of Mas'úd's accession their inroads into Khorásán began again to be troublesome. They did not, however, seem to require the personal exertions of the new king, who was therefore left at leisure to reduce the provinces of Meerán under his authority; and as, within the next three years, he received the submission of the provinces of Mazanderán and Gurgán, then in the hands of a family of unconverted fire-worshippers, he had, before his power began to decline, attained to the sovereignty of all Persia, except the province of Fárs. The rest of his reign was spent in struggles with the Seljúks, who, though they still professed themselves his slaves, defeated his lieutenants and ravaged his dominions. At length he took the field in person, and encountered Tughrál Bég, the celebrated Seljúk conqueror, at Zendeán or Dandunáken, near Merv. Mas'úd, being deserted on the field by some of his Türkí followers, was totally and irretrievably defeated, and compelled to fly to Merv. He there assembled the wreck of his army, and returned to Ghazni; but, far from being able to silence such a force as might oppose the Seljúks, he found himself without the means of repressing the disorders which were breaking out round the capital. In these circumstances he determined to withdraw to India, and avail himself of the assistance obtained to retrieve his affairs. But discipline was now dissolved, and all respect for the king's authority destroyed. Some of the soldiers crossed the Indus, his own guards attempted

<sup>1</sup> *Abul-Fazl's Akbar-námah*, lib. vi. c. 21. vol. 412.  
<sup>2</sup> *Abul-Fazl's Akbar-námah*, lib. vi. c. 22. vol. 412.

to plunder his treasure ; and the confusion which followed led to a general mutiny of the army, the deposition of Masaúd, and the restoration of his brother Mohammed to the throne. The blindness of the latter prince rendering him incapable of conducting the government, he transferred the effective administration to his son Ahmed, one of whose first acts was to put the deposed king to death.

Deposition  
and death of  
Masaúd.

A.D. 1040,  
A.H. 432.

Masaúd was more than ten years on the throne, and, notwithstanding the turbulent and disastrous character of his reign, he found time to promote the progress of knowledge, and showed himself a worthy successor of Mahmúd in his patronage of learned men and in the erection of magnificent public buildings.

The defeat which overthrew the government of Masaúd was attended with the most important consequences to India, as it raised the Mussulman province there, from a despised dependency, to one of the most valuable portions of the kingdom ; but the events which follow have little interest in Indian history. The revolutions in the government, being like those common to all Asiatic monarchies,<sup>3</sup> fatigue without instructing: the struggles with the Seljûks only affected the western dominions of Ghazni, and those with the Hindús had no permanent effect at all. For the history of the people, Asiatic writers afford no materials. Yet

this period must have been one of the most deserving of notice in the whole course of their career. It must have been then that permanent residence in India, and habitual intercourse with the natives, introduced a change into the manners and ways of thinking of the invaders, that the rudiments of a new language were formed, and a foundation laid for the present national character of the Mahometan Indians.<sup>4</sup>

The remaining transactions of the house of Ghazni need not therefore occupy much space. Maudúd the son of Masaúd was at Balkh when his father was murdered. He hastened to the east with his army, defeated and put to death his rivals, and afterwards crushed a rebellion excited by one of his own brothers.

Sultán  
Maudúd.  
A.D. 1040,  
A.H. 432, to  
A.D. 1046,  
A.H. 441.

<sup>3</sup> [Gibbon has well described the course of every Asiatic dynasty as "one unceasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy and decay."—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [The reign of Masaúd can now be studied in the contemporary history of Abú'l Fazl Baihaki, printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Bengal Asiatic Society. The same collection also contains two other standard authorities for the pre-Moghul period of Indian history,

—the *Tabakdti Násiri* of Minháj ud din, which is a succinct narrative to the time of Násir ud din,—and its continuation by Zia ud din Barni which embraces the period from Balban's accession to the sixth year of the reign of Firúz Sháh. For Baihaki's history, and the *Tabakdti Násiri*, cf. Douson's *Hist. of India*, vol. ii., pp. 53—154, 259—283, for Zia ud din Barni, *ibid.* vol. iii., pp. 93—268.—Ed.]

At his accession the whole kingdom of Ghazni lay open to the victorious Seljûks, but the attention of those conquerors was not drawn towards the east. They divided their conquests into four minor kingdoms, under the supremacy of Tughrul Bég. Abû Alî, who obtained the sovereignty of Herât, Sîstân, and Ghôr, was left to contend with the Ghaznevîtes, while Tughrul with the main forces of the tribe hastened to the conquest of Western Persia, the capture of Baghdâd, and the invasion of the Roman Empire. In these circumstances Maubûd was able to maintain himself in Ghazni and to recover Transoxiana; and being united by marriage with the granddaughter of Tughrul Bég, he seemed to be no longer in danger from the hostility of the Seljûks. But See page 355 while he pursued his success in the west, the Raja of Delhi took advantage of his absence to overrun the Panjâb. By skilful appeals to their superstition he revived the spirit of the Hindûs, took Nagarcôt, and laid siege to Lâhrî. But that last stronghold of the Mussulmans was saved by the bravery of the garrison, who disdained to yield to infidels whom they had so often subdued, and by a report (which proved unfounded) of the approach of Maubûd.

That prince was at the time engaged in the west, where even his family connexion did not prevent new quarrels with the Seljûks, and had no time to visit India till his death.

See page 356 When that event took place the throne was usurped by his brother Abûl Hasan, who made way to it by the murder of his infant nephew, but was himself deposed in two years by his uncle Abûl Rashid.

See page 357 The new prince recovered the Panjâb, which had been seized by one of the Mahometan leaders during the preceding troubles, but he was soon after defeated by a chief named Tughrul, who revolted in Sîstân. The successful rebel assumed the crown, and put all the princes of the house of Ghor, that fell into his hands to death. He was himself assassinated at the end of forty days, and one of the two descendants of Subuktigin, who had escaped his cruelty, was raised to the throne.

This prince was successful against the Seljûks, and See page 358 had a prospect of recovering the lost dominions of his family, till he was killed by the rising genius of Alauddin Aibek.

His son, Balban, was a most useful devotee. He made pe-

with the Seljúks by renouncing all claims that interfered with their pretensions, and spent most part of a long reign in practising penmanship and copying Korans. He left forty sons and thirty-six daughters.

Sultán  
Ibráhím.  
A.D. 1088,  
A.H. 480, to  
A.D. 1099,  
A.H. 481.

Masaúd the Second was a man of more worth. His generals carried his arms beyond the Ganges, and he himself revised the laws and formed them into a consistent code. During his reign the court resided for some years at Láhór.

Sultán  
Masaúd II.  
A.D. 1099,  
A.H. 492, to  
A.D. 1114,  
A.H. 508.

On the death of Masaúd the Second, one of his sons, Arslán, imprisoned his brothers and usurped the throne. The house of Ghazní had by this time formed repeated matrimonial alliances with the Seljúks, and the sister of Sanjar, their sultan, was mother of all the princes. She was incensed at the oppression of so many of her children, and called on Sanjar to support Behráam, who had escaped the fate of his brothers. Sanjar undertook his cause, and placed him on the throne by force of arms.

Sultán  
Arslán.  
A.D. 1114,  
A.H. 508, to  
A.D. 1118,  
A.H. 512.

Behráam was a distinguished patron of letters. The famous Persian poet Nizámí resided at his court, and dedicated one of his five great poems to Behráam. But he disgraced the end of a long and prosperous reign by a crime which brought ruin on himself and all his race.

Sultán  
Behráam.  
A.D. 1118,  
A.H. 512, to  
A.D. 1152,  
A.H. 547.

The territory of Ghór had been treacherously seized by Maudúd, and had since remained dependent on Ghazní. The reigning prince, Kutb ud dín Súr,<sup>8</sup> was married to the daughter of Sultán Behráam. Some differences, however, arose between these princes; and Behráam, having got his son-in-law into his power, either poisoned him or put him openly to death. The latter is most probable; for Seif ud dín,<sup>9</sup> the brother of the deceased, immediately took up arms to revenge him, and advanced towards Ghazní, whence Behráam was compelled to fly to Kirmán, in the mountains towards the east.<sup>10</sup>

Seif ud dín was so secure in his new possession, that he sent back most of his army to Fírúz Cóh, his usual residence, under his brother Alá ud dín. But, in spite of all

Ghazní  
taken by the  
Ghórians.

<sup>7</sup> [There was some uncertainty as to whether Ibráhím's reign ended in A.H. 481 or 492, but Mr. Thomas has shown from coins that the latter date is correct. (*Journ. R.A.S.* vol. ix. p. 280.)—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Called Kootb ood deen Mahomed Ghóory Afghán, in Briggs's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 151.

<sup>9</sup> Seif ood deen Soory, *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 152.

<sup>10</sup> ["Kirmán seems to have been a place of considerable importance in those days, in virtue of its position on the line of communication between Ghazní and the Indus, on the road connecting that city with the modern site of Kohát and Pesháwur, by the Bungush route and the Kurm river."—Mr. E. Thomas (*Journ. R.A.S.* vol. xvii. p. 207).—Ed.]

endeavours to render himself popular in Ghazni, he failed to shake the attachment of the inhabitants to the old dynasty : a plot was entered into to invite Behrám to return ; and as soon as the snow had cut off the communication with Ghôr, that prince advanced against his former capital with an army collected from the unsubdued part of his dominions. Seif ud din, conscious of his present weakness, was about to withdraw, but was persuaded, by the perfidious promises and entreaties of the people of Ghazni, to try the fate of a battle ; and being deserted on the field by the citizens, the small body of his own troops that were with him were overpowered, and he himself was wounded and taken prisoner. Behrám's conduct on this occasion was as inconsistent with his former character as it was repugnant to humanity. He made his prisoner be led round the city with every circumstance of ignominy ; and, after exposing him to the shouts and insults of the rabble, put him to death by torture. He also ordered his vazir, a Seind or descendant of the Prophet, to be impaled.

When the news reached Alâ ud din, he was raised to the highest pitch of rage and indignation, and vowed a bitter revenge on all concerned.

He seems, in his impatience, to have set out with what was thought an inadequate force, and he was met with an offer of pence from Behrám, accompanied by a warning of the certain destruction on which he was rushing. He replied, " that Behrám's threats were as impotent as his arms ; that it was no new thing for kings to make war on each other ; but that barbarity such as his was unexampled amongst princes."

In the battle which ensued, he appeared at one time to be overpowered by the superior numbers of the Ghaznevites ; but his own thirst for vengeance, joined to the bravery and indignation of his countrymen, bore down all opposition, and compelled Behrám to fly, almost alone, from the scene of action.

The injuries, insults, and cruelties heaped on his father, by the people no less than the prince, would have justified a severe retaliation on Ghazni : but the indiscriminate destruction of so great a capital turns all our sympathy against the author of it, and has fixed a stigma on Alâ ud din from which he will never be free as long as his name is remembered.

He is always called Behram, Bheram, or the White, and though the name is used as a mark of distinction, in this occasion, with all the strongest terms of censure, it is not applied to him as

names of Chengiz and Tamerlane are spoken of with much less disgust, and is, most perhaps, of the more genuine character of the earlier period, in which such expressions excited so much surprise.

This noble city, perhaps at the time the greatest in Asia, was given up for three, and some say seven, days to flame, slaughter, and devastation. Even after the first fury was over, individuals were put to death, and all the Seiads that could be found were sacrificed in expiation of the murder of Seif ud dín's vazír. All the superb monuments of the Ghaznevite kings were demolished, and every trace of them effaced, except the tombs of Mahmúd, Masaúd, and Ibráhim; the two first of whom were spared for their valour, and the last probably for his sanctity. The unfortunate Behráh only lived to witness the calamities he had brought on his country; for, during his flight to India, he sank under fatigue and misfortune, and expired after a reign of thirty-five years.

His son Khusrou continued his retreat to Láhór, where he was received amidst the acclamations of his subjects, who were not displeased to see the seat of government permanently transferred to their city.

Sultán  
Khusrou.  
House of  
Ghazni  
retire to  
India.

He died (A.D. 1160) after a reign of seven years, and left the wreck of his territory to his son.

Khusrou Malik reigned for twenty-seven lunar years, to A.D. 1186, when his last possession shared the fate of the rest, and was occupied by the house of Ghór, as will be hereafter related. The race of Sabuktegín expired with this prince.

Sultán  
Khusrou  
Malik.

## HOUSE OF GHÓR.<sup>1</sup>

### *Alá ud dín Ghórí.*

(THE origin of the house of Ghór has been much discussed: the prevalent and apparently the correct opinion is, that both they and their subjects were Afgháns. Ghór was invaded by the Mussulmans within a few years after the death of Yezdegerd. It is spoken of by Ebn Haukal as only partially converted in the ninth century.<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants, according to the same author, at that time spoke the language of Khorásán.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Called in the *Tabakáti Násiri* the house of Shansabáni.

<sup>2</sup> Ouseley's *Ebn Haukal*, pp. 221 and 226; see also p. 212. He there says that all beyond Ghór may be considered as Hindostan; meaning, no doubt, that it was inhabited by infidels.

<sup>3</sup> The Afgháns look on the mountains of Ghór as their earliest seat; and I do not know that it has ever been denied

that the people of that country in early times were Afgháns. The only question relates to the ruling family. An author quoted by Professor Dorn (*History of the Afghans*, Annotations, p. 92) says that they were Túrks from Khítá; but it is a bare assertion of one author, for the other quotation in the same place relates to the successors of the house of Ghór. All other authors, as far as I can learn,



from the North of China, which had been driven into Transoxiana.

The invasion of the Khitans displaced a portion of the tribe of Euz<sup>6</sup> which had remained in Transoxiana, while the other portion was conquering in Syria and Asia Minor; and these exiles, being forced upon the south, overwhelmed the Seljûks, and for a short time occupied Ghaznî. Their migration afterwards took a westerly direction, and the kingdom of Ghaznî was left to its former possessors. During these changes Alâ ud dîn died. His eventful reign had only occupied four  
A.D. 1156.  
A.H. 551.  
years.

*Seif ud dîn Ghôri.*

Not long before the death of Alâ ud dîn he placed his two nephews, Ghiyâs ud dîn and Shahâb ud dîn, in confinement, probably to secure the succession to his young and inexperienced son. But the first act of that son, Seif ud dîn, was to release his cousins and restore them to their governments, a confidence which he never had reason to repent.

His other qualities, both personal and mental, corresponded to this noble trait, and might have insured a happy reign, if among so many virtues he had not inherited the revengeful spirit of his race. One of his chiefs appearing before him decorated with jewels which had belonged to his wife, and of which she had been stripped after his father's defeat by Sanjar, he was so transported by passion at the sight that he immediately put the offender to death with his own hand. Abûl Abbâs, the brother of the deceased, suppressed his feelings at the time; but seized an early opportunity, when Seif ud dîn was engaged with a body of the Euz, and thrust his lance through the sultan's body in the midst of the fight. Seif ud dîn had reigned little more than a year, and was succeeded by the elder of his cousins.<sup>7</sup>

*Ghiyâs ud dîn Ghôri.*

Immediately on his accession, Ghiyâs ud dîn associated his brother, Mohammed Shahâb ud dîn, in the government. He retained the sovereignty during his whole life, but  
A.D. 1157,  
A.H. 552.

<sup>6</sup> The Euz tribe are Turks, who were long settled in Kipchâk. They are, according to De Guignes, the ancestors of the Turkmans (vol. i. part ii. pp. 510, 522, vol. ii. p. 190). They are also called Uzes, Guz, Gozz, Gozi, and Gazi; but

in Ferghâna, where they are the ruling tribe, they are still called Euz. (Pronounced like the English verb "use.")

<sup>7</sup> D'Herbelot. Ferishta. Abstract of Mussulman histories in Dorn's *Afghans*.



seems to have left the conduct of military operations almost entirely to Shahāb ud din, on whom, for some years before Ghiyās ud din's death, the active duties of the government seem in a great measure to have devolved.

The harmony in which these brothers lived is not the only proof that they retained the family attachment which prevailed among their predecessors. Their uncle (who ruled the dependent principality of Bāmiān, extending along the Upper Oxus from the east of Balkh) having attempted to seize the throne on the death of Seif ud din, was defeated in battle, and so surrounded that his destruction seemed inevitable; when his nephews threw themselves from their horses, ran to hold his stirrup, and treated him with such profound respect, that, although he at first suspected that they were mocking his misfortune, they at last succeeded in soothing his feelings, and restored him to his principality. It continued in his immediate family for three generations, until it fell, with the rest of the dominions of Ghazni, on the conquest by the King of Khārizm.\*

All these transactions took place in less than five years from the fall of Ghazni, and the two brothers began now to turn to foreign conquest with the vigour of a new dynasty.

They took advantage of the decline of the Seljūks to reduce the eastern part of Khorāsān: Ghiyās ud din was personally engaged in that enterprise, and also in the recovery of Ghazni:† and from that time forward he divided his residence between Firūz Cōh, Ghazni, and Herāt. At the last city he built the great mosque so much spoken of for its magnificence in those and later ages.

Shahāb ud din's attention was, for a long time, almost entirely employed in turning to India: and he may be considered the founder of the <sup>11th</sup> <sup>12th</sup> <sup>13th</sup> <sup>14th</sup> <sup>15th</sup> <sup>16th</sup> <sup>17th</sup> <sup>18th</sup> <sup>19th</sup> <sup>20th</sup> <sup>21st</sup> <sup>22nd</sup> <sup>23rd</sup> <sup>24th</sup> <sup>25th</sup> <sup>26th</sup> <sup>27th</sup> <sup>28th</sup> <sup>29th</sup> <sup>30th</sup> <sup>31st</sup> <sup>32nd</sup> <sup>33rd</sup> <sup>34th</sup> <sup>35th</sup> <sup>36th</sup> <sup>37th</sup> <sup>38th</sup> <sup>39th</sup> <sup>40th</sup> <sup>41st</sup> <sup>42nd</sup> <sup>43rd</sup> <sup>44th</sup> <sup>45th</sup> <sup>46th</sup> <sup>47th</sup> <sup>48th</sup> <sup>49th</sup> <sup>50th</sup> <sup>51st</sup> <sup>52nd</sup> <sup>53rd</sup> <sup>54th</sup> <sup>55th</sup> <sup>56th</sup> <sup>57th</sup> <sup>58th</sup> <sup>59th</sup> <sup>60th</sup> <sup>61st</sup> <sup>62nd</sup> <sup>63rd</sup> 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His next expedition was to Sind, which he overran to the sea-shore. After his return he again engaged in hostilities with Khusrou Malik, who, taking courage from despair, made an alliance with the Gakkars, captured one of Shaháb ud dín's strongest forts, and obliged him to call in the aid of stratagem for a purpose which force seemed insufficient to accomplish. He affected alarms from the west, assembled his army as if for operations in Khorásán, and professing an anxious desire to make peace with Khusrou Malik, released his son, who had been hitherto kept as a hostage. Khusrou Malik, entirely thrown off his guard by these appearances, quitted Láhór and set out to meet his son, so unexpectedly restored to him; when Shaháb ud dín put himself at the head of a strong body of chosen cavalry, and, marching with celerity and secrecy through unfrequented routes, suddenly interposed himself between Khusrou Malik and his capital; and, surrounding his camp by night, made him prisoner, and soon after occupied Láhór, which no longer offered resistance. Khusrou and his family were sent to Ghiyás ud dín and imprisoned in a castle in Ghirjistán, where many years after they were put to death by one or other of the contending parties during the war with the King of Khárizm.

A.D. 1178,  
A.H. 575,  
and  
A.D. 1179,  
A.H. 576.  
  
A.D. 1177,  
A.H. 581.

Expulsion of  
the house of  
Ghazni from  
the Panjáb.

A.D. 1184,  
A.H. 590.  
  
A.D. 1190,  
A.H. 592.

Shaháb ud dín had now no Mahometan rival left, and the contest between him and the Hindús seemed at first sight very unequal. As his army was drawn from all the warlike provinces between the Indus and Oxus, and was accustomed to contend with the Seljúks and the northern hordes of Tartars, we should not expect it to meet much resistance from a people naturally gentle and inoffensive, broken into small states, and forced into war without any hopes of gain or aggrandizement; yet none of the Hindú principalities fell without a severe struggle, and some were never entirely subdued, but still remain substantive states after the Mussulman empire has gone to ruin.

Wars with  
the Hindús.

This unexpected opposition was chiefly owing to the peculiar character of the Rájputs, arising from their situation as the military class in the original Hindú system. The other classes, though kept together as *casts* by community of religious rites, were mixed up in civil society, and were under no chiefs except the ordinary magistrates of the country. But the Rájputs were born soldiers; each division had its hereditary leader, and each formed a separate community, like clans in

The Rájputs.



Tomára; Ajmír, by that of Chouhán; Canouj, by the Ráthórs; and Guzerát, by the Baghilas, who had supplanted the Chalúkas: but the Tomára chief, dying without male issue, adopted his grandson Prithwí, rája of Ajmír, and united the Tomáras and Chouháns under one head.

As the rája of Canouj was also grandson of the Tomára chief by another daughter, he was mortally offended at the preference shown to his cousin; and the wars and jealousies to which this rivalry gave rise contributed greatly to Shaháb ud dín's success in his designs on India.

His first attack was on Prithwí Rája, king of Ajmír and Delhi. The armies met at Tirourí, between Tanésar A.D. 1191, and Carnál, on the great plain where most of the A.H. 597. contests for the possession of India have been decided. The Mussulman mode of fighting was to charge with bodies of cavalry in succession, who either withdrew after discharging their arrows, or pressed their advantage, as circumstances might suggest. The Hindús, on the other hand, endeavoured to outflank their enemy, and close upon him on both sides, while he was busy with his attack on their centre. Their tactics were completely successful on this occasion: Defeat of Shaháb ud dín. while Shaháb ud dín was engaged in the centre of his

army, he learned that both his wings had given way, and soon found himself surrounded, along with such of his adherents as had followed his example in refusing to quit the field. In this situation he defended himself with desperate courage. He charged into the thickest of the enemy, and had reached the viceroy of Delhi, brother to the rája, and wounded him in the mouth with his lance, when he himself received a wound; and he would have fallen from his horse from loss of blood, had not one of his followers leapt up behind him, and supported him until he had extricated him from the conflict, and carried him to a place of safety.

The rout, however, was complete. The Mahometans were pursued for forty miles; and Shaháb ud dín, after collecting the wreck of his army at Láhór, returned, himself, to the other side of the Indus. He first visited his brother at Ghór, or Fírúz Cóh, and then remained settled at Ghazní, where he seemed to forget his misfortunes in pleasure and festivity. But, in spite of appearances, his disgrace still rankled in his bosom, and, as he himself told an aged counsellor, "he never slumbered in ease, or waked but in sorrow and anxiety."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 173.

At length, having recruited an army, composed of Türks, <sup>noted for</sup> Tájiks,<sup>9</sup> and Afgháns, many of whom had their helmets <sup>shaped and</sup> <sup>like</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Indian</sup> <sup>met</sup> <sup>ornamented</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>jewels,</sup> and their armour <sup>inlaid</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>silver</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>gold,</sup> he again began his march towards India.<sup>10</sup>

Prithwi Rája again met him with a vast army, swelled by numerous allies who were attracted by his former success. He sent a haughty message to Shaháb ud dín, with a view to deter him from advancing. The Mussulman general replied in moderate terms, and spoke of referring to his brother for orders; but when the Hindús, in blind reliance on their numbers, had encamped close to his army, he crossed the brook which lay between them about daybreak, and fell upon them by surprise, before they had any suspicion that he was in motion. But notwithstanding the confusion which ensued, their camp was of such extent, that part of their troops had time to form, and afford protection to the rest, who afterwards drew up in their rear; and order being at length restored, they advanced in four lines to meet their opponents. Shaháb ud dín, having failed in his original design, now gave orders for a retreat, and continued to retire, keeping up a running fight, until he had drawn his enemies out of their ranks, while he was careful to preserve his own. As soon as he saw them in disorder, he charged them at the head of 12,000 chosen horse in steel armour; and "this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins."<sup>11</sup>

The viceroy of Delhi and many other chiefs were slain on the field; and Prithwi Rája, being taken in the pursuit, was put to death in cold blood.

Shaháb ud dín was more sanguinary than Mahmúd. When he took Ajmir, soon after this battle, he put <sup>some</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>thousands</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>inhabitants,</sup> who opposed him, to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery. After this barbarous execution, he made over the country to a relation (some say a natural son) of Prithwi Rája, under an engagement for a heavy tribute.

He then returned to Ghazni, leaving his former slave Kutb ud dín Aibak, who was now rising into notice, and who afterwards mounted the throne, as his representative in India. Kutb ud dín

<sup>9</sup> "Türks, Afgháns, and the Araks, who were the most valiant of the Türks who were at that time in the world."—*ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> This description is from Ferishta, who gives the number at 120,000 horse. Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 177.

followed up his successes with ability, and took possession of Delhi, and of Cœl, between the Jumna and the Ganges, and of Delhi.

Next year Shaháb ud dîn returned to India, defeated Jei Chandra, the Ráhtór rája of Canouj, in a battle on the Jumna, north of Etáwa, and took Canouj and Benáres. A.D. 1194,  
A.H. 591.

This victory destroyed one of the greatest Indian monarchies, extended the Mussulman dominions into Behár, and opened the way, which was soon followed up, into Bengal. Notwithstanding its importance, the circumstances of the battle, the taking of the towns, the breaking of idols, and the acquisition of treasures, present so little novelty, that we are left at leisure to notice the capture of a white elephant, and the incident of the body of the rája being recognised by his false teeth—a circumstance which throws some light on the state of manners. An event of great consequence followed these victories, which was the retreat of the greater part of the Ráhtór clan from Canouj to Márwár, where they founded a principality, now in alliance with the British Government. Capture of  
Canouj.

Shaháb ud dîn having returned to Ghazní, Kutb ud dîn had to defend the new rája of Ajmír against a pretender; and, after saving his government, he proceeded to Guzerát, and ravaged that rich province.

Next year Shaháb ud dîn came back to India, took Biána, west of Agra, and laid siege to the strong fort of Gwáliór, in Bundélcand. A.D. 1195,  
A.H. 592. It is probable that he was recalled by some attack or alarm in Khorásán, for he left the conduct of the siege of Gwáliór to his generals, and returned, without having performed anything of consequence, to Ghazní.

Gwáliór held out for a long time; and when it was taken, Kutb ud dîn (who was still governor in India) was obliged to march again to Ajmír. The rája set up by the Mussulmans had been a second time disturbed by his rivals, and protected by Kutb ud dîn; and he was now exposed to a formidable attack from the rajas of Guzerát and Nagór, supported by the Mérs, a numerous hill-tribe near Ajmír. Kutb ud dîn was overpowered on this occasion, and had difficulty in making his way, covered with wounds, to Ajmír, where he remained shut up within the walls. Reinforcements, however, were speedily sent from Ghazní; the siege was raised, and, by the time he was sufficiently recovered to move, he was in a condition to retaliate on his late conquerors. He set out for Guzerát, by the way of Pálí, Ná dól, and Siróhí. In the last-named district he found two great



between Balkh and Herát. At Andkhó he made a stand, and only surrendered on condition of being allowed to depart on payment of a sum of money.

The destruction of Shaháb ud dín's army, joined as it was, at first, to a report of his death, was a signal for general <sup>Rebellions</sup> confusion in a great part of his dominions. Ghazní shut <sup>in India.</sup> her gates against him, though the governor, Táj ud dín Eldóz,<sup>20</sup> was one of his favourite slaves. Another of his chiefs went straight from the field of battle to Multán, and presenting himself with a feigned commission from the king, occupied the place on his own behalf. The wild tribe of the Gakkars issued from their mountains in the north of the Panjáb, took Láhór, and filled the whole province with havoc and devastation. Kutb ud dín remained faithful in India, as did Herát and other western countries, where the governments were held by three nephews of the king. Shaháb ud dín collected some adherents, and first recovered Multán. He then received the submission of Ghazní, and pardoned Eldóz. He afterwards made an attack on the Panjáb, in concert with Kutb ud dín, and not only recovered that country, but induced the Gakkars to embrace the Mahometan religion, which was the easier done, as they had a very little notion of any other. Ferishta mentions that the infidels in the hills east of Ghazní were also converted at this period.<sup>21</sup>

Internal tranquillity being restored, Shaháb ud dín set off on his return to his western provinces, where he had ordered <sup>Subdued.</sup> a large army to be collected for another expedition to Khárizm. He had only reached the Indus, when, having ordered <sup>Death of</sup> his tent to be pitched close to the river, that he might <sup>Shaháb</sup> enjoy the freshness of the air off the water, his unguarded situa- <sup>ud dín.</sup> tion was observed by a band of Gakkars, who had lost relations in the late war, and were watching an opportunity of revenge. At midnight, when the rest of the camp was quiet, they swam the river to the spot where the king's tent was pitched, and, entering unopposed, dispatched him with numerous wounds.

This event took place on the 2nd of Shábán, 602 of the Hijra, or March 14th, 1206. His body was conveyed, in mourn- <sup>A.D. 1206,</sup> ful pomp, to Ghazní, accompanied by his vazír and all <sup>A.H. 602.</sup> his principal nobles. It was met by Eldóz, who unbuckled his

<sup>20</sup> [Or more probably Yalduz, as it is spelt on the coins. The printed text of Ferishta has 'Ildagaz.—ED.]

<sup>21</sup> It is not improbable that the people

of the inaccessible regions, now inhabited by the Jájís and Túrís, may not have been converted till this late period.





ments at the time of his death—Kutb ud dín, in India; Eldóz, at Ghazni; and Násir ud dín Kubácha in Multán and Sind. Each of these three became really independent on their master's death; and as the subordinate principality of Bámián was held by a separate branch of his own family, Mahmúd's actual possession was confined to Ghór, with Herát Sístán, and the east of Khorásán. His capital was at Fírúz Cáh.

Mahmúd, on his accession, sent the title of king and the insignia of royalty to Kutb ud dín, to be held under him. He does not appear to have attempted to disturb Eldóz in his possession (although two sons of the prince of Bámián asserted the rights of their family, and for a time expelled Eldóz from Ghazni); but on the death of Mahmúd, which happened within five or six<sup>23</sup> years, there was a general civil war throughout all his dominions west of the Indus, and those countries had not recovered their tranquillity when they were all subdued by the Kings of Khárizm.

Ghazni was taken by those conquerors in A.D. 1215, and Fírúz Cáh at an earlier period. Many accounts, indeed, represent Mahmúd as having been killed on that occasion.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> A.D. 1208, A.H. 605 (De Guignes). A.D. 1210, A.H. 607 (Dorn). A.D. 1212, A.H. 609 (D'Herbelot).

<sup>24</sup> For particulars of Mahmúd's reign, and the subsequent confusions, see De Guignes (*Kharizme*), D'Herbelot (art. *Mahmoud*), and the history of the house of Ghór, in the Annotations on Professor Dorn's *History of the Afghans*.

The Ghóris appear to have recovered from this temporary extinction, for in the beginning of the fourteenth century, less than 100 years after the death of Chengiz Khán, we find Mohammed Sám Ghóri defending Herát against one of the suc-

cessors of that conqueror (D'Ohson, vol. iv. p. 515, &c.); and at a later period, Tamerlane, in his *Memoirs*, mentions Ghiyás ud dín, son of Aáz (or Móizz) ud dín, as ruler of Khorásán, Ghór, and Ghirjistán; and in many places calls him and his father *Ghóris*. (*Malfúzi Ti-múri*, p. 145.) Princes of the same dynasty are mentioned in Price, vol. ii., who calls their family Kirit, or Gueret; and all the names mentioned on those occasions are found in a list of Kurt kings given by Professor Dorn (*Annotations*, p. 92), from Jánabí, who says they are asserted to be of the Súr Alghóri.

## BOOK VI.

KINGS OF DELHI TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF TIMUR.  
A.D. 1206 TO 1526.

## CHAPTER I.

## SLAVE-KINGS.

*Kutb ud din Aibak.*

FROM the death of Shiháb ud din, India became an independent kingdom; and after the disturbance occasioned by the dissolution of his empire had subsided, it ceased to have any connexion with the countries beyond the Indus.

The life of Kutb ud din, the founder of this new monarchy, presents a specimen of the history of the Türkí slaves who rose to sovereignty throughout Asia, and who for a long time furnished a succession of rulers to India.

He was brought to Nishápúr in his infancy, and purchased by a wealthy person, who had him instructed in Persian and Arabic. On his death, Kutb was sold to a merchant, who presented him to Shiháb ud din. He soon acquired his master's favour, and was in command of a body of horse, when, in some border warfare with the Khárizmians, he was taken prisoner on an occasion in which his gallantry had been conspicuous. Being afterwards recaptured, he was received with an increase of favour; and by his subsequent good conduct stood so high in his sovereign's estimation, that, after the defeat of the Rája of Agni, he was left in charge of all the new conquests.

His master's subsequent successes were greatly promoted, as has been shown, by Kutb ud din's ability in his new station; and in process of time the conduct of affairs in Hindostán was almost entirely confided to his discretion. A natural malignity of character inherent in the Türks gave to newly-raised officers of that nation an estimation among the other great men which seldom falls to the lot of the creatures of princes; and Kutb ud din, instead of being an object of jealousy, seems to have been

generally beloved for the frankness and generosity of his disposition.

Besides the friendships formed with the great, he strengthened himself by family connexions with persons circumstanced like himself. He married the daughter of Eldóz ; he gave his sister in marriage to Násir ud dín Kubácha ; and he afterwards bestowed his daughter on Altamish, another rising slave, who afterwards succeeded to his throne.

Násir ud dín from the first acknowledged his superiority, and held Sind of him, under the supremacy of Mahmúd of Ghór ; but Eldóz, with whom ambition had more force than family ties, affected to treat India as if it were still a dependency of Ghazní, set out with an army to enforce his claim, and almost immediately gained possession of Láhór. He was soon after driven out by Kutb ud dín, who followed up his success by the capture of Ghazní. After being some time in possession, he was expelled in his turn by Eldóz, and spent the rest of his life in the government of his own dominions, where he left a permanent reputation as a just and virtuous ruler. He had only been four years on the throne, but his administration had been known for the twenty years that he officiated as the representative of Shaháb ud dín.

A.D. 1205,  
A.H. 603.

A.D. 1210,  
A.H. 607.

#### *A'rá'm.*

A'rá'm, his son, succeeded him. He showed no capacity, and was dethroned within a twelvemonth by his brother-in-law, Altamish.

#### *Shams ud dín Altamish.*

It is related of Altamish, probably after his elevation, that he was of noble family, but was sold, like Joseph, by his envious brothers. Sultán Shaháb ud dín, unwilling to pay the price demanded for him, allowed Kutb ud dín as a favour to purchase him for 50,000 pieces of silver. He passed through different stations, and was governor of Behár at the time of his revolt. He was invited to the throne by a party ; but a numerous body of Túrki chiefs were opposed to him, and he did not gain possession without a battle.

A.D. 1211,  
A.H. 607.

Eldóz, in his assumed superiority, gave him investiture unasked ; but being soon after driven out of Ghazní by the King of Khárizm, he made an attempt to establish himself in India. He penetrated to Tanésar, and had even made a party in Altamish's court, when he was defeated, was taken prisoner, and ended his days in confinement.

A.D. 1215,  
A.H. 612.

Altamish next marched against his wife's uncle, Nâsir ud dâ  
Ch. 127. Kubiâcha, who had asserted his independence in Sindh;  
Ch. 128. but, although he displayed great activity and personal  
 gallantry, he did not succeed in establishing his sovereignty.

At this time it seemed far from improbable that the Khâriz-  
 mians would pursue their conquests into India, and Nâsir ud dâ  
 had already been engaged with bodies of their troops which had  
 approached the Indus.

But all these alarms were suspended by an event which  
 changed the whole face of Asia. Chengiz Khân,  
Ch. 129. originally a petty chief among the Moguls, having  
Ch. 130. subdued the three nations of Tartary, and swelled his  
Ch. 131. bands with their united hordes, burst on the Mahometan king-  
 doms with an army that never was equalled in numbers either  
 before or since.

This irruption of the Moguls was the greatest calamity that  
 has fallen on mankind since the deluge. They had no religion  
 to teach, and no seeds of improvement to sow; nor did they  
 offer an alternative of conversion or tribute: their only object  
 was to slaughter and destroy, and the only trace they left was  
 in the devastation of every country which they visited. The  
 storm first fell on the Sultan of Khârizm, who had drawn it on  
 himself by the murder of Chengiz's ambassadors. His armies  
 were defeated, his cities demolished, his country laid waste, and  
 a great part of his subjects either massacred or reduced to  
 slavery. He himself died of a broken heart, in an unsuccessful  
 retreat on an island in the Caspian, and his son and successor,  
 Jelal ud dâ, was driven into the eastern extremity of his do-  
 minions.

This prince defended his country gallantly to the last. He  
 gained a victory near Candahâr, and another still farther to the  
 east; but these successes did not even retard his ruin. His last  
 battle was on the Indus, where, after displaying the most  
 obstinate valour, and witnessing the total destruction of his  
 army, he swam the river with seven followers amidst  
 a shower of arrows from his enemies, whom he left in  
 admiration of his intrepidity.

In the course of the night and next day he was joined by 150  
 thousands of his soldiers, and before many days were passed  
 his army had assembled 1,000 horses. The Moguls threatening

Ch. 132. *History of the Moguls*, vol. i. p. 101. A confusion regarding the Khân, a chief  
 of the Moguls, is very common in the early part of the work. The whole is  
 corrected in the second edition. See *History of the Moguls*, vol. i. p. 101.  
Ch. 133. *History of the Moguls*, vol. i. p. 101. See *History of the Moguls*, vol. i. p. 101.

to cross the Indus,<sup>3</sup> he fled towards Delhi, and applied to Altamish for assistance, or at least for an asylum. Altamish sent a courteous answer, but was too prudent to draw on himself the resentment of the Moguls; Jelál ud dín, left to his own resources, formed an alliance with the Gakkars, drew together an army by means of plunder, and at length attacked Násir ud dín Kubácha, and forced him to take refuge in Multán. After this he kept no measures with any one: he ravaged the country on the Indus, invaded and conquered Sind, and would, perhaps, have maintained himself in the possession of it, if some hopes in Persia had not induced him to pass into Kirmán.

Returns to  
Persia.  
A.D. 1223,  
A.H. 620.

Finding the Mogul armies withdrawn from Persia, he again established his power in that country, opposed them with vigour in a new invasion, and was killed at last in Mesopotamia,<sup>4</sup> ten years after his passage of the Indus.<sup>5</sup>

During his abode in Sind, Ferishta relates that a Mogul army<sup>6</sup> came in pursuit of him, laid siege to Multán, and, being repelled by Násir ud dín, continued their march to Sind, which Jelál ud dín had quitted. They conducted themselves with their usual barbarity throughout; and finding provisions scarce in their camp before they departed, they put to death 10,000 Indian prisoners, when they would have been equally relieved by setting them free.

After he was delivered from this succession of enemies, Násir ud dín was again invaded by Altamish, who this time was more successful than before. Násir ud dín was constrained to retreat to Bakkar; and on attempting, afterwards, to continue his course to Sind, he was drowned with all his family, in a sudden squall

<sup>3</sup> [India thus just escaped the storm of Moghul barbarism, which laid waste Central and Western Asia. Chengiz Khán's empire was divided at his death, A.H. 624, among his four sons; Júji (or rather his son Bátú, at his father's untimely death) had Kipchák, i.e., the country north of the Aral and Caspian to the Black Sea; Chaghatái Khán had the country to the east of Kipchák, i.e., Independent Tartary north of the Tibet mountains and Hindú Kush; Octái Khán had the original country of the Moghuls, and fixed his seat at Karakorum, and this branch was at first acknowledged as the head of the empire; Túlí Khán took China. In Persia the descendants of Húlákú Khán succeeded in establishing a fifth dynasty. The kingdom of Chaghatái was at last divided into

Moghulistán and Transoxiana; Timúr crushed the rebellious Amirs of the latter dynasty, then in its extreme decline; and after affecting to be only minister to the descendant of Chaghatái, himself seized the throne in A.D. 1370. See Erskine's *Baber and Humayun*, vol. i.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [His army was dissolved and some of his Turkmáns engaged under the Seljúk Sultan of Iconium; and among these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line. Othman seized Nicomedia in 1299. Bajazet was his great-grandson, and his great-grandson was Mohammed II., who took Constantinople. See Gibbon, ch. lxiv.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> D'Herbelot, art. "Gelaeddin."

<sup>6</sup> Ferishta says, under Chaghatái Khán in person, but—probably a detachment.

ca. 1225, on the Indus, and the whole of the territory subject to him submitted to the victor.

The country to the south of Tatta seems to have maintained its independence from the time of Mohammed Cásim to that under discussion. It may perhaps have acknowledged the superiority of some of the intermediate dynasties during the interval, but the internal government was never out of the hands of the Súmera Rájputs.

In the same year with this expedition to Sind, Altamish marched against Bakhtiar Khilji, who looked on Behár and Bengal as his own conquest, and though he professed obedience to Kutub ud din (to whose daughter he was married), openly disclaimed all dependence on his successor. Altamish was successful in this undertaking; he deprived Bakhtiar of Behár (the government of which he conferred on his own son, and obliged him to hold Bengal under the crown of Delhi. Bakhtiar made a subsequent attempt to retrieve his losses, was defeated by the prince who governed Behár, and lost his life in the conflict.

Altamish was now occupied for upwards of six years in reducing the part of Hindostan which had remained independent. He began by taking Rintambôr, which, though so much in the line of former conquests, had been protected by its mountainous situation. He next took Mandû, a town of great extent and natural strength in Málwa; Gwâhâr, which had revolted, was next recovered; Bithûra was likewise taken; and the occupation of the ancient capital Ujain, with the destruction of its celebrated temple, completed the conquest of Málwa.

All Hindostan, except some insulated portions, now acknowledged the government of Delhi; but the obedience of different portions was in different degrees, from entire subjection to very imperfect dependence; and in the state, with various fluctuations, it remained till the end of the Mogul empire. In a succession of strong reigns, the subject country would greatly exceed the rest, and the princes, who retained the nominal government of their territories, would be quite subservient, and obedient in general politics; but two or three weak rulers would again throw all into confusion, new princes would start up, and the old ones would become nearly rebellious, till some monarch had almost to begin the conquest anew.

After these victories Altamish returned to Delhi.

and died in April, 1236, as he was about to set out on a journey to Multán.

A.D. 1236,  
A.H. 633,  
Shaban 20.

During the course of his reign he received investiture from the Calif of Baghdád, the most authoritative recognition of a new government that could take place among Mussulmans.

His vazír was a man of great eminence, and had been long in one of the highest employments under the Calif. The author of the "*Jámi ul Hikáyát*," a very popular collection of historical anecdotes in Persian, resided at his court.

The beautiful column called the Kutb, or Cútab Míнар, near Delhi, was completed in the reign of Altamish. It is in the form of a minaret, with galleries ; the shaft is fluted in a manner peculiar to itself, and ornamented with the richest effect. It is 242 feet high, although injured by an earthquake, and is still, I believe, the highest column in the world. Near it is an unfinished mosque, which for grandeur of design and elegance of execution is equal to anything in India. It is ascribed in an inscription to Shaháb ud dín Ghórí.

#### *Rúkn ud dín.*

At the death of Altamish the contest with the Hindús was at an end ; and the period which followed was occupied by a succession of plots, mutinies, and revolutions, equally destitute of present interest and permanent effects.

Rúkn ud dín, who succeeded his father, lavished his treasures on dancing-women, buffoons, and musicians, and left the government to his mother ; and her tyranny and cruelty soon drove all ranks into rebellion. He was deposed after a reign of seven months, and his sister Rezía was raised to the throne in his place.

#### *Sultána Rezía.*

"Rezía Bégum," says Ferishta, "was endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinize her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman."<sup>7</sup> If not distinguished for literature, she read the Koran correctly ; and such was her talent for business, that Altamish, when absent on his southern campaigns, left her in charge of his government in preference to his sons. Her conduct on the throne did not disappoint the expectations entertained of her. Of the two separate factions which had concurred in dethroning her brother, one was opposed to the elevation of the sultána. The vazír of

A.D. 1236,  
A.H. 634,  
Her virtues.

<sup>7</sup> Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 217.



the two last kings was at the head of the latter faction, and they were strong enough to appear before Delhi, and to defeat an army that was coming to its relief. But the queen's arts were more effectual than her arms. She succeeded so well in sowing dissensions among her enemies, that the whole confederacy dissolved, and left the individuals composing it at her mercy. Some were put to death, and others conciliated; and in a short time quiet was perfectly restored.

The internal administration of Rezā did not fall short of her political address. She appeared daily on her throne in the usual habit of a sultan,<sup>1</sup> gave audience to all comers, reformed the abuses which had crept in under the last government, revised the laws, decided suits of importance, and evinced all the qualifications of a just and able sovereign. But her talents and virtues were insufficient to protect her from the effects of a single weakness. It was shown in the extraordinary marks of favour which she showered on her Master of the Horse: who, to make her partiality more degrading, was an Abyssinian slave. It does not appear that her fondness was criminal, since the greatest breach of decorum alleged against her is her allowing the Abyssinian to lift her on her horse. It was, however, imprudent in the highest degree; for, by raising her favourite to the office of Amīr al Omārā,<sup>2</sup> which gave him rank over all other courtiers, she at once disgusted her nobility, and furnished them with a plausible ground for exciting a clamour against her.

The first who openly rebelled was a Türki chief called Altūnā. <sup>rebellion.</sup> The queen immediately marched against his fort of Batūda; but her army mutinied, her favourite was killed in a tumult, and she herself, being made prisoner, was consigned to Altūnā, as the safest hands in which she could be placed; while her brother Behrām was raised to the vacant throne.

Rezā, when force failed her, had again recourse to art: and she so far gained over Altūnā, by the influence of love or of ambition, that he agreed to marry her, and to assert her rights against his former confederates. Aided by her new consort, the <sup>defeated</sup> queen assembled an army, and advanced to Delhi: <sup>successful</sup> and it was not till after two bloody battles that she was made prisoner along with her husband, and both were put to death. Her reign lasted for three years and six months.

<sup>1</sup> She discarded her female apparel and veil, wore armour, and cap like a man, gave public audience, and rode on an elephant without any attempt at concealment.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Ellis's *History*, vol. i. p. 281. F.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, "the commander of commanders," that is, General-in-Chief.

*Möizz ud dīn Behrām.*

The new king endeavoured, by treachery and assassination, to rid himself of the nobles who, for their own purposes, had raised him to the throne. Before he had attained his end, his dominions were invaded by a body of Moguls, who penetrated to Lāhór; and the assemblage of troops which followed led to new plots and seditions, which ended in his imprisonment and death, after he had reigned two years and two months.

A.D. 1230,  
A.H. 637.

Mogul irrup-  
tion into the  
Panjáb.

*Alá ud dīn Mas'ūd.*

The reign of the next sultan, a son of Rukn ud dīn, was a repetition of the same scenes, increased by the cruelty and licentiousness of the king, until, at the end of little more than two years, he was deposed and put to death.

A.D. 1241,  
A.H. 639.

The only remarkable events of his reign were two irruptions of the Moguls: the first through Tibet into Bengal,<sup>10</sup> the only one recorded from that quarter during the period of authentic history; and the other by a division of the army of Mangú Khán into the north-western part of the kingdom. The first of these invasions was defeated by the local officers: the second advanced no farther than Uch, on the joint rivers of the Panjáb to the south of Multán.

Mogul  
irruptions.

A.D. 1244,  
A.H. 642.

*Násir ud dīn Mahmūd.*

The twenty years' reign of Násir ud dīn was full of disturbances, foreign and domestic, though none sufficient to overturn the government. He was the grandson<sup>11</sup> of Altamish, had been imprisoned immediately after that prince's death, and, though he had been for some time released and intrusted with a government, he retained the retired and studious habits of his youth. He reposed with entire confidence on the conduct of his vazír, whose name was Ghiyás ud dīn Balban. This minister was a Túrki slave of Altamish, and had been honoured by that monarch with the hand of one of his daughters, the aunt of the reigning king.

A.D. 1246,  
A.H. 644.

Ghiyás ud  
dīn Balban  
vazír.

The great danger was now from the Moguls, who were in possession of all the countries west of the Indus. To guard against it, Balban formed the frontier provinces into one great

<sup>10</sup> [For the history of this error, which appears to have arisen from the mis-transcription of the original text of the *Tabakát-i Násari*, see Thomas, *Chronicle*

of *Pathán Kings*, p. 121, Chengiz Khán has been substituted for Jáj Nagar.—ED.]

<sup>11</sup> [His father had died, while governor of Bchár and Bengal.—ED.]



Satnúr, and the king's governor of Sind. This rebellion was not entirely quelled till the end of the second year.

During the same time another Mogul attack on the Panjáb was repelled, and an expedition was afterwards undertaken A.D. 1258,  
A.H. 656. against the revolted governor of Karrah Mánikpúr. A more difficult task was to put down the inhabitants of Mėwát. The vazír went against them, and it was not without great exertion and some danger that he vanquished them in battle, and ultimately reduced their country. Ten thousand of the insurgents are said to have been slain. The fierce and turbulent mountaineers of Mėwát, though their frontier was A.D. 1260,  
A.H. 657. within twenty-five miles of Delhi, were never entirely quieted until the establishment of the British government.

The last event of the reign was the arrival of an ambassador from Húlákú Khán,<sup>13</sup> grandson of Chengíz Khán, and himself a very powerful monarch. Every exertion was made to give him an honourable reception, and the splendour of the court is described as worthy of the best days of the monarchy. A.D. 1266,  
A.H. 664. No other occurrence is recorded until the death of the king, in February 1266.

Násir ud dín's private life was that of a dervise. He defrayed all his personal expenses by copying books: his fare was of the humblest description, and was cooked by the queen, to whom he allowed no female servant; he had only one wife, and no concubines. He was an eminent patron of Persian literature. The "*Tabakáti Násirí*," a general history of Persia and India, which still retains the highest celebrity, was written at his court, and takes its name from him.

An instance is told of his temper and courtesy. On showing one of the books he had transcribed to a nobleman of his court, the nobleman pointed out several mistakes, which the king immediately corrected. When the nobleman was gone, he was observed to erase the corrections and restore the old reading; and when asked his reason, he said he knew that the copy was right all the time, but thought it better to make the corrections than to hurt the feelings of a well-intentioned adviser.

#### *Ghiyás ud dín Balban.*<sup>14</sup>

Balban, being already in possession of all the powers of king, found no difficulty in assuming the title. A.D. 1266  
A.H. 664.

<sup>13</sup> [He was the son of Túli Khán, and brother of Mangú Khán. He sacked Baghdád in A.D. 1258. and abolished the

Khalifate, putting the last Khalif to death.—Ed.]

<sup>14</sup> Often called Balín by English writers.

He had been brought up from infancy at the court of Altamish, and had taken an active part in all the intrigues and revolutions of the succeeding reigns. During the life of Altamish, he had entered into a covenant for mutual support with forty of the king's other slaves, most of whom had attained to high stations. Having gained his own object, he desired to put an end to a system which would have endangered the succession of his family. He therefore, on various pretexts, made away with his surviving confederates (some of them his own near connexions by marriage), and he henceforth made it an invariable rule to confer no office but on men of family. <sup>Ballan put down the influence of the slaves</sup> So ostentatiously did he exercise his new policy, that he affected a repugnance even to ordinary intercourse with people of low origin. He also made it a rule to exclude Hindus from all offices of trust. All his other acts partook of the same contracted spirit. He established laws for the preservation of game round his capital; and having exceeded in wine in his early life, he severely punished even the moderate use of it after he had reformed. In cases of rebellion, not satisfied with chastising the leaders, as had been usual, he extended capital punishment to the meanest of their vassals and retainers. Stories are told of his inflexible justice; but they consist in publicly whipping governors of provinces, and sometimes having them beaten to death in his presence.

This narrow-minded and selfish tyrant was raised, by circumstances, to the appearance of a liberal and enlightened monarch. The horrors of the Mogul invasion drove men of emigration from the countries to which it extended; and Ballan's being the only Mahometan government that was not subverted, his court was filled with illustrious exiles of that religion. He used to boast that no less than fifteen sovereign princes had been dependent on his hospitality; he gave the names of their territories to the streets which they inhabited, and his capital long preserved those memorials of Rüm, Ghör, Kärizm, Bagdad, and other kingdoms.

The number of literary fugitives was naturally still more considerable; and as the king's eldest son, Prince Mohammed, was a young man of the greatest accomplishments, his palace was the resort of all the famous authors of that age. The chief, among many names well known in Persian literature, was the poet Amir Kärsem, of the possession of whose society the prince was congratulated by Sadük, who sent him a copy of his works.

(The celebrated report, perhaps the last that Persia ever produced.

and regretted that his extreme old age prevented his accepting an invitation to Delhi. Balban himself had a turn for pomp and magnificence, so that his court was surrounded by an external splendour which blinded strangers to its real character.

He was disturbed by Hindú insurrections on the banks of the Jumna and Ganges, as well as in the mountains of Júd and Méwát. They were created by banditti for the sake of plunder: and here his exterminating system, backed by the erection of garrisons and other prudent precautions, seems to have operated effectually. In Méwat he is said to have put 100,000 persons to the sword, but he also cut down the forest over a great extent of country; and from that time it afforded support to the husbandman, instead of an asylum to the robber.

His only serious rebellion was in Bengal. The governor, Tughral, having made a successful expedition against Jájnagar beyond the river Megna,<sup>16</sup> he refused to send any portion of the booty to Delhi, and soon after assumed the title of king. He totally defeated the first army sent against him, on which the king hanged the unsuccessful general. Another army having been routed in spite of this severity, he at length moved in person to put down the rebellion. He acted on this occasion with the vigour and ability in which he never was deficient: he set out without waiting till the end of the periodical rains, marched straight to Súnárgong<sup>17</sup> (or Sundergong), then capital of the eastern district of Bengal, and struck such terror into the rebel, that he evacuated the open country, and withdrew, with a strong body of troops, into the forests. His retreat was discovered by one of the king's chiefs, who came unexpectedly on the camp, and, though at the head of only forty men, took the desperate resolution of entering it in open day. His small troop advanced without attracting observation till they reached Tughral's tent, when they rushed on with loud shouts. Tughral and those around him fled with precipitation, imagining the whole of the royal army was upon them: the panic spread to the troops—the whole dispersed in confusion; and Tughral himself was overtaken and slain as he was endeavouring to swim his horse over a river, on his flight towards Jájnagar.

<sup>16</sup> Now Tipperah. (Hamilton's *Hindustan*, vol. i. p. 178.) Jájnagar has been taken for Jájpúr in Cattack, which never was the head place of a district. (See Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

p. 274.)

<sup>17</sup> It has since been swept away by the Ganges. (Buchanan, quoted by Hamilton, *Hindustan*, vol. i. p. 187.)

The king punished this rebellion with more than his usual severity, and was only prevented going on with his executions, after he had returned to his capital, by the intercession of the Cāzis, Muftis, and other learned and venerable men.

Not long after this he had the misfortune to lose his eldest son, a calamity to his people no less than to himself. The prince's death was worthy of the high character he had acquired. An army of Moguls belonging to Arghūn Khān,<sup>1</sup> then king of Persia, had invaded the Panjāb; and Prince Mohammed, who was governor of the province, hastened thither from the capital, where he had gone to meet his father. He defeated the invaders, and had recovered all the country they had overrun, when a fresh army arrived of chosen troops under a celebrated general named Timūr Khān. A sanguinary conflict <sup>very soon</sup> took place, and the prince gained a complete victory; <sup>but he</sup> <sup>was</sup> killed by a body of the enemy, who had <sup>been</sup> kept together during the pursuit. And Khusrū, the poet, his constant companion, was taken prisoner on the same occasion.<sup>2</sup>

This loss drew tears from the meanest soldier in the army, and touched the heart even of Ballban. That monarch had now reached his eightieth year, and was fast sinking under the affliction that had fallen on him, when he summoned his second son, Bakarra Khān,<sup>3</sup> to attend him on his deathbed. His son, finding him in less immediate danger than he expected, returned without leave to his province of Bengal; and Ballban was so much offended that he sent for Kei Khusrū, the son of Prince Mohammed, and immediately declared him his heir. Soon after this act the king died. The ministers, desirous of <sup>preventing</sup> <sup>averting</sup> a civil war, proclaimed Kei Kolsēl, the son of Bakarra Khān, and restored Khusrū to his father's government of Multān.

Both the losing claimants appeared to acquiesce in this arrangement, and Kei Kolsēl mounted the throne without opposition.

#### *Muz ed din Kei Kolsēl.*

The new king, who was in his eighteenth year at his accession, was, into war, without restraint, to the pleasures of the chase, and to his age. He was encouraged in his vices by

<sup>1</sup> The name of Timur Khān is celebrated only in the prince's death. See the history of *Prin. Arghūn*. Ed.

<sup>2</sup> He was kept a prisoner in Bekh. <sup>3</sup> Muz ed din Bakarra Khān he was called *Saoud ed din*. Ed.

his vazír, Nizám ud dín, who entertained hopes of securing the crown for himself. As Kei Khusrau stood immediately <sup>Intrigues and power</sup> in the way of his design, he took advantage of some of the vazír. imprudence on his part to render him an object of jealousy to the king; and being thus secure of impunity, he procured his assassination. By similar arts he brought about the death or disgrace of all the ministers who were not his own creatures; and as his wife's ascendancy was as great in the harem as his was in the court, he held the king entirely cut off from all knowledge but what he thought proper to impart.

Many Mogul adventurers had, at this time taken service at Delhi: it was an object to Nizám ud dín to alienate <sup>Massacre of Mogul mercenaries.</sup> these useful auxiliaries from the king; and he worked on that prince's fears by pretending a correspondence between them and their hostile countrymen, until he induced him to invite their chiefs to a banquet, and put them treacherously to death.

Before his schemes were matured, he was interrupted by the approach of the king's father, Bakarra Khán, who, hear- <sup>King's interview with</sup> ing of the state of affairs, marched with an army to look his father. after the interests of his family. The vazír easily prevailed on the king to move out to oppose him; but when the armies drew near, Bakarra Khán appealed so strongly to his son's affections that the minister could no longer prevent an interview. He endeavoured to frustrate the effects of it by imposing many humiliating ceremonies on Bakarra Khán, to all which that prince submitted; until, after repeated obeisances, he found the king remaining unmoved on his throne, when, shocked by this unnatural behaviour, he burst into tears. This sight overpowered all the king's resolutions: he leaped from his throne, and ran to throw himself at his father's feet; and, the father hastening to prevent him, he fell on his neck, and they remained for some minutes weeping in each other's arms, while the whole court was almost as much affected as themselves. When the first transport was over, Kei Kobád seated his father on the throne, and showed him every mark of love and reverence.<sup>21</sup> All thoughts of war were now at an end; but, after repeated interviews, Bakarra Khán found that the vazír's vigilance, and his power over the enfeebled mind of the king, rendered it impossible to subvert his authority by peaceful means; and being unwilling, or unable,

<sup>21</sup> [Amír Khusrau has taken this history as the subject of his poem, the *Kirán us Sa'dain*, in 4,000 couplets. For an

analysis of it see *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* 1860.—ED.]



to resort to force, he returned to Bengal, and left his son to his fate.

Kei Kôûd plunged anew into all sorts of debauchery, and to such excess that, at that early age, he entirely broke his constitution, and brought on an attack of palsy. Being now driven on reflection, he perceived all the dangers of his situation; and, unable to rid himself of his minister by honourable means, <sup>Master of the game</sup> he had recourse to the lessons with which he had been made familiar, and succeeded, before long, in taking him off by poison.

The removal of this predominating influence served only to let loose a number of other enemies, all eager to seize on the power which the king was unable himself to retain.

The ascendancy of the slaves about the court had been destroyed by the policy of Balban, and the contest was now between the principal military leaders; and as the native Indians were not yet of sufficient importance to form a party, the only competitors were the Tartar chiefs and those of the old kingdom of Ghazni or Ghôr. The Khiljis seem, from the ability of their chief, or some advantage of their own, to have been at the head of the latter class: <sup>The king is</sup> they prevailed over the Tartars, and Jelâl ud din Khilji <sup>the first</sup> was raised to the throne, after the way had been opened <sup>to death</sup> for him by the assassination of Kei Kôûd.<sup>a</sup>

## HOUSE OF KHILJÎ.

### CHAPTER II.

#### *Jelâl ud din Khiljî.*

JELÂL UD DÎN was seventy years of age when he came <sup>in 1200</sup> to the government. <sup>in 607</sup>

For Balban's competitors of the Khiljîs <sup>the</sup> *Muzais* \* but it is impossible to ascertain the ascendancy of that tribe, or even their early disappearance of the Turks at an early period. The pre-

\* The origin of the name of the Turks is generally traced to *Muzais*. Zia ud din Barani has expressly said that it was a contest between the Turk and the Turk, and that the latter were headed by the Khiljîs. Hence that, from the day of the death of Kei Kôûd, the Khiljîs possessed the throne of the Turks. (Erst

tender set up by the Tartars was, however, the son of Kei Kôûd, a natural object of choice to them for his Turk descent, but of aversion to the *Muzais* for his father's massacre of their chiefs.

The succession of kings of Delhi who commenced with Kutub ud din is by some considered as a continuation of the line of Ghôr, but most oriental writers incline to those princes, along with Ekkim and others, to form a dynasty to which they give the name of The Slaves of the Sultans of Ghôr.

For the origin of the Khiljîs, see

He affected extreme regret at having his high office forced on him, and professed the utmost respect and attachment for the memory of Ghiyás ud dín. He overacted humility so far as to refuse to enter the royal palace on horseback, and to stand at his usual station in the court instead of occupying the throne. But he kept the infant son<sup>2</sup> of the late king in custody, and put him to death as soon as he felt strong enough for such a measure.

If this last atrocity be imputed to him on false grounds, which is not improbable, we should be inclined to acquit him of hypocrisy in all his former professions; for, during the rest of his reign, his lenity to his enemies, both open and secret, was carried even to a fault; and he continued to retain the simplicity of his manners, and to associate with his old friends, on the same footing of familiarity that he did when a private man. He had frequent parties of those friends, together with men eminent for wit or literature; and, on those occasions, he carried conviviality beyond the limits of the Mahometan law, though never beyond those of sobriety.

He had soon occasion to display his clemency. Malik Jahjú, a nephew of Ghiyás ud dín, rebelled against him in his government of Karrah, and was joined by all the adherents of the house of Balban. They were soon strong enough to march to Delhi, but were defeated by the king's second son, Arkallí Khán; and all the chiefs, including Malik Jahjú, were made prisoners.

The king immediately released them all, and sent Malik Jahjú to Multán, where he allowed him a liberal establishment for the rest of his days. He soon after showed equal magnanimity towards a body of chiefs of his own tribe, who were detected in a plot against his life. Unfortunately, he did not confine his lenity to personal injuries, but allowed so general an impunity to offenders, that the whole frame of the government became relaxed; governors withheld their tribute, neglected their duty, and abused their power; the roads and highways were infested by robbers, and bands of plunderers and insurgents interrupted the communication between different parts of the kingdom.

He marched, himself, into Málwa, to quell an insurrection of a more general character. He was successful in the main; yet from

Book v. ch. ii., note near the end of the chapter. Though Türks by descent, they had been so long settled among the Afgháns that they had almost become identified with that people: but they probably mixed more with other nations, or at

least with their Túrki brethren, and would be more civilized than the generality of Afghán mountaineers.

<sup>2</sup> [The other party had tried to raise him to the throne under the name of Shams ud dín.—ED.]

his aversion to shed blood, combined with the feebleness of age, he hesitated to attack the principal fortresses of the rebels, and left his suppression of the revolt incomplete. He showed more vigour soon after, on an invasion of the Punjab, with a numerous host of Moguls, whom he engaged in person, and totally defeated. With characteristic moderation, he granted peace to the vanquished enemy, and allowed the wreck of their army to retire unmolested. Three thousand Moguls on this occasion joined his standard, and soon after embraced the Mahometan religion. A place in the suburbs of Delhi, still called *Moghulpūr*, was assigned for their residence.

In the next year he made another march to Málwa, which was as inconclusive as the first. His own weakness, however, began at this time to be made up for by the energy of his nephew, Alá ul din, governor of Karnát, a man of vigour and ability, quite exempt from all the scruples which sometimes obstructed his uncle's success. Having obtained permission to act against the insurgents of Bundelcund and the east of Málwa, he not only restrained their turbulence, but took several forts, which had before been left to dependent princes, and gained such a booty as enabled him to make considerable additions to his army. The king received the intelligence of his success with great satisfaction; and although his favourite wife endeavoured to put him on his guard against the ambition of Alá ul din, he gave up the government of Oudh, in addition to that which he before possessed, and allowed him to assemble an army, and to entertain many of the old adherents of the Ballab family.

Alá ul din's first employment of his troops justified his uncle's confidence, and opened a new era in the history of India. He resolved to attempt the hitherto untrodden adventure of an invasion of the Deccan; and setting out with 50,000 chosen horse from Karnát, made his way through the extensive forests that still fill the space between that place and Berar; threw the petty princes whose country he was approaching off their guard, by pretending to have left his march in disgust; and, having thus reached Ellichpūr, he turned to the west, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Dclgirn, the main object of his expedition. Dclgirn, now Dclatadad, was the capital of Rámdel, a prince of so great power that the Mahometans looked on him as King of the Deccan, and who, in fact, was Ray of Maráttas, that is, the country of the Maráttas.

It was probably owing to the natural rebellion of the Ráppats

and their deeming it dishonourable to attack each other without warning, that the Mussulman invaders so often found them unprepared for defence. Their example seems to have infected the other Hindú chiefs, for, on this occasion, the rája was in all the security of profound peace. He had no troops about him, and his wife and son had gone out of the city to a neighbouring temple. In the consternation which ensued, Rámdeo preserved presence of mind sufficient to assemble a body of 3,000 or 4,000 citizens and domestics. With these he made head against the enemy, and afforded some little time for defensive arrangements. He was obliged to give way before long, and retired into the strong hill-fort close to the city, into which some provisions had hastily been thrown. The town was taken without resistance, and was given up to pillage. The merchants were tortured to make them disclose their treasures (the first instance mentioned in Mussulman history of this species of barbarity); and forty elephants, with some thousand horses of the rája, fell into the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile the fort was invested; and Alá ud dín having given out that his army was only the advanced guard of the king's, the arrival of which would speedily render all opposition unavailing, the rája became impatient to come to terms, and had actually concluded a treaty very favourable to the invaders, when his son, who had escaped being shut up with his father, returned at the head of an army, suddenly assembled, but far exceeding that of the Mussulmans in numbers. Trusting to this superiority, he disregarded the remonstrances of his father, and attacked Alá ud dín. The result would have gone hard with the invader, if a small body of troops which he had left to observe the garrison had not opportunely fallen on the enemy, and, being taken for the expected main army under the king, created a confusion which could not be retrieved. After this victory Alá ud dín raised his demands; and as the rája expected reinforcements from his allies, the affair might have been prolonged more than was safe for Alá ud dín, had not the garrison unexpectedly discovered that, in the hurry of victualling the fort, sacks of salt had been taken by mistake instead of sacks of grain, and consequently that their provisions were already nearly exhausted. This discovery made the rája more compliant: he agreed to an immense payment in money and jewels, besides the cession of E'lichpúr and its dependencies; after which Alá ud dín drew off through Khándesh into Málwa.

Alá ud dín's march to Deógiri was about 700 miles, great part of it through the mountains and forests of the Vindhya range,

which so completely separates Hindostan from the Deccan. The narrow and intricate paths, the want of supplies, and the danger of exposure to the arrows of the mountaineers, made the passage difficult for a small force, and impossible for a large one : while the entry into so great and populous a country as the Deccan, with no more than 8,000 men, seemed an act of rashness rather than of courage.

To have surmounted these dangers, and obviated, by exploring a new route, the increased difficulty of returning by the same, gave a high impression of the military talents of Alâ ud din. The pretext he used on his advance, that he was on his way to enter the service of the Hindûrâja of Râjammudi, shows how much religious distinctions were weakened since the settlement of the Mahometans in India.

This expedition had been undertaken without leave ; and as no communication had been cut off while it continued, <sup>Barakhan</sup> Delâl ud din remained in suspense and anxiety, both as to the fate and the designs of his nephew ; and when he heard that he was on his return loaded with treasures and covered with glory, he felt nothing but delight at the intelligence. The more sagacious of his advisers took a different view of the matter ; and, seeing fresh proofs of the daring spirit of Alâ ud din, as well as of the resources at his disposal, they advised the king to adopt such measures of precaution as, without showing distrust, should prevent his assembling another army when the present should have dispersed to lay up their spoils. The generous temper of the king led him to disregard all these admonitions, and laid him open to the insidious designs of Alâ ud din, who now affected alarm from the enbals of his enemies, and fear of the king's displeasure for his unauthorized expedition. He sent his brother, Alaf Khân,<sup>2</sup> as crafty an intriguer as himself, and remarkable for his insinuating address, to deprecate his uncle's resentment, and induce him to meet Alâ ud din in such a manner as, under pretence of affording security to his nephew, should, in fact, leave none to himself. By degrees, he was persuaded to move with his army towards Karruh, then to advance with a small escort, and at last to cross the Ganges almost alone. Alâ ud din told him of this, and the affectionate old man was putting him on the check, and reproaching him with having distrusted a uncle who had brought him up from his infancy, and loved him better than his own sons, when Alâ ud din made a signal to his assassins posted for the purpose, who rushed forward and stabbed the king to the heart. His head was stuck

<sup>2</sup> *Zabih ud din Barakhan* (Alaf Khân). [Ed.]

on a spear, and carried aloft through the camp and the city. Ferishta shows a natural pleasure in relating the calamities which pursued the subordinate actors in this horrid tragedy to their graves; but that retribution affords little satisfaction while we continue to witness the uninterrupted prosperity of the parricide in whom the whole of this detestable act of perfidy had its rise.

A.D. 1295,  
July 19;  
A.H. 695,  
Ramazan 17.

As Jelál ud dín had reigned upwards of seven years, he must have been more than seventy-seven when he was killed.

A singular incident occurred in this reign, which shows the credulity of the Asiatics even at a period not remarkable for superstition. A dervise named Sídí Moula, a native of Persia, who had travelled through many countries, and was acquainted with most men of eminence in his day, arrived at Delhi, and instituted a school and an almshouse, where travellers, religious mendicants and persons of all descriptions were entertained at his expense. He lived on rice alone, and had neither wife nor slaves of either sex, yet his expenses were such as would have exceeded the means of the wealthiest nobleman. Besides his profuse dispensation of charity, he entertained the great men with splendour at his house, and did not hesitate to bestow sums of two or three thousand pieces of gold to relieve noble families in distress. Although he held some peculiar opinions, and among others never attended public worship, yet his piety remained unquestioned; and even among the suspicions to which his conduct gave birth, the cry of heresy was never raised against him. The first surmise regarding him was that he possessed the philosopher's stone; the next took a more dangerous form, and represented him as aiming at the crown;<sup>4</sup> and this at last appeared in the definite shape of an accusation that he had prepared assassins to make away with the king, and had 10,000 of his votaries ready to profit by the confusion. The mysterious nature of the danger seems to have frightened the king out of his natural moderation. On the accusation of an alleged accomplice he apprehended Sídí Moula and his most considerable associates; and, being unable to convict them on the evidence of one suspected witness, he ordered a large fire to be made on a plain before the town, to allow them to prove their innocence by an ordeal which they probably had appealed to. When the time came, the ministers raised their voices against the

Singular instance of credulity and injustice.

<sup>4</sup> [Ziá ud dín Barní says that he was joined by many of the old nobles, who had been supplanted in the court by the Khiljí party.—Ed.]

proceeding, as equally opposed to Mahometan law and to natural reason; and the king, giving way to their remonstrances, ordered the accused persons to be kept in confinement. As they were leading them away to prison, some kalandars (a sort of religious mendicants), countenanced if not instigated by the king, fell on Sidi Moula, and put him to death in the royal presence. With his last breath he protested his innocence, and denounced the curse that impended over his oppressor. Jelâl ud din was greatly troubled at the moment; a dark whirlwind which happened just then to arise increased the general horror; and the death of the king's eldest son, which took place soon after, together with a failure of the rains and a famine which followed, as well as the awful termination of the monarch's own life, and the exclusion of his immediate family from the throne, were ascribed to the Divine vengeance for this act of impiety and injustice.

#### *Alâ ud din.*

When the accounts of the late king's death reached Delhi, <sup>A.D. 1265</sup> his widow made a feeble attempt to set up her own <sup>A.D. 1266</sup> son, an infant, in his place: on the approach of Alâ ud din she fled to Multân, where the only other surviving son of Jelâl ud din was governor; but the whole family were inveigled from this asylum by means of a fallacious promise, when the two princes were put to death and the queen imprisoned.

Alâ ud din studiously endeavoured to recover the goodwill of his people, by his just exercise of the power he had obtained by so many atrocities. He was liberal in bestowing wealth and honours, and was profuse in gifts as well as in shows and magnificence; but as in the midst of his course of conciliation he could not refrain from acts of rapacity, and never repressed his arbitrary temper, he was only partially successful in his attempts to gain popularity: and although his reign was long and glorious, he was always disturbed by conspiracies and rebellions, and disquieted by suspicions even of his own family and of those most trusted by him.

His next great undertaking was an expedition to Guzerât, <sup>A.D. 1272</sup> where Shihâb ud din's garrison had long been withdrawn, and the rāja had recovered his independence. The present <sup>A.D. 1273</sup> object was finish. Alâf Khân, the king's brother, and as viceroy, Nusrat Khân, who were at the head of the army, almost immediately took possession of the province: the rāja flying to Baghar, the nearest part of the Deccan.

A harsh attempt to compel the troops to give up their plunder, while on their return towards Delhi, brought on a dangerous mutiny, in which the vazir's brother and the king's nephew lost their lives. It was at last quelled, and many of the mutineers were killed; the survivors took refuge with the rája of Rintambór. Their families, including the women and children, were massacred by the king's order. The fugitives themselves, who appear to have been Mogul converts (always the chief actors in scenes of turbulence in those days), were put to death when Rintambór was taken.<sup>5</sup>

During the preceding year an incursion of the Moguls into the Panjáb had been repulsed with loss, and another, equally unsuccessful, took place about this time. It was followed <sup>Mogul incursions.</sup> up by a more serious invasion, apparently designed for conquest as well as plunder.<sup>6</sup> The commander was Kutlugh Khán, whom Ferishta describes as the son of Dáúd Khán, king of Transoxiana. He marched straight to Delhi, the Indian army which had <sup>Serious invasion by the Moguls.</sup> been sent to oppose him retreating as he advanced, and the whole population of the surrounding country flying to the capital.

So great was the crowd of fugitives that all communication through the streets was interrupted; the provisions were almost immediately consumed, and in a few days famine was added to the miseries and terrors of the inhabitants.

Alá ud dín was forced in these circumstances to give up his intention of declining an action. He moved out at the head of

<sup>5</sup> The Emperor Báber, who, though a Türk, was himself descended by the mother's side from Mogul ancestors, gives the following account of the Moguls in his service:—"The horde of Moguls have uniformly been the authors of every kind of mischief and devastation: down to the present time they have five times rebelled against me." (Erskine's *Báber*, p. 69.)

<sup>6</sup> At least eleven of these invasions are mentioned by Ferishta, not one of which is noticed by De Guignes. D'Herbelot, or Price, in their accounts of the Mogul transactions; and although there is a long list in D'Obson (vol. iv. p. 559), yet they are all given on the authority of Ferishta.

It is not improbable that the cruel ravages by which they were marked may have led the Indian historians to overrate the importance of the ordinary incursions; but in some instances, especially in the present one, the silence of the European writers may perhaps be ascribed to the imperfect information they possessed respecting Mogul affairs in the east of Persia and in Transoxiana.

The commander of the last expedition is called Chóldi Khán by Ferishta; and Touldai Khán, was one of the officers of Ghásán Khán, then king of Persia. (Price, vol. ii. p. 605.) The most conspicuous general of the same monarch was Kutlugh Sháh, who was at Herát in this year, A.D. 1297 (Price, vol. ii. p. 616, and De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 270), and might possibly have led an expedition to India, though circumstances make it improbable. Opposed to this coincidence of names, which would lead us to suppose these invasions to have been made by the Moguls of Persia, is the positive assertion of Ferishta, that they and all the subsequent inroads originated in Dáúd Khán [Dawá Khán], king of Transoxiana, who, by his account, was the father of Kutlugh Khán. Dáúd Khán is evidently the Doizi or Davat Khán mentioned by De Guignes (vol. iii. p. 311, and note) as king of Transoxiana; and Kutlugh is so common a Mogul name, that two persons may very probably have borne it at the same time. There does not, therefore, seem to be any ground for doubting Ferishta's account.



all the troops he could collect ; and Ferishta alleges that the number of men assembled on both sides exceeded all that ever appeared in one place in India up to the time when he wrote.

This most important contest was gained by Alá ul din, <sup>the defeat at Delhi.</sup> almost entirely from the skill displayed by Zafar Khán; who was before the most distinguished of his generals. But the great services of that gallant chief had already rendered him an object of jealousy to Alá ul din, and no less to Alaf Khán, who purposely left him unsupported during the pursuit ; and the Moguls, perceiving his reduced numbers, turned upon him, and cut him to pieces with his detachment, after a resistance worthy of his former exploits.

About a year after this deliverance, Alá ul din despatched an <sup>in 1209, A.D. 1209.</sup> army, under his brother and the vazir, to reduce the hill-fort of Rintambôr.<sup>2</sup> They took a place called Jhávin, not far from Rintambôr, and proceeded to lay siege to that fortress. In the commencement of the operations the vazir was killed by a stone from an engine, and the garrison, making a sally, compelled the besiegers to fall back on Jhávin, and wait for reinforcements from Delhi. Alá ul din, on this, <sup>design of the king's nephew.</sup> determined to prosecute the siege in person, and had made some progress on his march, when he had nearly fallen a victim to a crime of which he had himself set the example. His nephew, Prince Solemân, who held one of the highest offices in the state, reflecting on the resemblance between his own situation and that from which the present king had risen to the throne, was led to think that a similar attempt on his part might be attended with equal success. A favourable opportunity soon presented itself, when the king <sup>he attempts to assassinate the king.</sup> was hunting at a distance from the camp, and was left with only two or three attendants, in consequence of the occupations of the chase. At this moment, Solemân approached him with some of the newly-converted Moguls; and, before he had any suspicion of their purpose, they discharged their arrows at him, with such effect that he fell senseless on the ground. Solemân, conceiving that his object was accomplished, galloped directly to the camp, announced the king's death, and his own accession, and directed himself to be formally proclaimed. While he was seated on his throne, and receiving the homage of the great officers, Alá ul din came gradually to himself; and, after his wounds were bound up,

<sup>2</sup> It does not appear when this place was taken by the king. It is supposed to have been taken by him in the year 1210.

determined to proceed to join his brother at Jháyin. He was dissuaded from this by one of his officers, who advised him not to give his nephew time to establish his authority, but to show himself to the army, whose fidelity he had no reason to distrust. Alá ud dín saw the wisdom of his advice, and mounting his horse, wounded as he was, he proceeded towards the camp. He met some foraging-parties on his way, by which his retinue was increased to about 500 horse. With this escort he presented himself on an eminence, in full view of the camp, and displayed the white umbrella, which was then the sign of sovereignty. He was no sooner perceived than the whole army flocked to join him; and the usurper, finding himself left almost alone, mounted his horse, and sought for safety in a precipitate flight. He was overtaken, and his head brought to the king, who put the other conspirators to death.

His failure  
and death.

The king then proceeded to join his brother, and soon after resumed the siege of Rintambór. But his utmost efforts were insufficient to take the place; and, before long, he received intelligence of the revolt of two of his other nephews, at Badáún. He did not think it necessary to move himself on this occasion: he suppressed the rebellion by means of his officers; and when his nephews were sent to him, he first put out their eyes, and afterwards ordered them to be beheaded.

Other dis-  
turbances  
quelled.

The ill-success of these rebellions did not prevent the occurrence of another, of a still more extraordinary character. Háji Moulá, a young slave of one of the principal families in Delhi, took advantage of some discontent against the chief magistrate of police to collect a mob and put him to death, under pretence of an order from the king; and having thus got a body of infuriated followers, he proceeded to take possession of the city, to release the prisoners, distribute the royal arms and treasures among his adherents, and to set up a prince of the royal family for king. The decided conduct of a local officer prevented the ill effects of this explosion. He contrived to introduce a body of troops into the capital, killed Háji Moulá, dispersed his rabble, and put his new king to death.

Many executions followed by the king's order; and, amongst others, the whole family of Háji Moulá's former master, men, women, and children, were slaughtered, without a charge against them.

At length Rintambór fell, after a siege of more than a year. The rája, with his family, and the garrison were put to the sword.

Fall of  
Rintambór.

A.D. 1300,  
A.H. 700.

In the year 1303, Alá ud dín went, in person, against Chítór,

a celebrated hill-fort in Mēwār, and the principal seat of the Rājput tribe of Sesādm. He took the fort, made the rājā prisoner, and left the eldest of his own sons as governor.

Next year the rājā escaped, and made himself so formidable, that Alā ud din found it prudent to make over the fort to another Rājput prince, named Māldēo, who, by Ferishta's account, was a nephew of the rājā, but who is represented by the Rājputs as a person of another family. Māldēo remained tributary to Delhi until near the end of Alā ud din's reign, when he was expelled by Hamir, a son of the former rājā.\*

Alā ud din was recalled from these conquests by a new Mogul invasion and another attack on Delhi. His force was so much weakened by detachments, that when he arrived at the capital he was unable to meet the enemy in the field, and obliged to intrench his camp. The Moguls, who probably were not prepared for protracted operations, withdrew without a battle; and their retreat was ascribed, by the piety of the age, to a panic sent among them on the prayer of Nizām ud din Oulm, a celebrated saint then alive. In the next two years there were three Mogul inroads, one of which penetrated, by the north of the Panjāb, into Rohilmand. On all those occasions the prisoners were sent to Delhi, where the chiefs were trampled to death by elephants, and the men butchered in cold blood.†

These were the last Mogul invasions for many years. Though Alā ud din's continual occupation since his accession had, in some measure, withdrawn his attention from the Deccan, he had not forgotten the scene of his early exploits. At the time of his own expedition to Chitor (viii. 1393, xiii. 193), he sent an army through Bengal, to attack Warangal, the capital of Telingana, situated to the south of the river Godāverī; and he now prepared a great force, for the purpose of reducing the Rājā of Dēgiri, who had of late withheld his tribute. Malik Kafur, who commanded this army, was a criminal and had been the slave of a merchant at Chitor, from whom he was taken, by force, during the conquest of Chitor. Having come into the king's possession, he so completely won his master's affections that he rose to the highest offices, and excited the utmost disgust among the nobles by his promotion from so base an origin. He now possessed extensive territories in Malwa, and by Sultanpore in Khandesh. Before he commenced this siege, he overran the

\* The name of this rājā is now unknown. The name of the place is Mēwar, and the name of the tribe is Sesādm.

† The names of the Mogul invasions are not known. The names of the Mogul emperors are not known.

greater part of the Maratta country; and so impressed Rámdeo with the impossibility of resistance, that he came out of his fortress, and agreed to accompany Cáfúr to Delhi. He was there received with favour, returned loaded with honours, and from that time forward remained faithful to the Mussulmans. A circumstance occurred during this expedition which deserves to be mentioned. Alp Khán, governor of Guzerát <sup>10</sup> (who must be distinguished from Alaf Khán, the king's brother), had been directed to march to Deógiri, to co-operate with Cáfúr. His road lay through Baglána, where the fugitive rája of Guzerát had taken refuge as has been related. This rája's wife, Caulá Déví,<sup>11</sup> had been taken prisoner during his flight, and having been carried to Alá ud dín's harem, had gained a great share of his favour by her beauty and talents. On hearing of the intended march of these forces, she entreated that means might be taken to recover her daughter by the rája, who still remained with the exiled prince. Alp Khán was enjoined to attend to this object, and endeavoured, by the offer of favourable terms, to prevail on the rája to give up his daughter. The rája rejected his overtures, and Alp Khán marched against him. The princess, whose name was Dewal Déví, had long been sued for by the son of Rámdeo, the rája of Deógiri; but her father, considering a Maratta, however high in station, as an unworthy match for the daughter of a Rájput, had rejected all his offers. In the present extremity, however, he gave a reluctant consent, and the princess was sent off, with an escort, to Deógiri. Immediately after her departure, Alp Khán succeeded in defeating and dispersing the rája's army. His victory afforded him little satisfaction, when he found that the princess had escaped him; and knowing the influence of Caulá Déví, and the impetuous temper of the king, he gave up his whole attention to the means of accomplishing an object which they had both so much at heart. His utmost efforts were not attended with success; and he had arrived within a march of Deógiri without hearing any tidings of the princess, when a party who had gone from his camp to see the caves of Ellóra happened, by mere chance, to fall in with her escort; and being under the necessity of fighting in self-defence, they dispersed the escort, and captured the princess, before they were aware of the importance of their acquisition. Alp Khán, delighted with his prize, immediately marched with her to Delhi. Her beauty made such an impression on the king's eldest son, Khizr Khán, that he soon after married her; and their

<sup>10</sup> [He was the queen's brother, cf. Ferishta, *Pers. text*, p. 176, l. 4, and p. 216, l. 16. The king's brother had died in

A.H. 700.—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> [Ferishta's text has Kanwalá Déví, i.e. Kamalá Déví?—Ed.]

loves are the subject of a celebrated Persian poem, by Amir Khusrau.

This incident is remarkable, as showing the intermixture which had already taken place between the Hindus and Mahomedans; and also as leading to the first mention of the caves of Ellōra, which have been compared, as works of labour, to the pyramids of Egypt, and which, in reality, far surpass them as specimens of art.

During this expedition of Cāfūr, the king, in person, reduced Jhālōr and Sewān, places in Mārwar, to the north of Guzerat.

After the return of Cāfūr, according to Ferishta, Akāshidhā received accounts of the failure of his expedition to Warangal. He had been induced to send it by an unexplored route from Bengal, in consequence of the solicitation of the Rājā of Orissa, who had become jealous of the extension of his neighbour's power.<sup>1</sup> It is not recorded how it failed, or how the contest was so long protracted. Cāfūr was sent to retrieve the disaster. He marched by Deogarh, ravaged the north of Telingāna, gained a great victory in the field, took the strong fort of Warangal after a siege of some months, and compelled the rājā to pay a large contribution, and submit to permanent tribute.

Next year Cāfūr was again sent to the Deccan, against the Ballāl rājā of Carnātāt. He marched by Deogarh, crossed the Godāveri at Pettan, and penetrated, after a great battle, to Dwāra Samudra, the capital, which he took; and, having made the rājā prisoner, put an end to the dynasty of Ballāl.<sup>2</sup> He does not appear to have invaded the western part of the Ballāl possessions; but he reduced the whole of their eastern territory, including Maabōr on the seacoast, as far south as Rāmeshwar, or Adam's Bridge, opposite Ceylon. He there built a mosque, which was still standing when Ferishta wrote.

<sup>1</sup> *Wahisat Tawarikh*, vol. iii. p. 170. *Mutawakkil* is the name of a rājā of Orissa, mentioned in the history of Warangal, as having been killed by Cāfūr.

<sup>2</sup> See *History*, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Wahisat Tawarikh*, vol. iii. p. 170. *Mutawakkil* is the name of a rājā of Orissa, mentioned in the history of Warangal, as having been killed by Cāfūr.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Kings of the Deccan*, vol. i. p. 100. *Mutawakkil* is the name of a rājā of Orissa, mentioned in the history of Warangal, as having been killed by Cāfūr.

It is not that the expedition, though successful, was not the object of the emperor's ambition, but that he was not inclined to invade the Ballāl territory. See *History of the Kings of the Deccan*, vol. i. p. 100. *Mutawakkil* is the name of a rājā of Orissa, mentioned in the history of Warangal, as having been killed by Cāfūr.

After this expedition Cáfúr returned, with vast treasures, to Delhi.<sup>16</sup> It seems to have been about this time that Alá ud dín at once discharged the whole of the Mogul converts from his service. Though habitually turbulent, they seem to have given no immediate occasion for this violent and imprudent measure. Being now driven to despair, some of them entered on a plot to assassinate the king; and on its being detected, the king ordered the whole of them (amounting, according to Ferishta, to 15,000) to be massacred, and their families to be sold for slaves.

Massacre of  
Mogul con-  
verts.  
A. D. 1311,  
A. H. 711.

Rámdeo had died before, or during, Cáfúr's last expedition; and his son, who succeeded him, was already suspected of disaffection. He now withheld his tribute; and some disturbances having likewise taken place in Carnáta, Cáfúr once more set out to quell them. He put the rája of Deógiri to death, and carried his arms over all Maháráshtra and Carnáta, compelling those princes who still retained their territories to pay tribute; and, after accomplishing all the objects of his expedition, he returned again to Delhi.

A. D. 1312,  
A. H. 712,  
Taking of  
Deógiri, and  
conquest of  
Mahárásh-  
tra.

Alá ud dín's constitution had by this time yielded to a long course of intemperance. His ill-health made him more suspicious and irritable than ever; and, like most people who distrust the bulk of mankind, he was the dupe of one artful individual. This was Cáfúr, the extent of whose abilities was equalled by the depravity of his principles. The use he made of his influence was to destroy all who he thought might rival him in favour, and afterwards to irritate the king against his sons, and the queen their mother, who might otherwise have found means to reconcile him to his children. Cáfúr first encouraged him in the notion that he was slighted and neglected by them in his illness, and at last infused suspicions that they were plotting against his life. Alá ud dín, notwithstanding his unfeeling nature, seems to have had some affection for his offspring; so

Intrigues  
and influ-  
ence of  
Cáfúr.

Tughlak. The revolt of Seiad Hasan in Maáber against Mohammed Tughlak is also mentioned by Ferishta. (Briggs, vol. i. p. 423.) It is not probable that Cáfúr conquered the western territory of the Balláls, because it appears from Wilks' *Mysore*, that the remains of that family retired to Tónúr near Seringapatam; and Ibn Batúta found Malabár, (which he visited on his way to, and on his return from, Maáber) in the hands of Hindú princes, except Honáwar, which was held by a Mussulman under the sovereignty of a Hindú. The Mussulman

religion had been introduced in that quarter from Arabia, some centuries before Alá ud dín's invasion of the Deccan; and it did not become the dominant one until the conquest of Malabár by Heider Ali.

<sup>16</sup> Ferishta states that, at this time, there was no silver coinage in the Carnatic: and Colonel Briggs observes that the same was true to a certain extent, till very lately: the common coin was the pagoda, and there was a small coin called a gold fanam, as low in value as a sixpence.

that it was not till near his end that Cāfūr prevailed on him, by innumerable artifices, to commit the two eldest princes and the queen to prison. At the same time Cāfūr procured an order to make away with Alp Khān, whose power he dreaded, and thus to remove the only remaining obstacle to his seizing on the government on his master's death.

Meanwhile the king's blind subjection to his favourite, and the increased tyranny of his administration, excited general discontent. The nobles of the court were disgusted, and the *Uzzerāt* broke into open rebellion. It was at this time, however, that Chitor was recovered by Rānā Hamīr and Harjū, the son-in-law of Rāmdās, raised an extensive insurrection in Deccan, and expelled many Mahometan garrisons.

The paroxysms of rage produced by a succession of these painful tidings increased the king's sufferings, and soon brought him to the brink of the grave. His end is said to have been accelerated by poison administered by Cāfūr.

So great is the effect of vigour in a despotism, that although Alā'ud din was ignorant and capricious, as well as cruel and tyrannical, yet his foreign conquests were among the greatest ever made in India; and his internal administration, in spite of many absurd and oppressive measures, was, on the whole, equally successful. Quiet and security prevailed throughout the provinces; wealth increased, and showed itself in public and private buildings, and in other forms of luxury and improvement. Alā'ud din was so absolutely illiterate, that he began to learn to read after he had been for some time on the throne; yet so arrogant, that his most experienced ministers durst not venture to contradict him, and the best-informed nobles about his court were careful to keep their knowledge to the level of his attainments. Nor did this presumption wear off with his youth; it increased in his latter days to such a pitch, that every word he uttered was considered as irrevocable. In the continuance of his career of prosperity, he entertained thoughts of setting up for a prophet, and founding a new religion; and when he had laid aside that fancy, he assumed the title of "The Second Alexander," and publicly discussed a project of universal conquest.

Some of the most curious features are preserved of his policy, and of the state of his reign.

At the time when he had been so often threatened by conspiracies, he called his counsellors together, to consider the causes of the danger. They threw his danger on three principal

sources :—convivial meetings, where men opened their secret thoughts to each other; connexions between great nobles, especially by intermarriages; and, above all, the unequal distribution of property, and the accumulation of wealth by governors of provinces. The king concurred in these opinions: he forbade the use of wine, and prohibited all private meetings and political discussions among the nobles of his court, till, at length, no man could entertain his friends without a written order from the vazír. No marriage among the nobility was allowed without a licence from the crown. Farmers were limited to a certain quantity of land, and a certain number of cattle and servants. Graziers, in like manner, were restricted as to the number of their flocks and herds. Official emoluments were reduced; the land-tax was increased, and more rigorously exacted; and, at last, the king became so rapacious, that the private property both of Mussulmans and Hindús was confiscated without a cause, so that men were almost reduced to a level over all the empire.<sup>17</sup>

Among other measures of Alá ud dín, one was for fixing rates for the prices of all articles. This plan originated in a wish to reduce the pay of the troops, which the king thought would be unjust unless the expense of living was lowered likewise. Accordingly, prices were fixed for grain, cattle, horses, &c., and for all other commodities, which were classed for the purpose.<sup>18</sup> Everything was included except labour. Public granaries were constructed; importation was encouraged, exportation forbidden; money was advanced to merchants to enable them to import goods. Wholesale purchases were not allowed; hours were fixed for opening and shutting shops; and the whole was rendered effective by public reports to the king, and the employment of spies and informers to detect breaches of the regulation.

A dearth which ensued soon after occasioned a relaxation in enforcing the rules about grain; and the others, though not rescinded till the next reign, were probably in a great measure neglected after the king had cooled on his scheme.

One of Alá ud dín's maxims was, that "religion had no connexion with civil government, but was only the business, or rather amusement, of private life;" and another, that "the

<sup>17</sup> It is difficult to reconcile this statement, the last words of which are Ferish-ta's, with the same author's glowing account of the general prosperity; but it is probable the unfavourable picture only

applies to the last years of the reign.

<sup>18</sup> Tables of the prices are given in Ferish-ta, and would be interesting if the value of the coins could be better ascertained.



will of a wise prince was better than the opinions of variable bodies of men." Alâ ud din had reigned upwards of twenty years.

*Mobairik Khilji.*

On the death of Alâ ud din, Cāfūr produced a pretended will of that prince, appointing his youngest son, an infant, to be his successor, under the guardianship of Cāfūr.

Having thus gained possession of the government, Cāfūr put out the eyes of the king's two eldest sons, and not long after sent assassins to murder the third son, Mobairik. The assassins, however, were won over and induced to spare him; and before Cāfūr had time to take further measures, he was himself assassinated by the royal guard, headed by their commander and his lieutenant.

Mobairik was immediately raised to the government. He vol. 107, p. 107. did not assume the title of king for two months, at the March 22, 1217. end of which time he deprived his infant brother of vol. 117, p. 117. sight, and sent him to a hill-fort for life.

He next put to death the two officers who had placed him on the throne, and broke up the guard. He raised several of his slaves to high rank and office, and made one of them (a converted Hindû, to whom he gave the title of Khusrôu Khân) his vazir; so that his first acts gave an earnest of the bloody and licentious reign which was to follow.

These misdeeds were not entirely unmixed with good actions; he set free all prisoners, to the number of 17,000—a sweeping measure, which could only have been commendable after a reign like the preceding. He restored the lands confiscated by Alâ ud din, removed his oppressive taxes, and abolished his restrictions on trade and property.

His military proceedings in the early part of his reign were not less meritorious. He sent an army to reduce Guzerât, and marched himself to the Deccan, where he took vol. 118, p. 118. Harpâl prisoner, and inhumanly ordered him to be flayed alive. Having completely restored tranquillity, he returned to Delhi, and gave himself up to a course of the most degrading and odious debauchery. One of his amusements was to accompany a troop of actresses in a female habit, and to dance along with them at the houses of the nobility. He was in a constant state of intoxication, and his chief delight appeared to be to display his worst vices to the public. It is not surprising that under such a prince there should be a continual

succession of conspiracies and rebellions, each of which was followed by tortures and executions, and each gave rise to fresh suspicions and additional acts of tyranny.

During his expedition to the Deckan, he sent his favourite Khusrou to conquer Malabar, which he effected in the course of a year, and brought a great treasure to Delhi.

Conquest of Malabar.

The whole administration of the government was then confided to him, and every man's life and fortune was at his mercy. He put some of the nobility to death, and struck such a terror into the rest, that they thought themselves fortunate in being allowed to quit the court, and leave the king to the machinations of his favourite.

A.D. 1319,  
A.H. 719.

Influence of Khusrou, and ascendancy of a Hindú party at court.

The opportunity was not lost on Khusrou, who surrounded the king with his creatures, and filled the capital with Hindú troops of his own cast;<sup>19</sup> until at length, when his plot was matured, he perpetrated the murder of his infatuated master, and at once assumed the vacant throne. He put to death all the survivors of the family of Alá ud dín, and transferred Dewal Déví to his own seraglio. His other measures were in the same spirit. But, notwithstanding his infamous character and his manifold crimes, he did not fail to obtain adherents, and to strengthen his party. He not only brought his own low creatures into power, but endeavoured to gain over the established nobles, by investing them with some of the highest offices. Among this number was Júná Khán, the son of Ghází Khán Tughlak, governor of the Panjáb, whose reputation and influence made it of the utmost consequence to conciliate him. In this Khusrou failed. Júná Khán fled from the court, and Ghází Khán went into open rebellion; and, marching to Delhi with the veteran troops of the frontier, he gained a victory over the dissolute and ill-commanded bands opposed to him, and put an end to the reign and life of the usurper, to the universal joy of the people.

A.D. 1321,  
March 24;  
A.H. 721,  
Rabi ul  
awwal. Murder of Mohá-  
rik, and ex-  
termination of  
his family.

A.D. 1321,  
Aug. 23;  
A.H. 721,  
Rejeb 30.

On entering Delhi, Ghází Khán made a declaration that his only object was to deliver the country from oppression, and that he was willing to place any of the royal line on the throne. No member of the Khiljí family was found to have survived, and Tughlak was himself proclaimed under the title of Ghiyás ud dín.

<sup>19</sup> [He was a converted Parwári slave of Guzerát; this cast is one of Hindú outcasts, deemed so unclean as not to be

admitted to build a house within the town. See Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 387.—ED.]

## CHAPTER III.

## HOUSE OF TUGHLAK, SEIADS, AND HOUSE OF LÓDÍ.

## HOUSE OF TUGHLAK.

*Ghiyás ud dín Tughlak.*

GHIYÁS UD DÍN TUGHLAK was the son of a Turkí slave of  
A.D. 1321. Ghiyás ud dín *Balban*, by an Indian mother.<sup>1</sup> His  
A.D. 721. whole reign was as commendable as his accession was  
 blameless. He began by restoring order in his internal admini-  
 stration, and by putting his frontier in an effective state of  
A.D. 1322. defence against the Moguls. He then sent his son,  
A.D. 722. Júná Khán, to settle the Deekán, where affairs had  
Failure of an expedition to Telegána. fallen into disorder. Júná Khán's operations were  
 successful, until he reached Warangal, on the fortifi-  
 cations of which place he was unable to make any impression:  
 the siege was protracted until the setting-in of the hot winds,  
 and perhaps till the first burst of the rainy season; a malignant  
 distemper broke out in his camp; and his troops, already de-  
 pressed by these disasters, were alarmed by false reports of the  
 death of the king, and a revolution at Delhi. At length, some  
 of his principal officers deserted him with their troops; and  
 the prince himself, endeavouring to retreat with the rest, was  
 pressed by the Hindús, and pursued with great slaughter, towards  
 Doulatabád. He only brought back 3,000 horse, out of his  
 whole army, to Delhi. Júná Khán proved himself so indiscreet  
 and self-willed in his own reign, that it is difficult to help  
 ascribing a share of his failure, in this instance, to himself.  
exp. 1323. He was more successful in his next attempt: he took  
A.D. 723. Bidar, a place of strength and importance; and after-  
Warangal. wards reduced Warangal, and brought the rája prisoner  
A.D. 1324. to Delhi.

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah says that she was a woman of the tribe of the Rajpoots. The prince was afterwards released and  
 sent to the Deccan. — E. H. I.

After this the king proceeded in person to Bengal, where Bakarra Khán, the father of the former king, Kei Kobád, still retained his government, after a lapse of forty years. He was now confirmed in possession, and permitted the use of royal ornaments, by the son of his father's former slave.

The king also settled some disturbances in Súnárgong (now Dacca<sup>3</sup>), which seems to have been a province independent of Bengal. On his way back, he reduced Tirhut (formerly Mithilá), and took the rája prisoner.

As he approached the capital he was met by his eldest son, Júná Khán, who received him with magnificence in a wooden pavilion erected for the occasion. During the ceremonies the building gave way, and the king, with five other persons, was crushed in its fall. This misfortune may have been purely accidental; but the unusualness of erecting such a structure at all, the opportune absence of the eldest prince at the moment, and the circumstance of the second, who was his father's favourite, being involved in the same calamity, fixed strong suspicions on the successor, in whose favour everything turned out so well.<sup>4</sup>

The fort or castle of Tughlakábád, which is remarkable even at Delhi for its massive grandeur, was build by Ghiyás ud dín.

### *Mohammed Tughlak.*

Júná Khán, who assumed the name of Sultán Mohammed, took possession of his dignity with extraordinary magnificence; and distributed gifts and pensions to his friends, and to men of learning, with a profusion never before equalled. He established hospitals and almshouses on the same liberal scale; and throughout his whole reign his munificence to the learned was such as to deserve and to obtain their warmest expressions of praise.

It is admitted, on all hands, that he was the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his age. His letters, both in Arabic and Persian, were admired for their elegance, long after he had ceased to reign. His memory was extraordinary: and besides a thorough knowledge of logic, and the philosophy of the Greeks, he was much attached to mathematics, and to physical science; and used himself to attend sick persons, for the purpose of watching the symptoms of any extraordinary disease. He was regular in his devotions, abstained from wine, and conformed in

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton's *Hindustan*, vol. i. p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ibn Batúta*, p. 130.

his private life to all the moral precepts of his religion. In war he was distinguished for his gallantry and personal activity, so that his contemporaries were justified in esteeming him as one of the wonders of the age.

Yet the whole of these splendid talents and accomplishments were given to him in vain: they were accompanied by a perversion of judgment which, after every allowance for the intoxication of absolute power, leaves us in doubt whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity. His whole life was spent in pursuing visionary schemes, by means equally irrational, and with a total disregard of the sufferings which they occasioned to his subjects; and its results were more calamitous than those of any other Indian reign.

His first act was one which neither his virtues nor defects would have led us to anticipate. An army of Moguls, under a very celebrated general, *Timūrshāh Khān*,\* having entered the Panjāb, he bought them off by the payment of an immense contribution; and this first instance of such policy in India was not, as might have been expected, followed by fresh invasions.

His next measure was equally inconsistent with his character, for it was perfectly rational and well-judged. He completed the reduction of the Deccan, and brought his most remote provinces into as good order as those near his capital.

His wild schemes of Mohammed naturally suited to his genius, He then plunged into the career which seemed

He first determined on the conquest of Persia, and assembled a vast army;† which, after it had consumed his treasures, dispersed for want of pay, and carried pillage and ruin to every quarter.

His next undertaking was to conquer China, and fill his exhausted coffers with the plunder of that rich monarchy. With this view he sent an army of 100,000 men through the *Himālaya* mountains; but when the passage was effected, the Indians found a powerful Chinese army assembled on the frontier, with which theirs, reduced in numbers and exhausted by fatigue, was unable to cope. Their provisions likewise failed; and the approach of the rainy season did not admit of a moment's delay in falling back.

During their retreat they were harassed by the mountaineers, slaughtered by the pursuing enemy, and worn out by famine. The Chinese were at last checked by the torrents of rain, which

\* Ferishta calls him *Timūrshāh*.  
L. 1.

† Ferishta makes it amount to 370,000 horse.

began to fall, and the Indians, in time, made their way through the mountains; but they now found the low-country inundated, and the hills covered with impervious jungle. So terrible were the calamities of their retreat, that at the end of fifteen days scarcely a man was left to tell the tale; and many of those who had been left behind in garrisons, as the army advanced, were put to death by the king, as if they had contributed to the failure of this ill-starred expedition.

As this expedition had failed to relieve the king's wants, he had recourse to another, almost equally ill-contrived. He had heard of the use of paper-money in China,<sup>6</sup> Introduction of paper money. and he now introduced the system into his own dominions, substituting copper tokens for paper. The king's insolvency, and the instability of his government, destroyed the credit of his tokens from the first; foreign merchants refused to take them, and all attempts at compulsion were evaded, even at home; trade, in consequence, was at a stand, and confusion and distress were spread throughout all ranks. The king gained, to appearance, in the payment of his debts, but his receipts were diminished in the same proportion; the roots of his revenue were struck at by the impoverished condition of his subjects; and the result of all this sacrifice of the fortunes of the people was to leave his own in greater embarrassment than ever.

The king's exactions, which were always excessive, were now rendered intolerable by the urgency of his necessities:<sup>7</sup> Tyranny and exactions of the king. the husbandmen abandoned their fields, fled to the woods, and in many places maintained themselves by rapine; many towns were likewise deserted, and Mohammed, driven to fury by the disorders which he had himself occasioned, revenged himself by a measure which surpassed all his other enormities. He ordered out his army as if for a grand hunt, surrounded an extensive tract of country, as is usual on the great scale of the Indian chase; and then gave orders that the circle should close towards the centre, and that all within it (mostly inoffensive peasants) should be slaughtered like wild

\* [A paper-currency appears to have existed in China two centuries before the Moghul conquest; and we find it in full force under the successors of Chengiz Khán, as it is described by Marco Polo, who resided in the court of Kublái Khán, from about A.D. 1274 to 1291, and Ibn Batúta, who visited China as Muhammad Tughlak's ambassador about A.D. 1345. Kai Khátü, the Moghul ruler of Persia, tried to introduce the same system there

in A.D. 1294, but failed. (See *Journal B.A.S.* 1860.) Muhammad Tughlak issued copper tokens instead of the paper notes (called *chaus* in Persia from the Chinese word), and many of them are still extant. Mr. Thomas, by a comparison of the extant coins, fixes their issue as having continued from A.H. 730 to A.H. 732.—ED.]

<sup>7</sup> [Ziá ud din Barni says that he increased the land-tax of the Doáb district ten and twentyfold (p. 473).—ED.]

beasts. This sort of hunt was more than once repeated; and on a subsequent occasion there was a general massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Canouj. These horrors led in due time to famine, and the miseries of the country exceeded all power of description.

All this oppression was not allowed to pass without attempts to shake it off. Mohammed's own nephew first revolted in Málwa, and, being pursued by the king into the Deckan, was taken and flayed alive. Malik Behrán, the old friend of the king's father, whom he had helped to mount the throne, next rebelled in the Panjáb, and was also subdued and put to death.

Bengal soon after revolted under a Mussulman officer, and was never again subdued. The country on the coast of Coromandel<sup>1</sup> almost immediately followed the example, and had the same success.

The king went in person to put down this last rebellion, but his army was attacked by a pestilence at Warangal, and suffered so much by its ravages, that he was obliged to return to Desáiri. On his way he had occasion to have a tooth drawn, and he buried it, with great ceremony, under a magnificent tomb.

Meanwhile the Afgháns crossed the Indus and ravaged the Panjáb; when they retired they were succeeded by the Gakkars, who took Láhór, and completed the ruin of the province.

The rásas of Carnáta and Telingána now formed a combination to recover their independence. The former was the founder of a new dynasty, erected on the ruins of that of Ballál, which fixed its capital at Bijayanagar,<sup>2</sup> and maintained a nearly equal struggle with the Mussulmans until near the end of the sixteenth century; the latter regained possession of Warangal, while Mohammed's garrisons were expelled from every part of their dominions.

<sup>1</sup> [In Ferishtah it is called Mukar; see *supra*, p. 297. It revolted in 1547, under Sayyid Hassan. — E.]

<sup>2</sup> [This revolt is an era of some importance in Hindu literary history, as it was accompanied by a temporary revival of Hindu learning. Tradition is, the Dekkan, as then the frontier of Vijayanagar, to two princes, Bukkaraya and Hanthara, with the aid of a learned Brahman, Madhava Vidyaranya. The common date of the founding is 1336, of the Saivayana era, or A.D. 1336, but this is probably too soon. The earliest copper

and-grant extant of Bukkaraya is dated A.D. 1379, the latest A.D. 1375; some traditions give him thirty or more years reign, others only fourteen. Madhava, who appears to have been also called Sayapa, was his prime minister, and we owe to him a series of commentaries on the Vedas, philosophical systems, law, and grammar. Madhava always mentions his patron's name in the commencement of his works. See Wilson's *Madhava MSS.*, Colebrooke's *Asiatick*, ii. 255. — A. C. Burnell, Preface to the *Vedakutakosa*. — E.]

The famine in Hindostan being at this time at its height, the governor of Sambal became unable to collect his revenue, and, dreading the king's violence, went into rebellion. He was soon crushed, as was a similar insurgent at Bîdar, in the Deckan; but a new rebellion almost immediately followed in the latter place by one of the chiefs of converted Moguls, or, as they were now called, Amîr Jadîda, or new nobility. The present revolt was quashed, but their other chiefs remained as ready as ever to profit by any new disturbance.

Other  
rebellions.  
A.D. 1345,  
A.H. 745.

A.D. 1346,  
A.H. 746.

The next rebellion was that of Ein ul Mulk, who, being removed from his government of Oudh to that of the Deckan, suspected the king's intentions, and threw off his allegiance. He was soon reduced, but, contrary to all expectation, was pardoned, and restored to his office.

The governor of the Deckan, who had hitherto made head against his continually increasing difficulties, was afterwards removed; and the country was placed under the king's son-in-law, Imâd ul Mulk, while a great addition was laid on the revenue of the province.

Mâlwa likewise was put under a new governor of low origin, who showed his zeal by a treacherous massacre of seventy of the Mogul Amîrs, on which the officers of the same nation in Guzerât prevailed on the rest of the troops to join them in rebellion. The king suppressed this insurrection in person, and ravaged his own province as if it had been an enemy's, giving up the rich towns of Cambay and Surât to plunder.

Rebellion of  
the Mogul  
troops in  
Guzerât.

A.D. 1347,  
A.H. 746.

Some of the rebels of Guzerât, having taken refuge in the Deckan, were protected by the Mogul Amîrs in that province, which Mohammed so highly resented that he ordered those chiefs to be made prisoners. They soon after effected their escape, raised a general rebellion, and proclaimed Ismaîl Khân, an Afghân general, king. Mohammed Tughlak, with a courage and activity worthy of a better cause, hastened to the Deckan, defeated the insurgents, and shut up the chiefs and their king in the fort of Deôgiri. Before he could complete his success by the capture of that fortress, his presence was required by a new revolt in Guzerât; and as he was marching to suppress it, the people of the Deckan rose on his rear, and plundered his baggage and elephants. The disturbance in Guzerât was, however, got under, and the chiefs compelled to take refuge with the Râjpût princes of Tatta in

General  
revolt of the  
Deckan.  
Vigour and  
activity of  
the king.



Sind, when intelligence arrived from the Deekan that things had there assumed a more formidable shape than ever. The rebel king had abdicated in favour of Hasan Gāngū (who founded the new dynasty of Bahman), and under his auspices the insurgents had defeated and slain Mohammed's son-in-law, Imād ul Mulk, and not only recovered the Deekan, but induced the governor of Mālwa to join in their insurrection. Mohammed, now sensible of his error in hastening to oppose every new revolt, and not first settling that on hand, determined to place Guzerāt on a secure footing before he ventured to confront the increased difficulties which threatened him in the Deekan. Although already in precarious health, he set out after the fugitives to Sind. He was opposed by the rebels on the Indus, but crossed the river in defiance of them; and had reached Tatta, when he had an accession of illness, and died in that city, leaving the reputation of one of the most accomplished princes and most furious tyrants that ever adorned or disgraced human nature.

Among the many projects of Mohammed, none occasioned so much misery, or gave rise to so much complaint, as that of transferring the capital from Delhi to Deogiri. The design was by no means unreasonable in itself, if it had been begun without precipitancy, and conducted with steadiness. But Mohammed, as soon as the fancy struck him, ordered the whole of the inhabitants of Delhi to remove to Deogiri, to which he gave the name of Doulatābād.\* After this the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and twice compelled, on pain of death, to leave it: one of these movements took place during a famine, and caused a prodigious loss of life, and all were attended with ruin and distress to thousands. The plan entirely failed in the end. Another of his whims was to acknowledge the sovereignty of the nominal calif in Egypt, to solicit investiture from him, and strike out of the list of kings all who had not received a similar confirmation of their title.<sup>†</sup> Another very expensive one was to divide the country into

\* On this occasion he completed the project of which this affords a specimen, of the great scale of his undertakings. The risk to which he had now subjected himself, and perpendicular to it, he felt, the way out ran being through a winning passage in the heart of the rock. The whole was surrounded by a trench, and a high parapet, with in the middle a tower.

† After the fall of the Khilafat at Bagdad, in 1258, the Sultans of Egypt

had recognised an Abbasside as Khalif, and his descendants continued to exercise nominal authority in Egypt, until it was conquered by the Ottoman empire in A.D. 1517. For a full account of Muhammad Tughlak's proceedings in this matter, see Zia ul-Ul-Barn, pp. 421-425. He placed the Khalif's name on his coins instead of his own. — Ed.

districts of sixty miles square, that the cultivation might be carried on under the management of the government.

Many particulars regarding this reign are given by Ibn Batúta, a native of Tangiers, who travelled over all Asia, and visited the court of Mohammed about A.D. 1341, and who could have no interest in misrepresentation, as he wrote after his return to Africa. He confirms to their full extent the native accounts both of the king's talents and of his crimes, and gives exactly such a picture of mixed magnificence and desolation as one would expect under such a sovereign. He found an admirably regulated horse and foot post from the frontiers to the capital, while the country was so disturbed as to make travelling unsafe. He describes Delhi as a most magnificent city, its mosque and walls without an equal on earth; but, although the king was then repeopling it, it was almost a desert. "The greatest city in the world (he says) had the fewest inhabitants."

Foreign accounts of his court and government.

The king being absent, he was carried, with some other noble and learned strangers who arrived along with him, to the court of the queen-mother, where they were received and entertained with respect and attention, and dismissed with robes of honour. He had a house allotted him, with an ample supply of provisions and everything he could desire, and 2,000 *dínars* were given to him "to pay for his washing." His daughter happening to die, it was privately reported to the king by post; and when the funeral took place, he was surprised to find it attended by the *vazir*, and performed with all the ceremonies usual for the nobles of the country. The queen-mother sent for his wife to console her, and presented her with dresses and ornaments.

The king's own manners, when he returned, were as courteous as his previous proceedings. Ibn Batúta went out to meet him, and was graciously received, the king taking him by the hand and promising him every kindness. He afterwards made him a judge, conversed with him in Arabic on the duties of the office; and when Ibn Batúta hesitated, on account of his ignorance of the Indian language, the king, though somewhat ruffled by his starting difficulties, answered his objections with temper, and assigned him a most liberal salary. He afterwards paid his debts, to the amount of 55,000 *dínars*,<sup>12</sup> on his requesting it in an Arabic poem. But Ibn Batúta soon found the

<sup>12</sup> The *dínar*, at this period, seems to have been a very small coin; but I do not know its precise value. [Muhammad

Tughlak's *dínar* was a gold coin weighing 200 grains.—Ed.]

dangerous ground he stood on. A particular dervise near Delhi falling under the king's suspicions, he immediately put him to death, and seized all persons who had frequented his cell. Among the number was Ibn Batûta, who was one of the very few who escaped with their lives. After this he took an early opportunity of resigning his office; but the king, instead of being offended, attached him to an embassy which he was sending to China, in return for a very splendid one which had just reached his court.

The Mahometan empire to the east of the Indus was more extensive in the early part of this king's reign than it ever was at any other period, but the provinces now lost were not all retrieved till the time of Aurangzib; and, even in those which did not revolt, the royal authority received a shock from which it did not recover till the accession of the Mogul dynasty.

There is in general so little scruple about getting rid of a bad king in the East, that it is seldom such extensive mischief is brought about by the misgovernment of one man.

### *Firuz Tughlak.*

On the death of Mohammed Tughlak the army fell into disorder, in which, as usual, the Moguls<sup>1</sup> were the principal actors. The Indian chiefs (now mentioned for the first time) succeeded in repressing them, and raised Firuz ud din, the late king's nephew, to the throne. He left a detachment to settle Sind, and marched along the Indus to Uch, and thence to Delhi, where he overcame an opposition set up in the name of a child, the real or supposititious son of his predecessor.

Three years after his accession he made an attempt to recover Bengal, and overran the whole province, but was not able to reduce his enemy, until the rains setting in compelled him to retreat.

At a later period he received embassies both from Bengal and the Deccan, and thus acknowledged the independence of both countries, though, perhaps, without renouncing his nominal superiority. Whether the treaty with Bengal was merely personal, or whether the death of the first king was a temptation for infringing it, we find the war almost immediately renewed with his successor, Secander, against

<sup>1</sup> These were the Mogul mercenaries. <sup>2</sup> Firûzka, are the Turk and Pathan and Indian chiefs of Bengal's territory. <sup>3</sup> Security of the court. (Ed.)

whom Fīrūz marched in person to the extreme south-east of Bengal. He afterwards renewed his treaty with Secander, whose independence was no longer questioned. Several years after this adjustment, some provocation from Jām Bāni, the Rājput prince of Tatta,<sup>14</sup> induced the king to march in person to Sind; and although his expedition was unsuccessful, his failure was softened by the nominal submission of the Jām. From Sind he went to Guzerāt, where he left a new governor. In the course of a few years the death of this officer led to another appointment, and a rebellion of no long duration.

A.D. 1372,  
A.H. 773.

Other affairs of less importance kept Fīrūz in activity till A.D. 1385, when, having reached his eighty-seventh year, he became incapable, from his infirmities, of conducting his government, and it fell by degrees entirely into the hands of his vazīr. The enjoyment of power tempted that minister to secure its permanence by plotting against the heir-apparent. He had nearly succeeded, through the usual calumnies, in paving his way to the succession by the removal of the king's eldest son, when that prince took the bold measure of secretly introducing himself into the seraglio, and throwing himself on the affection of his father. Fīrūz, either from conviction or weakness, gave up the vazīr, and soon after openly invested his son with the whole powers of the state.

The king's  
infirmities.  
A.D. 1385,  
A.H. 787.

Rivalries at  
his court.

The Prince, whose name was Násir ud dīn, showed so little ability in the exercise of his authority, that in little more than a year he was displaced by two of his cousins. They raised a sedition in the capital, and, making use of the name of the old king, whose person they had secured, obliged Násir ud dīn to fly to the mountains of Sarmór, between the upper courses of the Jumna and Satlaj. They then announced that Fīrūz had abdicated in favour of his grandson, Ghiyās ud dīn.

Almost immediately after this revolution Fīrūz died, at the age of ninety.<sup>15</sup>

His death.  
A.D. 1388,  
Oct. 23;  
A.H. 790,  
Ramazán 3.

His reign, though not brilliant in other respects, was distinguished for the enlightened spirit of his regulations, and the extent and utility of his public works. He limited the number of capital punishments, and put a stop to the use of torture and the practice of mutilation; which last prohibition was the more meritorious, as it was at variance with

His laws.

<sup>14</sup> [This was a prince of the Samma dynasty, who had recently expelled the Súmrās. See Sir H. Elliot's *Arabs in Sind*, p. 194—Ed.]

<sup>15</sup> [Ferishta says that Fīrūz was the

first of the Delhi kings who brought forward, by his patronage, the race of Afghāns, as before his time they were not held in estimation.—Ed.]

the Mahometan law. He abolished a great number of vexatious taxes and fees, put an end to all fluctuating and precarious imposts, and fixed the revenues in such a manner as to leave as little discretion as possible to the collectors, and to give precision and publicity to the demands of the state. He in some measure fell into the spirit of his times in punishing atheism by banishment, but showed his usual good sense in discouraging luxury in apparel by his own example rather than by sumptuary laws.

The following list is given of his public works, for the maintenance of which lands were assigned;—50 dams across rivers, to promote irrigation; 40 mosques, 30 colleges, 100 caravanserais, 30 reservoirs for irrigation, 100 hospitals, 100 public baths, 150 bridges—besides many other edifices for pleasure or ornament.

The round numbers, as well as the amount of some of the items, suggest doubts of the accuracy of this list; but the works of Firúz that still remain afford sufficient evidence of the magnitude of his undertakings. The most considerable of these is not specified in the list: it is a canal, from the point in the Jumna where it leaves the mountains, by Cárnál, to Hánsi and Hissár. It reaches to the river Gágar, and in former times was again connected with the Satlaj, the nearest of the rivers of the Panjáb. It seems to have been intended for irrigation; but as it has been disused, perhaps since the death of Firúz, we can only judge of it by the part restored by the British Government, which takes in the whole to beyond Hissár, a distance of 200 miles. This portion now turns mills for grinding corn (which before were not used in India), and is also employed in saw-mills and oil and sugar-mills. It floats down rafts of wood from the mountains, and is capable of conveying merchandise in boats of a certain construction; but its great object is irrigation, by means of which it has fertilized a large tract, and turned the inhabitants from pastoral life to agriculture.<sup>16</sup>

#### *Ghiyás ud din Taghlak II.*

Ghiyás ud din soon quarrelled with his kinsmen, by whom he had been raised; and was deposed and murdered at the end of five months.

#### *Alauddin Taghlak.*

Alauddin, grandson of Firúz by another son, was next made king, and he had reigned for a year, when Násir ud din left the

<sup>16</sup> *Asiatic Researches, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. ii. p. 108.

mountains, where he had remained since his expulsion, returned at the head of an army, and recovered the capital. A contest followed, and lasted for several months, during which time Delhi was more than once lost and recovered, until at length Násir ud dín obtained permanent possession, and soon after made his rival prisoner.

A.D. 1390,  
November;  
A.H. 798,  
24 Haj.

A.D. 1390,  
August;  
A.H. 798,  
Ramassán.

It was a remarkable circumstance in this contest, that a Hindú chief named Rái Sarwar was among the most important of the adherents of Násir, and that the Hindús of Mewát took an active part for his opponent. The household troops, who were all foreigners, having shown particular hostility to the conqueror, were banished the city; and as some endeavoured to conceal their character, recourse was had to a test like the Jewish shibboleth, and all were treated as foreigners who could not pronounce a certain letter peculiar to the languages of Hindostan.<sup>17</sup> From these circumstances we may judge of the increased importance of the Hindús, and of the native Mahometans; since the separation of the kingdoms of Ghór and India.

#### *Násir ud dín Tughlak.*

The second reign of Násir ud dín, though it presented a scene of general disorder, was marked by few great events.

Farhat ul Múlk, the governor of Guzerát, revolted, and was reduced by Mozaffer Khán, who revolted himself in the next reign. There was also a rebellion of Ráhtór Rájpúts beyond the Jumna; and the weakness into which the royal authority had fallen became everywhere apparent.

This king's vazír was a Hindú convert, and was put to death on the accusation of his own nephew, an unconverted Hindú.

On the death of Násir ud dín, his son Humáyún succeeded, but died at the end of forty-five days, when his younger brother Mahmúd was placed on the throne.

#### *Mahmúd Tughlak.*

The young king was a minor, and little qualified to restore the lost authority of the crown. Mozaffer Khán, the governor of Guzerát, began to act as an independent

A.D. 1394,  
A.H. 790.

<sup>17</sup> [The king issued an order to the effect that those only were natives who could say the words *Kharí Kharí*; and when the others did not pronounce the words as the king required, but uttered them after the fashion of the men of the East (*Púrb*) and Bangála. they were put to death." (*Firishta*.) General Briggs,

in a note to his translation, thinks that it refers to the letter *r*, but this would present no more difficulty to a native of Bengal than to a Hindústání. Can it refer to the inherent vowel, which a Bengálí would naturally pronounce as *o*—*K'horí K'horí*?—Ed.]

prince, Málwa, which had been reannexed to the crown, after the separation of the Deekán, now permanently threw off the yoke, as did the little province of Khándésh; and these new kingdoms remained independent until the time of Akber.

The king's own vazír also seized on the province of Jompúr, <sup>116</sup> *Benares*, and founded a kingdom. Meanwhile the capital was <sup>117</sup> *Benares* torn by sanguinary broils between factions. The remaining provinces looked on with indifference, or fell into disputes among themselves; and while the attention of all parties was absorbed in these fierce commotions, the invasion of Tamerlane burst upon their heads, and overwhelmed the contending parties in one common ruin.

Tamerlane had united the hordes of Tartary in the same manner, though not to the same extent, as Chengiz <sup>118</sup> *Benares* Tamerlane. Khán; and, like him, he had carried his destructive inroads into all the surrounding countries. Though a Türk and a Mussulman,<sup>119</sup> and born in a comparatively civilized country, he was almost as barbarous in his mode of war, and at least as shortsighted in his policy, as the Mogul. His empire was even more transient, since he did not attempt to retain the greater part of the countries he overran; and if some of the fragments that remained to his family became flourishing provinces, it was because the character of his descendants formed almost a contrast to his own. He had conquered Persia and Transoxiana, and ravaged Tartary, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, with parts of Russia and Siberia, before he turned his arms, without the pretext of a quarrel, on the distracted empire of Hindostan.

Early in the spring of A.D. 1398,<sup>120</sup> Pir Mohammed, the grand-son of Tamerlane, who had been employed in reducing <sup>121</sup> *Benares* the Afghans in the mountains of Soliman, crossed the Indus in a line with Uch, and soon after laid siege to Multán, an operation which occupied him for upwards of six months.

Meanwhile, Tamerlane passed the Hindú Gush by the usual route to Cabul,<sup>122</sup> left that city in August, and marched by Haryúd and Bannú to Dinkót on the Indus. He crossed that

<sup>116</sup> The name of the Azim Tamerlane's capital, *Benares*, is derived from Khásh, the Sanskrit word, which the languages of Türk and Persia have adopted as *Kashgar*. It was founded about two thousand years. He was the first to discover it, the same time with Chengiz Khán, so that the legend is true, the great father was the first to discover *Benares*.

<sup>117</sup> See the account of this city, p. 112.

<sup>118</sup> *Précis*, vol. ii. p. 219. etc. *Herodotus*, *Mem.* p. 115. etc. and *Briggs's Persia*.

<sup>119</sup> His previous expedition into the mountains of the Sajaoh Gush will be read with interest in *Précis* from Herodotus.

<sup>120</sup> The exact position of Dinkót is not known, but it must be to the south of the salt range.

river by a bridge of rafts and reeds, and marched to the Hydaspes, and down its banks to Tulamba, reducing the country as he passed. He levied a heavy contribution on Tulamba, which was afterwards sacked, and the inhabitants massacred by the troops,—it is said without his orders.

By this time Pir Mohammed had taken Multán by blockade ; but the rains having set in, he lost his horses, and was at length obliged to shut himself up in the town. On the approach of Tamerlane, he set out to meet him, leaving a garrison in Multán, and joined his father on the Gára or Satlaj. A.D. 1398,  
Oct. 25.

Tamerlane thence proceeded with a light detachment to Adjudin, where he met with no sort of resistance ; and as the town was famous for the tomb of a Mahometan saint, “out of respect for his memory, he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place.” He then proceeded to Batnér, and massacred the country people who had taken refuge under the walls. The place afterwards surrendered on terms ; Nov. 9. but, by one of those mistakes which so constantly accompanied Tamerlane’s capitulations, the town was burned, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. He then marched to Sámána, where he joined his main body, having slaughtered the inhabitants of every place he passed. From Sámána the towns were deserted, and consequently there were no more general massacres. Many prisoners were, however, taken ; and on reaching Delhi, Dec. 12. Tamerlane put to death all of them above fifteen years of age (to the number, according to the exaggerated accounts of the Mussulman historians, of 100,000).

The Indian army, which was inferior in numbers and divided in councils, being defeated and driven into the town, Defeat of the  
Indian army.  
Dec. 17. Mahmúd Tughlak fled to Guzerát ; Delhi surrendered, under a solemn promise of protection ; and Tamerlane was publicly proclaimed Emperor of India.

What follows is so constant a concomitant of Tamerlane’s promises of protection, that we are at a loss whether to ascribe it to systematic perfidy, or to the habitual ferocity and insubordination of his troops. On this Sack, conflagration, and  
massacre of  
Delhi. occasion, the most credible accounts attribute *the commencement* to the latter cause. Plunder and violence brought on resistance : “This led to a general massacre ; some streets were rendered impassable by heaps of dead ; and the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army gained admittance, and a scene of horror ensued easier to be imagined than described.”<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Briggs’s *Ferishta*.



For five days Tamerlane remained a tranquil spectator of the sack and conflagration of the city, and during that time he was celebrating a feast in honour of his victory. When the troops were wearied with slaughter, and nothing was left to plunder, he gave orders for the prosecution of his march; and on the ca. 1396, Dec. 11 day of his departure he "offered up to the Divine Majesty *the sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise* in the noble mosque of polished marble," erected on the banks of the Jumna by Firáz.<sup>2</sup>

The booty carried off from Delhi is said to have been very great, and innumerable men and women of all ranks were dragged into slavery. Tamerlane secured to himself the masons and workers in stone and marble for the purpose of constructing a mosque at Samarcand.

He then marched to Mirat, where there was a general massacre; and afterwards crossed the Ganges, and Tamerlane returns from India. proceeded up its banks to near Hardwâr, where that river leaves the mountains. Several affairs took place with bodies of Hindûs in the skirts of the hills, in which Tamerlane exposed his person like a private soldier, and underwent fatigues the more extraordinary as he had reached the age of sixty-three. He marched along the foot of the mountains to Jammû (or Jummoo, north of Lâhôr); then turned to the south, fell into ca. 1399, March, ca. 1401 the route by which he first advanced, and quitted India, leaving anarchy, famine and pestilence behind him.<sup>3</sup>

We must estimate Tamerlane's character from his actions, not from the motives assigned to him by panegyrists, nor from maxims drawn up by his orders according to his idea of a perfect government. His own memoirs of his life throw a true light on his character.<sup>4</sup> They are written in the plain and picturesque style of Türkî autobiography; and if there was a doubt that they were from Tamerlane's dictation, it would be removed by the unconscious simplicity with which he relates his own intrigues and perfidy, taking credit all the time for an excess of goodness and sincerity which the coldest flatterer would not have ventured to ascribe to him. The mixture also of cant and hypocrisy, with real superstition and devotion, could not have been exhibited by any hand but his own; and these traits, with his courage, prudence,

<sup>2</sup> From a quantity from Mirat and <sup>3</sup> From an expedition against Bajaur.  
<sup>4</sup> *Œuvres de Tamerlan*, t. II. p. 139. <sup>5</sup> *Mem. of Tamerlan*, translated by  
 G. S. H. Wilson, with a sketch of his life, by Major Stewart.

and address, his perfect knowledge of mankind, and his boldness in practising on their weakness, made one of the most extraordinary pictures ever presented to the world. The commanding language of barbarous conquerors, contrasted with the evasions of the princes whom they threaten, leads us to figure them as rude and artless soldiers; but the essential character of Tamerlane was that of a wily politician, and probably it was to similar talents that the other Tartar conquerors owed their ascendancy over so many chiefs, who were their equals in merely military qualities.

There is a resemblance between the histories of Chengiz Khán and Tamerlane; but of those two enemies of mankind, the first was perhaps the more violent, and the second the more perfidious.

For two months after Tamerlane's departure Delhi remained without a government, and almost without inhabitants. Anarchy at Delhi. A struggle then took place for the possession of it, in which a chief named Ecbál, who had been in power under Mahmúd, was at last successful. He failed in various attempts to extend his authority beyond the districts A.D. 1400, A.H. 808. round the capital, and, at last, was killed on a distant expedition towards Multán.

Mahmúd had returned from Guzerát, and for some time lived as a pensioner at Delhi; then at Canonj, a city belonging to the king of Jounpúr, on which Ecbál made several attempts; at last, on that chief's death, he was restored to the possession of Delhi. He died there, after a nominal reign of twenty years, and was succeeded by Doulat Khán Lódi, who, at the end of fifteen months, was expelled by Khizr Khán, the governor of the Panjáb. A.D. 1406, A.H. 808. A.D. 1412, A.H. 814. A.D. 1414, A.H. 817.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE SEIADS.

For thirty-six years after this, there was no kingdom of India, either in name or in reality. Khizr Khán affected to regard Tamerlane as emperor, and to govern in his name, without the title or forms of royalty. He was a descendant of the Prophet, though himself a native of India; and, with three of his descendants who succeeded him, forms what is called the dynasty of the Seiads. He obtained scarcely any territory with Delhi: Seiad Khizr Khán. A.D. 1414, A.H. 817. Seiad Mobárick. A.D. 1421, A.H. 824. Seiad Mohammed. A.D. 1435, A.H. 839.

his original province of the Panjâb soon revolted, and his family had to struggle for the possession of a part of it during the whole period of their government. They, however, made some spirited attempts to extend their territory, and made incursions into Mâlwa and the borders of Râjpûtâna; but in the time of Seiad Alâ ud din, the last of the race, the frontier came in one place to within a mile of the city-walls, and nowhere extended beyond twelve. But Alâ ud din possessed Badâûn, a town about one hundred miles east of Delhi; and to it he at length retired, making over his former capital and his pretensions to Behlûl Khân Lûdî, who assumed the title of king.

## HOUSE OF LÔDÎ.

### *Behlûl Lûdî.*

The ancestors of Behlûl had been enriched by commerce, and his grandfather was governor of Multân under Firûz Tughlak, who was the first great patron of the Afghâns. Behlûl's father and several of his uncles held commands under the Seiad rulers; and one of them, Ishâm Khân, was so considerable, that he had 12,000 men of his own nation in his pay. The power of the family, together with the calumnies of a disaffected relation, at length excited the jealousy of Seiad Mohammed, and the Lûdis were persecuted and driven into the hills. They continued to resist the Seiad's authority, until Behlûl had an opportunity of occupying, first Sirhind, and afterwards the whole of the Panjâb.

Behlûl had been invited to Delhi by Hamîd, the vazîr of his predecessor; but, finding himself overshadowed by this powerful subject, he seized his person by a stratagem, and after he had broken his influence, allowed him to retire to private life.

Behlûl's accession again brought back the Panjâb to Delhi. Multân had become independent during the time of the Seids, and Behlûl had marched against it, when it was recalled by an attack of the king of Jounpâr, who had laid siege to Delhi. A war now commenced with that prince, which was continued, with short intervals of hollow peace, for twenty-six years, and ended in the conquest of Jounpâr, which was permanently re-annexed to Delhi. Behlûl survived this long war for ten

years, and made other conquests on a smaller scale; so that at his death he left a territory extending from the Jumna to the Himálaya mountains as far east as Benáres, besides a tract on the west of the Jumna extending to Bundélcand. A.D. 1493.  
A.H. 904.

### *Secander Lodí.*

Secander's accession was disputed by some chiefs on the part of his infant nephew. It was afterwards contested in the field by two of his brothers, one of whom maintained an obstinate struggle. Secander was successful on all these occasions, and treated the inferior rebels with clemency, and his relations with affection. He reannexed Behár as far as the frontiers of Bengal to Delhi, and also extended his territories in the direction of Bundélcand.<sup>26</sup> His internal administration was just Good administration of Secander. and vigorous, and he seems, in all other respects, to have been a mild and excellent prince. But he was one of the few bigots who have sat on the throne of India. He His bigotry. destroyed the temples in towns and forts that he took from Hindús, and he forbade the people performing pilgrimages, and bathing on certain festivals at places on the sacred streams within his own dominions. On one occasion he carried his zeal to cruelty and injustice; for a Bramin having been active in propagating the doctrine that "all religions, if sincerely practised, were equally acceptable to God," he summoned him to defend this opinion, in his presence, against twelve Mahometan divines; and, on his refusing to renounce his tolerant maxims, put him to death.<sup>27</sup>

A holy man of his own religion having remonstrated with him on his prohibition of pilgrimages, Secander drew his sword, exclaiming, "Wretch, do you defend idolatry?" He was appeased by the answer,—“No; but I maintain that kings ought not to persecute their subjects.”

When marching against one of his brothers, a kalandar addressed him with prayers for his success, on which he said, “Pray for victory to him who will best promote the good of his subjects.”

<sup>26</sup> [“But the monarchy was only a congeries of nearly independent principalities, jagírs, etc.; all offices were committed to Afgháns, and men of the Lodí, Fermalí, and Lohání tribes held all the principal jagírs.” (Erskine's *Báber and Humáyún*, vol. i. p. 406.)—ED.]

<sup>27</sup> The Bramin was, probably, a disciple of Kabír, a Hindú philosopher, who taught similar doctrines at an earlier period in this century. (See Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 55.) [See his *Religious Sects*, in his collected works, vol. i.—ED.]

Secander was a poet, and a great patron of letters. He died at Agra, after a reign of twenty-eight years.<sup>2</sup>

*Ibráhim Lodi.*

Ibráhim, who succeeded, had none of his father's virtues. He disgusted his tribe by his pride, and alarmed his chiefs by his suspicious and tyrannical temper. From these causes <sup>Discontent and rebellion.</sup> his reign was continually disturbed by rebellions. At the commencement of it one of his brothers was proclaimed king at Jounpúr, was subdued in the course of a twelvemonth, and was privately executed by Ibráhim, who imprisoned his other brothers for life. A chief named Islám Khán next rebelled, and was killed in battle. Several men of rank and governors of provinces were executed for their share in these transactions. Others were put to death on suspicion; some were secretly made away with, after being imprisoned; and one was assassinated at the seat of his government. These proceedings spread general distrust and disaffection; various chiefs revolted, and the whole of the eastern part of Ibráhim's dominions threw off its obedience, and formed a separate state under Deryá Khán Lohání, whose son afterwards took the title of king. Doulat Khán Lodi, <sup>Invasion of</sup> the governor of the Panjáb, dreading the fate of so <sup>Báber.</sup> many other chiefs, revolted, and called in the aid of Báber, who had for some time reigned in Cábul. Báber had before invaded the Panjáb, which he claimed as part of the inheritance of Tamerlane, and he now gladly availed himself of this invitation; but some other Afghan chiefs, either from attachment to Ibráhim, or aversion to a foreigner, drove out <sup>A.D. 1526.</sup> Doulat Khán, and opposed Báber in the field. They <sup>A.D. 1526.</sup> were totally defeated near Láhór, and that city was reduced to ashes by the victors. Dildáupúr was next stormed, and the garrison put to the sword; and at this place Báber was joined by Doulat Khán. He had reason, soon after, to suspect the intentions of this person, and threw him and his sons into confinement. Relenting subsequently, he released them, treated them honourably, and granted them a jágír. He did not, however, succeed in removing their distrust: by the time he had reached Sirhind, on his advance towards Delhi, Doulat Khán and one of his sons revolted, and fled to the hills.<sup>3</sup> Unwilling to

<sup>2</sup> He died A.D. 1517 or 1518. See Erskine's *Notes and Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 467. Ed. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The other son whose name was Dáwar adhered to Báber, and had a high

place in his confidence. He had the title of Khání Khánan, the second in the Court of Delhi, and continued to be a person of great authority in his reign and Humayun's.

leave such dangerous enemies behind him, Báber determined to return to Cábul. He nevertheless kept his hold on the country he had reduced, and left persons on whom he could depend in the principal places. At Dibálpúr he left Alá ud dín, an uncle of King Ibráhím, who seems to have escaped from confinement, and who had joined Báber. Doulat Khán now returned to the Panjáb, and overran great part of it, Alá ud dín flying to Cábul, but in the end Doulat Khán was entirely defeated by one of Báber's generals; and as that monarch himself was engaged in defending Balkh against the Uzbeks, he sent Alá ud dín to India, with orders to his own chiefs to assist him. Thus supported, Alá ud dín advanced to Delhi, and, from the general disaffection, his army was soon swelled to 40,000 men. With this force he engaged Ibráhím under the walls of Delhi, and was totally defeated. By this time Báber had settled Balkh, and was advanced as far as Láhór on his way into India. From Láhór he marched into the hills in pursuit of Doulat Khán, who submitted and gave up his fort;<sup>30</sup> after which Báber continued his route through the hills to Rópur on the Satlaj, above Lodíána, and from thence nearly by the direct road to Delhi. At Pánipat he found himself in the neighbourhood of Ibráhím, who had come out to meet him at the head of an army amounting, as it was represented to Báber, to 100,000 men, with 1,000 elephants. On the approach of this force, Báber took up a position, linked his guns together by ropes of twisted leather, and lined them with infantry further protected by breastworks. He likewise strengthened his flanks with fieldworks of earth and fascines. His army, including followers, amounted to no more than 12,000 men. When Ibráhím drew near, he also fortified his position; but had not steadiness enough to adhere to his plan of awaiting an attack, and in a few days led out his army to storm Báber's lines. As soon as he was engaged with the front, Báber ordered his right and left wings to attack the flanks and rear of the enemy. They accordingly advanced, and plied them with their arrows, until the Indian troops, after attempting, in a few feeble charges, to drive them off, fell into disorder; when Báber, who had hitherto been annoying them with his cannon, ordered his centre to move forward, and completed the rout of the enemy. Ibráhím was killed, and the Indian army, having been nearly

*He retreats  
from Sirhind.*

*Return of  
Báber.  
December.*

*Defeat and  
death of  
Ibráhím.  
A.D. 1536,  
April 21.*

<sup>30</sup> His son Gházi Khán fled, and Báber took possession of his library, in which he found a number of valuable books. One

would have thought the Korán a sufficient library for an Afghán chief of those days.

surrounded during the battle, suffered prodigious loss in the defeat. Báber judged from observation that 15,000 or 16,000 lay dead on the field, of whom 5,000 or 6,000 lay in one spot around their king. The Indians reported that not less than 40,000 perished in the battle and pursuit.

This action does not give a high idea of the military character of either party. It lasted from soon after sunrise till noon, during which period, Báber observes, with satisfaction, that his guns were discharged *many times* to good purpose.<sup>4</sup> The service of artillery would not in that age have been much better in Europe; but although Báber's plan of harassing the enemy's flanks and rear with arrows seems to be justified by its success, it does not appear remarkable either for skill or spirit, or likely to have been carried on with impunity against an active enemy.

Delhi was surrendered, and Báber advanced and took possession of Agra, which had lately been the royal residence.

From a list of Ibráhim's nobles, given by Ferishta, they appear all to have been of the Afghán tribes of Lóhí or Lohání, or of that called Fermalí, who were mixed with the Afgháns like the Khiljís, if indeed they are not a portion of the latter people.

The rájá<sup>5</sup> of Gwáliór, who was reduced to submission during the last reign, accompanied Ibráhim's army, and fell along with him in the battle.

Báber reviews his own conquest with much complacency, and compares it to those of Sultán Mahmúd and Shaháb ud dín; and although we must not confound the acquisition of the few distracted provinces held by Ibráhim with the subjugation of India, yet it must be admitted that his enterprise was as glorious in its achievement as it was memorable in its effects. His force seemed insufficient even to occupy the territory he had to subdue, and it was drawn with difficulty from his own dominions, still threatened by the Uzbeks, whose power the combined force of the whole House of Tamerlane had proved unable to withstand.

Báber's conduct to the places where he met with resistance was as inhuman as that of Tamerlane, who was naturally his model.

The smallness of his force was some justification of the means

[In another sense, Ibráhim's force remarks that one of his pieces played remarkably well: the first day it was discharged eight times, the second sixteen

times, and the same rate continued for three or four days. *Babarname*, vol. i. p. 466. Etc.

<sup>4</sup> *The Babarname*, p. 133.

he took to strike a terror, but the invariable practice of his country is the best palliation for him. His natural disposition was remarkably humane; and although we cannot help being shocked at these occurrences, and at two or three cruel executions mentioned in his memoirs, yet they prove no more against his personal character in this respect, than his slaughtering Gauls, or crucifying pirates against Cæsar's clemency.

Báber was the founder of a line of kings under whom India rose to the highest pitch of prosperity, and out of the ruins of whose empire all the existing states in that country are composed.

## BOOK VII.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF BÁBER TO THE ACCESSION OF AKBER.

### HOUSE OF TÍMÚR.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### REIGN OF BÁBER.

THE early life of Báber<sup>1</sup> was a tissue of surprising vicissitudes and romantic adventures.<sup>2</sup> He was the sixth in de-  
Descent and early life of Báber.  
 scent from Tamerlane. The extensive dominions of his grandfather, Abúsaíd, were shared by the numerous sons of that monarch. One of them, Ahmed Mírzá, obtained Samarcand and Bokhárá; Balkh (or Bactria) fell to another, Mahmúd Mírzá; and Cábul to a third, whose name was Ulugh Bég. Omar Shékh Mírzá, the fourth son, and the father of Báber, had at first been in charge of Cábul; but was transferred during his father's lifetime to Ferghána,<sup>3</sup> on the upper course of the Jaxartes, a small but rich and beautiful country, of which

<sup>1</sup> [His real name was Zahir ud dín Muhammad; Báber "the lion" was his Tartar sobriquet.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> The account of Báber is taken from his own *Memoirs*, translated by Mr. Erskine. It differs, in some respects, from that given by Ferishta. [Mr. Erskine

subsequently published a history of the reigns of Báber and Humáyún in two volumes, which may be said to have fully and finally elucidated this part of Muhammadan Indian history.—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> [Now Kokán.—ED.]



Báber always speaks with fondness. The mother of Báber was a *Mogul*, the sister of Mahmúd Khán, a descendant of Chaghatai Khán, and head of *his* branch of the empire of Chengiz Khán. This connexion does not seem to have inspired any attachment on the part of Báber towards the Mogul nation, of whom he never speaks in his memoirs but with contempt and aversion.<sup>1</sup>

Báber was only twelve years old at the death of his father and his own accession (A.D. 1494). Omar Shékh Mirzá had just been involved in a war with his brother, Ahmed Mirzá, of Samarcand, and his brother-in-law, Mahmúd Khán, the Mogul; and those princes showed no disposition to relent in favour of their youthful nephew. They, however, failed entirely in an attack on his capital, and shortly after Ahmed Mirzá died. He was succeeded by his brother, the king of Bactria. He also died soon after, and was succeeded by his son, Báisanghar Mirzá. Confusions ensued, and Báber was induced to attempt the conquest of Samarcand for himself. Though he had for some time conducted his own government, he was as yet only fifteen; and considering that circumstance, together with the insignificance of his means, it is much less surprising that he more than once failed in this undertaking, than that his spirit and perseverance were at last rewarded with success (A.D. 1497).

The possession of the capital of Tamerlane, which seemed a step to the sovereignty of all Transoxiana, proved in itself to be more than Báber had strength to maintain. The country of Samarcand was exhausted by long disorders, and afforded no means of paying his troops, who, in consequence, began to desert in great numbers. They spread their discontent among those left in Ferghána, and at last openly revolted, under Ahmed Tambol, one of Báber's principal leaders, in the name of his younger brother, Jehángír Mirzá. Such a rebellion at home allowed no time for delay, and Báber left Samarcand, after a reign of a hundred days: on his departure the inhabitants immediately threw off their obedience to him. An unfortunate illness, which he with difficulty survived, so retarded his operations, that, by the time he had abandoned Samarcand, he found

<sup>1</sup> "Under these circumstances," observes Mr. Erskine, "it may seem one of the strangest of pieces of fortune, that the empire which he founded in India should have been created by him the country and conqueror, the empire of the Moguls, the kingdom of his successors, which he

detested." (Erskine's *Báber*, p. 236.) (Cf. the passage quoted in p. 491.) The reason is, that the Indians call all northern Moslems except the Afghans, Moguls; they now apply the term particularly to the Persians.

he had lost his hereditary dominions. On this he had recourse to his Mogul uncle, and, sometimes with slender aid from him, but oftener with his own resources alone, he made various attempts, not without partial success, both on Samarcand and Ferghána. At length, in 1499, he succeeded in recovering his native kingdom; but he had not entirely subdued the rebels, when he was tempted by strong invitations from Samarcand to set out for that capital. Before he reached his destination, he learned that both Samarcand and Bokhára were occupied by the Uzbeks, then founding the dominion which they still possess over Transoxiana.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile Tambol had again seized on Ferghána, and Báber was compelled to take refuge in the almost inaccessible mountains to the south of that country. While there he learned that Sheibání Khán, the chief of the Uzbeks, had left Samarcand on an expedition; and, with characteristic spirit of enterprise, he determined to avail himself of the opportunity to attempt to surprise that city. He set off with only 240 men; escaladed the walls in the night, overpowered the guards, and magnified the impression of his numbers, by boldness and rapidity, until the citizens rose in his favour, and massacred the Uzbeks wherever they were to be found. Sheibání Khán hastened back on this intelligence, but found the gates shut against him, and ultimately withdrew to Bokhára.

The whole of Sogdiana now declared for Báber. He remained for six months in quiet possession, and employed the interval in endeavours to form a combination among the neighbouring princes, by impressing them with a sense of their danger from the Uzbeks. His exertions were fruitless, and he was obliged to encounter alone the whole power of Sheibání. The hopes of success, which even then he continued to cherish, were frustrated by the baseness of some Mogul auxiliaries, who left the battle for the purpose of plundering his baggage. The consequence was a total defeat, and Báber was obliged to retire, with the few troops that adhered to him, within the walls of Samarcand. He resolved to defend that place to the last extremity, and repelled various assaults that were made on him by the

<sup>5</sup> The Uzbeks (so called from one of their kháns) were a mass of tribes of Túrki, Mogul, and probably of Fennic origin, moulded into one people, but with a great preponderance of Túrks. They had before been settled on the Jaik, and had been in possession of a large tract in Siberia. (Erskine's *Báber*, Introduction,

pp. lix., lx.) [They embraced Muhammadanism, under their chief, Uzbek Khán, about 1340. They had received a great defeat from the father of Mahmúd Khán, in 1473, but they were now reunited under Sheibání, whom Mahmúd Khán had made his governor in Turkistán.—Ed.]

Uzbeks. Sheikhání had then recourse to a blockade, and in four months reduced his enemies to all the miseries of famine. The inhabitants perished in great numbers; the soldiers let themselves down from the walls, and deserted; and Báber, who had shared in all the privations of the people, was compelled at last to evacuate the town.

After this he spent nearly two years in the utmost poverty and distress, sometimes in the mountains, and oftener in his uncle's camp, where he remained in such a state of destitution that his very servants left him from absolute want. He seems to have been almost reduced to despondency by his repeated misfortunes, and once resolved to withdraw to China, and pass his life in obscurity and retirement. Occasional openings in Ferghána served to keep alive his hopes; and at length, with the help of his uncle, he recovered the capital, and was joined by his brother Jehángir, who had hitherto been his nominal rival. Tambol, in this strait, called in the formidable aid of the Uzbeks. Báber was overpowered, compelled to fly, after a desperate conflict in the street, and so hotly pursued that his companions, one by one, fell into the hands of the enemy, and his own horse was so much exhausted that he was overtaken by two of Tambol's soldiers. They endeavoured to persuade him to surrender; and Báber, while he kept up the parley, continued to push on towards the mountains. At length he thought he had succeeded, by arguments and entreaties, in bringing over the pursuers to his interest, and they took a solemn oath to share his fortunes; but whether they were originally insincere, or lost heart when they contemplated the prospect before them, they ended by betraying Báber to his enemies, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he again recovered his freedom. He only escaped to a condition almost as hopeless as captivity. His uncle's Mogul army had been defeated by Sheikhání, and himself made prisoner; while the whole of Transoxiana, except that narrow annexed to Bactria, fell into the hands of the Uzbeks. *عاشقان*. All his prospects being thus extinguished, Báber took a last farewell to his native country of Ferghána, and set out to try his fortune in new scenes beyond the range of the *Hudúcs*.

After all that he had done and suffered enough to fill up aeventful life, Báber was yet only in his twenty-third year. He bore his numerous reverses with the elasticity of youth. Himself tells us that he often shed many tears, and composed

\* And, it was the chief town of Ferghána, not Báber's father that made Akhe-  
*عاشقان* (179).

many melancholy verses : but in general his cheerful temper buoyed him up, and enabled him to enjoy the present, and to entertain favourable prospects of the future. He says he never had more perfect pleasure than for a few days after he evacuated Samarcand, when he first got a full meal, a quiet night's rest, and a temporary freedom from labour and anxiety. He had often similar moments of enjoyment, thanks to his sociable habits and his relish for simple pleasures. He pauses, in relating one of his desperate expeditions, to describe a particular sort of melon with which he had been struck : if ever he had an interval of rest, he was occupied with plants and gardening ; and during all his marches, in peace or war, flowers and trees and cheerful landscapes were never thrown away on him. It may be because others have not opened their hearts as he has done, but there certainly is no person in Asiatic history into whose tastes and feelings we can enter as into Báber's.

Bactria was now in the hands of Khusrou Sháh, a favourite of Báber's late uncle, and afterwards minister to his cousin, Báisanghar Mírzá, the same whom he had driven out of Samarcand. Khusrou Sháh had since murdered his master, and was in possession of what remained of his dominions. He endeavoured to conciliate Báber, and received him with a show of hospitality when he entered his territory. His professions arose from a sense of his own insecurity ; it was not long ere all the Moguls in his employment proffered their services to Báber ; and, before they had openly declared themselves, Khusrou's own brother, Báki, came over to the same side, and was followed by the whole of the army. When Báber approached Khusrou's frontier he had between two and three hundred followers, many of them armed with clubs ; and only two tents, the best of which was allotted to his mother. He now set out to invade Cábul, at the head of a regular and well-equipped army. His uncle, Ulugh Bég, the king of that country, had expired two years before ; his son and successor had been expelled by his minister ; and he, in his turn, had been dispossessed by the Mogul or Túrki family of Arghún, who had been for some time in possession of Candahár. Báber occupied Cábul almost without opposition (A.D. 1504) ; and, regarding the original owner as completely ejected, he took possession in his own name, and subsequently resisted an attempt of his cousin to regain his inheritance. He afterwards lost Bactria, which was recovered by Khusrou Sháh, and ultimately conquered by the Uzbeks. Báber's connexion with the country beyond the mountains was therefore entirely cut off. He was

now king of Cābul, over which country he reigned for twenty-two years before his conquest of India, and which was enjoyed by his descendants till the end of the seventeenth century.

But though Báber had gained a fixed establishment, he was by no means in a state of repose. He had, in fact, only changed the character of his toils and perils. He was still threatened from without, by an enemy who had hitherto proved irresistible ; and within, a great part of his territory was in the hands of independent tribes, and so strong that he could not hope to subdue it, while part of the rest was possessed by personal enemies and rivals. His title was doubtful ; he had no minister whom he could trust ; his brother Jehángir had but lately joined him, after having been long in rebellion ; and his army was an assemblage of adventurers, strangers to him, and traitors to their former masters.

His first years were spent in the conquest of Candahár, in expeditions into the mountains of the Afgháns and Hazárehis, and in a dangerous journey to Herát, to concert measures with that branch of the House of Tamerlane for their common defence against the Uzbeks. On these occasions he underwent the usual risks and more than the usual hardships of war, and had once nearly perished in the snow, during a winter march through the mountains of the Hazárehis.

In this period his brother Jehángir revolted (A.D. 1506), but was subdued and pardoned ; a more serious insurrection took place while he was at Herát, when his Mogul troops set up one of his cousins as king, who was also defeated and pardoned (A.D. 1507) ; and he was afterwards brought to the brink of ruin by a conspiracy of the Moguls, who had come over from Khusróu Sháh. These men, from two to three thousand in number, gave the first sign of their disaffection by an attempt to seize Báber's person ; and when he had escaped, and fled from Cābul, they called in Abd ur Razzák, the son of Ulugh Bég, whom Báber had supplanted in the government (A.D. 1508). The right of this young man had probably little influence, for all the princes of the House of Tamerlane seemed to consider that conqueror's dominions as a common prize, from which each might take what share he could ; his strength lay in the connexions he possessed in a country where his father had reigned, and those were so powerful that Báber found himself deserted by the whole of his troops, except about 500 men. A moment's despatch at this crisis would have been fatal, but Báber

made up for his small force by the boldness and activity of his enterprises; he led his troops to repeated encounters, exposed himself in the hottest of every engagement, and, almost entirely by his personal courage and exertions, at last retrieved his affairs.<sup>7</sup>

His most important wars were with his old enemies the Uzbeks. Sheibání Khán, after the conquest of Transoxiana, invaded Khorásán, took Herát, and extinguished the principal branch of the House of Tamerlane.<sup>8</sup> He then advanced to Candahár, and took the city. He was drawn off by distant troubles before he had reduced the citadel; but left it so weakened that it fell into the hands of its old possessors the Arghúns, who had remained in the neighbourhood, and who now retained it for several years (from A.D. 1507 to 1522). What might have been Báber's fortune if the Uzbeks had continued their progress, it is not easy to surmise. It is possible he might have shared the fate of so many princes of his family, had not Sheibání Khán encountered a new enemy, whose success put a stop to the career of Tartar conquest. This was Sháh Ismaíl Safaví, king of Persia, with whom Sheibání went to war about this time, and by whom he was totally defeated and slain (A.D. 1510).

His death opened a new field to Báber, or rather recalled him to that which had been the scene of his earliest exploits. He immediately occupied Bactria, made an alliance with Sháh Ismaíl, and, with the aid of a Persian force, took Bokhárá, and again obtained possession of Samarcand (A.D. 1511).

But he was destined never to be long successful in Transoxiana: before the end of a twelvemonth he was driven out of Samarcand by the Uzbeks; and although he maintained the contest, with the support of the Persians, for two years longer, yet he at last suffered a total defeat, and lost all his acquisitions except Bactria<sup>9</sup> (A.D. 1514).<sup>10</sup>

It was after this failure that he turned his serious attention

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Erskine, from Kháfi Khán and Ferihta. Báber's *Memoirs* break off in the beginning of the insurrection, and are not resumed for some years. The intervening portion seems never to have been written. (Erskine's *Báber*, p. 236.)

<sup>8</sup> [The great sultán, Husain Mirzá Baikará, had died in 1506; his sons were quite unfit for the emergency, and the whole family were killed or driven into exile. In 1507 Sheibání had conquered Samarcand, Ferghána, Hissár, Khárizm, and Khorásán, and ruled from beyond the Jaxartes to the Hindú Kush.—ED.]

<sup>9</sup> [Balkh was held by the king of Persia. Báber had Kunduz, and his cousin Mirzá Khán held Badakhshán under him. Erskine, vol. i. p. 424.—ED.]

<sup>10</sup> [In 1522, Báber gains possession of Candahár, by a capitulation; and Sháh Bég Arghún establishes himself in Upper Sind, Jámi Firóz, the reigning king, being confined to Lower Sind. The capital of the former is Bheker, that of the latter Tatta. His son, Sháh Hasan Arghún, adds Lower Sind to his previous dominions; and the Arghún dynasty holds Sind until Akber's time.—ED.]



The determination so strongly expressed had an effect even on the enemy; and many, who had hitherto expected Báber to withdraw, as Tamerlane had done, now made their submission; detachments were sent to reduce others; and, in the course of the next four months, not only had the country held by Sultán Ibráhím been secured, but all the revolted provinces ever possessed by the house of Lódí, including the former kingdom of Jounpúr, were brought into subjection by an army under Prince Humáyún, Báber's eldest son.

The last places which submitted were Biána, Dhulpúr A.D. 1502,  
July to Oct.,  
A.H. 902. on the Chambal, and Gwáliór beyond that river.

After he had thus been acknowledged by all the Mussulmans, Báber had to commence a war with the Hindús, who, His war with  
Sanga, rája  
of Mewár. contrary to their usual practice, were on this occasion the aggressors.

Hamír Sing, the Rájput prince who recovered Chítór in the reign of Alá ud dín Khiljí (A.D. 1316), had, in the course of a long reign, re-established the Rájput dominion over all Mewár, to which his son had added Ajmír.<sup>12</sup> After the separation of Málwa from Delhi, the new kings of that country were engaged in frequent hostilities with the rajas of Mewár; and, immediately before the time of Báber, Mahmúd, king of Málwa, had been defeated and taken prisoner by Sanga, the Rájput prince <sup>13</sup> (A.D. 1519).

Sanga, the sixth in succession from Hamír, possessed all the hereditary dominions of Mewár, and likewise held the eastern part of Málwa, as far as Bhílsa and Chándéri,<sup>14</sup> in dependence. He was recognised as their leader by the rajas of Márwár and Jeipúr, and all the other Rájput princes.<sup>15</sup>

Being a natural enemy to the king of Delhi, he had opened a friendly communication with Báber while he was advancing against Ibráhím; and for the same reason he began to form combinations against him, as soon as he found him established in the former position of that prince. Besides his Hindú allies, Sanga was on this occasion accompanied by Mahmúd, a prince of the house of Lódí,<sup>16</sup> who had assumed the title of king, and, though possessed of no territory, was followed by 10,000 adherents. The Lódí chiefs formerly driven out by Humáyún also returned to their former possessions, or raised men in other places to co-operate with the rája. Great efforts were made on

<sup>12</sup> Colonel Tod's *Rajasthána*, vol. i. p. 274.

<sup>13</sup> Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 299.

<sup>14</sup> Briggs's *Perishta*, vol. iv. p. 261.

<sup>16</sup> [A brother of the late Sultán Ibráhím.—ED.]

<sup>15</sup> Báber's *Memoirs*, p. 312.



both sides to secure the alliance of Hasan Khán, rája of Mēwāt, who, by his name, must have been a converted Hindú. His territory is that hilly tract extending towards the river Chambal, from within twenty-five miles of Delhi, and including the petty state which is now called Machéri or Alwar.

The son of this chief being a hostage in Báber's hands, he adopted the liberal policy of sending him to his father, as the true way to gain his sincere co-operation. His generosity did not make the desired impression, for Hasan Khán was no sooner set at ease about his son than he openly joined the enemy. Rája Sangá immediately advanced to support his ally, and soon arrived at Bihán, within fifty miles of Agra. He drove the garrison of that place, with loss, into their fort, and cut off all communication between them and the capital. Báber, on this, sent forward a detachment to observe the enemy, and soon after moved out with all his forces. He had reached Sikri,<sup>7</sup> about twenty miles from Agra, when he found himself in the neighbourhood of the Hindú army. His advanced guard was immediately attacked, and, though reinforced from the main body, was defeated with heavy loss. If the rája had pressed on during the first panic, it is probable he would have obtained an easy victory; he chose to withdraw to his encampment after his <sup>February</sup> success, and thus allowed Báber ample time to take up <sup>1557-58</sup> a position and to fortify his camp, so as to make it a difficult matter to assail him.

Báber's troops had looked on this contest in a very serious light from the first; and the reports of fugitives, together with the disaster which had taken place almost before their eyes, had made a very deep impression on them; when, by ill-luck, a celebrated astrologer arrived from Cábul, and loudly announced, from the aspect of Mars, the certain defeat of the king's army, which happened to be in the quarter opposite to that planet. The consternation occasioned by these real and imaginary terrors was so general, that even the officers of the highest rank were infected, lost all courage and decision in council, and could scarcely even maintain an appearance of firmness before their men. Báber's Indian troops began to desert; some of them went over to the enemy; and the rest of the army, though faithful, was completely dispirited and alarmed. Báber himself, though he despised the prediction of the astrologer, was not insensible to the dangers of his situation; he tells us that he repented of his sins, forswore wine, and gave away his gold and

silver drinking-vessels, to the poor; he also made a vow to let his beard grow, and promised to remit the stamp-tax on all Mussulmans, if it should please God to give him victory. But he was too much used to danger to be depressed; and that he might infuse some of his own spirit into his troops, he assembled his officers of all ranks, and without touching on the usual topics of necessity, or of spoil and conquests,—scarcely even on that of religion,—he made a direct appeal to their sense of honour, and set the chance of glory against the risk of death. His theme seems to have been well chosen, for the whole assembly answered him with one voice, and accompanied their acclamations with an oath on the Koran to conquer or die. This scene revived the courage of the army; and, as every day brought in accounts of some fresh disorder in the provinces, Báber determined no longer to avoid an action, but to bring things to an immediate crisis. With this view, he drew up his army in front of his entrenchments, and after arranging his guns, and making his other preparations, he galloped along the line from right to left, animating his soldiers by short addresses, and instructing the officers how to conduct themselves in the battle. The Hindús, it appears, were equally ready for a decisive effort; but so anxious is Báber to do justice to the great occasion, that, instead of his own account of the action, he gives us the elaborate despatch of his secretary, from which we can barely discover, in many pages of flowery declamation, that Báber gained a great victory, that Rája Sanga escaped with difficulty, and that Hasan Khán and many other chiefs were slain. Báber (to return to his own narrative) could now relieve his heart by a torrent of abuse against the astrologer, who came to congratulate him on his victory, and whom he inveighed against as a perverse, conceited, and insufferable evil-speaker: he was an old servant, however, and Báber made him a liberal present, while he desired him to quit his dominions.

After this victory Báber proceeded to reduce Mewát, and brought it into greater order than it ever had been in under the former government. Having promised, before the great battle, that he would allow any one who pleased leave of absence to Cábul; he formed all who desired to avail themselves of that permission into a detachment, and sent them back under the command of Humáyún.

He spent the next six months in internal arrangements, and restoring order throughout the provinces that had been disturbed

during the doubtful period of his contest with Rája Sangha; and by the end of the year his authority was everywhere re-established, except on Oudh, beyond the Ganges. A body of Afgháns still remained in arms in that province, and a detachment had been sent against them.

About the beginning of the next year Báber marched against Chándéri on the borders of Bundéland and Málwa. v. n. 1626, A. H. 956 Siege of Chándéri. It was held by Mélní Rái, a Rájput chief who had risen to great power under Mahmúd II., king of Málwa. He had afterwards usurped the government; and, on being expelled by Mahmúd with the aid of the king of Guzerát, established himself at Chándéri, under the protection of Rája Sangha. He had made good his retreat after the late battle, and now offered a desperate resistance. But the Rájputs, as usual, showed more valour than skill or perseverance. On the second day of the siege they gave up all for lost, and Báber witnessed one of those extraordinary instances of self-devotion which are so common in Rájput history. His troops had already mounted the works, when the garrison put their women to death, and rushed forth naked, not to conquer, but to die. They drove the Mussulmans before them, leaped from the ramparts, and continued their charge with unabated fury until they were overpowered and destroyed: 200 or 300 had remained to defend Mélní Rái's house, v. n. 1626, January 20. most of whom slew each other, each contending who should be the first victim.

During the siege of Chándéri, Báber received intelligence of Afghanistan the defeat of his detachment in Oudh by an Afghán, Barrookto chief named Bábur, or Bibán, and immediately marched, himself, in that direction. The Afgháns having taken post at the passage of the Ganges, Báber threw a bridge over the river, under the fire of his artillery, and ultimately compelled the enemy to retire beyond the Gogra, whither he marched in pursuit of them. He seems to have compelled the rebels to take refuge in the territories of the king of Bengal, and it was probably on this occasion that he reduced Behár, if that was not done before by Humayún; but in this place there is an interruption in the Memoirs, which is not filled up by any other historian.

For some months after this Báber seems to have been in bad health, and to have indulged in a longer course of relaxation than often fell to his lot. His Memoirs (which are now resumed) are filled with descriptions of Hindú forts and temples, and of fountains and cascades that he had visited; as well

as of his own gardens and improvements, and of the jugglers, wrestlers, and other sources of amusement peculiar to India.

Even during this period he made the important acquisition of the fort of Rintambór: it was made over to him by the second son of Rája Sanga, that prince having died, and having been succeeded by the eldest son.

His attention was at last effectually roused by the intelligence that the province of Behár had been seized on by Sultán Mahmúd, the same Lódi prince who had been present at the defeat of Rája Sanga. Mahmúd seems to have been supported from Bengal; and, being joined by the Afgháns in Behár and the adjoining provinces, his army soon swelled to such an extent as to be called 100,000 men. With this force he had advanced to Benáres, by the time when Báber reached the junction of the Jumna and Ganges, now Allahabad. The approach of Báber, however, dissolved this hasty assemblage, which was already a prey to dissension.<sup>16</sup> They had attempted to storm the hill-fort of Chunár; and a repulse they met with, though not in itself considerable, was sufficient, in the present state of their minds, to break up the army. Mahmúd retreated with such portion as he could keep together. He took up a position behind the river Són (Soane), and many of the chiefs who had quitted him made their submission to Báber. Báber continued his advance; and Mahmúd, finding it in vain to oppose him, sought for safety in flight.

All Behár south of the Ganges was now in Báber's hands; North Behár was still in possession of the king of Bengal, who had a considerable army on foot in that quarter. His object appears to have been to have retained that portion of the Delhi territories without quarrelling with the possessor of the rest; and he kept an ambassador in Báber's camp, to amuse him with negotiations, until Báber lost patience, crossed the Ganges, and advanced against the Bengalese army.

He had still to pass the river Gógra, on which the enemy were encamped, near its junction with the Ganges. He was, however, well provided with boats, and drove away those of the Bengalese, which might otherwise have obstructed his passage. The Bengalese then moved down to oppose his crossing, and a cannonade was kept up on both sides. As Báber's divisions

<sup>16</sup> [There were many partisans in favour of Jalál ud din Loháni, the son of Muhammad Sháh Loháni. Erskine says, "the feuds between the Loháni and

Lódi factions in the eastern provinces were fatal to the national interest of the Afgháns."—Ed.]

Defeat of  
the king  
of Bengal,  
May, 1529.

landed in succession, they charged the different parties opposed to them, and at last drove the enemy from the field. Soon after this the king of Bengal consented to terms of peace. Báber was preparing to return to Agra, when he heard that a body of Afgháns, who had separated from the Bengal army, under Báhan and another chief, named Báyzid, had crossed the Gógra, and taken Lucknow. He immediately marched in that direction, and on the retreat of the Afgháns, sent a detachment in pursuit of them. It followed them across the Ganges and Jumna, and had completely dispersed them in Bundéland, when the setting-in of the rainy season put an end to all operations.

For the last fifteen months of his life Báber's health seems <sup>to have been</sup> greatly broken: the silence of his diary <sup>gives a proof of his diminished activity, and some</sup> circumstances lead to a belief that his authority began to be weakened by the prospect of its speedy cessation. Humáyún left his government of Badakhshán without leave, and Khalifa, Báber's prime minister, on being selected to replace him, found means to excuse himself and remain at court. Notwithstanding Humáyún's unlooked-for return, he was affectionately received; and a dangerous illness, with which he was soon after attacked, was the immediate cause of the death of Báber.

When it was announced to him that the physicians had given over all their efforts, declaring that medicine could no longer avail, Báber seized on the only hope that remained, and, in conformity with a superstition which still prevails in the East, he determined to devote his own life for that of his son. His friends, who had no little doubt of the efficacy of this substitution, as he had himself, entreated him to forbear from a sacrifice involving the happiness of so many; but Báber's resolution was unmovable. He walked three times round the bed of the dying prince (a solemnity usual on such occasions), and then spent some moments in earnest prayer to God: at the end of which he was filled with such assurance, that he more than once exclaimed, "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!" And so powerful was the impression, both on his mind and his son's, that all the historians agree that Humáyún began from that time to recover; while it is certain that Báber, who was already ill, and whose health must have been severely shaken by his anxiety and agitation, began visibly to decline. It soon became evident that his end was approaching. He called his sons and ministers about him, explained his dying wishes, and named counsel among all, and affection among his children.

But Khalifa, his minister—whose influence, for some unexplained reason, was at that time irresistible—had already resolved to overturn the dearest of his plans. Desirous of keeping power in his own hands, he determined to set aside Báber's own sons, and to give the crown to his son-in-law Mehdi Khája, a young man whose thoughtless and flighty disposition made it seem easy to keep him in perpetual dependence.<sup>19</sup> Mehdi Khája was at no pains to undeceive him in these expectations, and was now considered, by himself and others, as assured of the succession the moment that Báber should breathe his last. As that moment approached, however, he was suddenly seized by Khalifa, put into confinement, and cut off from all communication with those around. The cause of this revolution is explained in a narrative referred to by Mr. Erskine, which is given on the authority of Mohammed Mokim, the father of the author. Khalifa, it seems, was on a visit to Mehdi Khája, with no person present but Mokim : he was suddenly summoned to Báber, who lay at the last extremity. Mehdi Khája attended him with great respect to the door, and stood looking after him, so that Mokim could not follow without pushing by him. "As soon as Khalifa was fairly gone, he muttered to himself, 'God willing, I will soon flay your hide off, old boy !' and, turning round at the same instant, saw my father. He was quite confounded; but immediately seizing my father's ear, with a convulsive eagerness, twisted it round, and said, hurriedly, 'You, Tajik ! the red tongue often gives the green head to the winds.' " Mokim lost no time in apprising Khalifa of what had passed ; and the result was, his immediately transferring his allegiance to Humáyún.

In the midst of these intrigues, with which he was probably unacquainted, Báber expired,—the most admirable, though not the most powerful, prince that ever reigned in Asia.

He died at Agra, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.<sup>20</sup> His body was

*Intrigues  
regarding  
the succe-  
sion.*

*Death of  
Báber.*

*A.D. 1530,  
Dec. 28 ;  
A.H. 937.*

<sup>19</sup> Khalifa was one of Báber's old officers ; but it is not easy to conjecture how he could acquire so inordinate a power under so able a sovereign as Báber, and with an experienced heir-apparent like Humáyún. Equally extraordinary does it seem that, from this time forward, he disappears, and is not mentioned in Ferishta or Abul Fazl, either under his own name of Khalifa, or his title of Nizám ud din.

<sup>20</sup> [At his death, his dominions included, beyond the Hindú Kuah, Badakhshán and Kundúz, and all the districts to the south of the Oxus, as low down as the borders of Balkh. To the south of the mountains he had Kábul, Ghazni, and Kandahár, but most of the mountainous region of Afghánistan was only nominally subject. In India he held the Panjáb, and all Hindustán between the Himaláya and Rájputána ; and most of

buried, by his own desire, at Cabul, and on a spot which it is probable that he had himself selected.<sup>1</sup>

Bâber's character is best shown in his actions, but something of his character remains to be said of his private life and his writings. His *Memoirs* are almost singular in their own nature, and perfectly so if we consider the circumstances of the writer. They contain a minute account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings, free from disguise and reserve, and no less free from all affectation of extreme frankness and candour.<sup>2</sup>

The style is plain and manly, as well as lively and picturesque; and being the work of a man of genius and observation, it presents his countrymen and contemporaries, in their appearance, manners, pursuits, and actions, as clearly as in a mirror. In this respect it is almost the only specimen of real history in Asia; for the ordinary writers, though they give pompous accounts of the deeds and ceremonies of the great, are apt to omit the lives and manners even of that class, while everything beneath their level is left entirely out of sight. In Bâber the figures, dress, tastes, and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters.<sup>3</sup> His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry, are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found, in equal space, in any modern traveller; and, considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising.<sup>4</sup>

But the great charm of the work is in the character of the

Bâber, which has authority. (*Bâber's Memoirs*, p. 12.)—Ed.

<sup>1</sup> He had directed his body to be interred in this place, but the Chinese refused to bury him there. A tomb was accordingly erected to the great pleasure of the natives, which is the great burial-place of the people of Cabul. In the front of the grave is a stone that stands up, as if of white marble. There is a small prospect from the front of the works. Bâber's tomb is at Cabul, p. 104, and p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> In this respect it is very singular, even in those of Timur, which, with all their strength of language, are so distinctly written in the style of the day, having a native simplicity and vigour, as well as a manly force, that had lost all its power. (*Memoirs of Timur*, p. 20.) We can imagine that the natural even-

ness of the style had been a British secret, instead of the most sanguinary of confessions.

<sup>3</sup> These portraits, however, are necessarily confined to the inhabitants of the countries in which Bâber passed his days, in the countries which he has never penetrated he only gives such remarks as are necessary about the natives as would strike a stranger, with an attempt to state his point of their way of life, with which he is not necessarily well acquainted.

<sup>4</sup> It is very singular, even in the most true thread, which he fought his way with those of his father himself a writer of history, of events, and a profound traveller, to be required. Or compare his accuracy with that of any Asiatic who has written expressly on the subject.

author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper, with which he set out on his career; and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste, nor diminished the sensibility to the enjoyment of nature and imagination.

"It is a relief," says his translator, "in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood." He speaks with as much interest of his mother and female relations as if he had never quitted their fireside, and his friends make almost as great a figure in the personal part of his narrative as he does himself. He repeats their sayings, records their accidents and illnesses, relates their adventures, and sometimes jokes on their eccentricities.

After a letter, on the affairs of his government, to his most confidential counsellor, Khájá Kilán (then at Cábul), he tells him little anecdotes of their common acquaintances, which he thinks will amuse him, and adds, "For God's sake excuse all these fooleries, and do not think the worse of me for them!" He endeavours afterwards to persuade Khájá Kilán to leave off wine, as he had done; and says in substance, "Drinking was a very pleasant thing with our old friends and companions; but now that you have only Shír Ahmed and Heider Kulí to take your wine with, it can be no great sacrifice to leave it off." In the same letter, he says how much he envies his friend his residence at Cábul, and adds: "They, very recently, brought me a single musk-melon;<sup>23</sup> while cutting it up, I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness, and a sense of my exile from my native country, and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it."

It would have been fortunate if Báber had left off wine sooner, for there seems good reason to think his indulgence in it tended to shorten his days. Many a drinking-party is recorded in his Memoirs, with at least as much interest as his battles or negotiations; and, unsuitable as they are to his station, they are not the least agreeable scenes in Báber's history. The perfect ease and familiarity among the company makes one forget the prince in the man; and the temptations that generally lead to those excesses—a shady wood, a hill with a fine prospect, or the idleness of a boat floating down a river—together with the amusements with which they are accompanied—extemporary verses,

<sup>23</sup> This fruit had not then been introduced into India.



recitations in Türkî and Persian, with sometimes a song, and often a contest of repartee—take away all the coarseness that might attach to such scenes of dissipation.

The unsettled nature of his life is shown by his observing, near the end of it, that since he was eleven years old he had never kept the fast of the Ramazân twice in any one place; and the time not spent in war and travelling was occupied in hunting and other sports, or in long excursions on horseback about the country. On his last journey, after his health had begun to fail, he rode, in two days, from Cálpi to Agra (160 miles), without any particular motive for despatch; and on the same journey he swam twice across the Ganges, as he said he had done with every other river he had met with. His mind was as active as his body; besides the business of the kingdom, he was constantly taken up with aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, as well as introducing new fruits and other productions of remote countries. Yet he found time to compose many elegant Persian poems and a collection of Türkî compositions, which are mentioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of his own country.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER II.

### FIRST REIGN OF HUMÁYÚN.<sup>1</sup>

BÁKER left three sons besides Humáyún; Cámrán, Hü-dál, and Mírzá Askarí.

<sup>2</sup> Almost all that has been said of Báker has been drawn from Mr Erskine's admirable translation of his *Memoirs* from the Türkî. The notes and supplements which accompany that work remove the obscurities which, with its assistance, would beset us in every page; and the preliminary dissertation gives a complete view of the state of Asia in Báker's time, and contains the best account of the geography of the countries which were the scene of his exploits, and the clearest exposition of the divisions of the Tartar nation. The translation seems to have imbibed the very spirit of the original. The style is singularly happy, strikingly characteristic, though perfectly natural, and equally remote from the usual inflated language of the East, and from the antithetical Scriptural simplicity into

which other translators of similar works have fallen.

<sup>1</sup> The narrative of the reign of Humáyún, where not otherwise specified is taken from Ferishta, the *Memoirs* of Humáyún, and Abul Fazl. Ferishta is peculiarly defective at this period, which was too remote to admit of his conversing with eye-witnesses, and too recent to allow him to benefit by written history.

The *Memoirs* are written by a person named Jádler, who was a menial servant of Humáyún, and whose duty it was to carry an ewer for his master to wash his hands. He was in constant attendance on Humáyún, and although unacquainted with his political relations and secret designs, was a minute and correct observer of all that came within his reach, and described what he saw with simplicity and

Cámrán was governor of Cábul and Candahár, and the other two were unemployed in India. From his having assigned no shares to his younger children, it is probable that Báber did not intend to divide the empire; but Cámrán showed no disposition to give way to his brother; and as he was in possession of a strong and warlike country among the hereditary subjects of his family, he had a great advantage over Humáyún, who could not assemble an army without evacuating his new and disaffected provinces.

Arrange-  
ments of  
the king's  
brother.

In these circumstances, Humáyún thought it prudent to yield with a good grace, and give up the Panjáb, and the country on the Indus, in addition to Cámrán's former territories. At the same time he gave the government of Sambal to Hindál, and that of Méwát to Mírzá Askarí. By the cession to Cámrán, Humáyún was left to govern a new conquest, while he was deprived of the resources by which it had been gained, and by which it might have been retained; but as he still possessed Báber's veteran army, and profited by the impression of his power, the effects of the dismemberment did not at first appear.

Separation  
of Cábul  
from India.

Humáyún was engaged in the siege of Cálanjer, in Bundélcand, when he received intelligence that Bában and Báyzíd, the Afghán chiefs, whose party was formerly broken up by Báber, were again in rebellion in Jounpúr. He defeated and dispersed this assemblage, and then went against the hill-fort of Chunár, near Benares, at that time held by his future rival, Shír Khán. Shír Khán submitted, on condition of retaining the fort, and Humáyún returned to Agra.

Afghán in-  
surrections  
in India.

A. D. 1532,  
A. H. 939.

Some time before this period, a brother-in-law of Humáyún,

distinctness. He was devoted to Humáyún, and anxious to put all his actions in the most favourable light; but he seldom imagined that anything in his master's conduct required either concealment or apology.

Abúl Fazl was the well-known minister and favourite of Akber, and was a man of enlarged views and extraordinary talents; but he was a professed rhetorician, and is still the model of the unnatural style which is so much admired in India; he was, besides, a most assiduous courtier, eager to extol the virtues, to gloss over the crimes, and to preserve the dignity of his master and those in whom he was interested. His dates and his general statement of events are valu-

able; but he requires constant attention, not so much to guard against his barefaced partiality, as against the prejudice which he draws on his favourites, by his fawning and fulsome commendations of them, and against the suspicions which he excites by his dishonest way of telling a story, even in cases where the action related was innocent or excusable. His narrative is florid, feeble, and indistinct, overloaded with commonplace reflections and pious effusions, generally ending in a compliment to his patron. In this part of his writings I have generally availed myself of Major Price's *History*, which, though it does not profess to be a translation, is often a literal version, and always a full and faithful abstract of the original.

who had been engaged in plots against his life and government, had taken refuge with Bahádúr Sháh, king of Guzerát; and the refusal of that monarch to comply with Humáyún's demand for his surrender led to irritation and hostile feelings between the two kings. Bahádúr, whose native kingdom always occupied a high rank among those formed out of the fragments of the empire of Delhi, had lately extended his power much beyond its former limits. The kings of Khándesh, Bérár, and Ahmednagar had agreed to do him homage for their crowns; and he had completely conquered the kingdom of Málwa, and annexed it to his own.

While his discussion with Humáyún was at its height, Alá ud dín, the uncle of Sultán Ibráhím Lódi, who acted so conspicuous a part in the former reign,<sup>1</sup> having quitted the residence assigned to him by Báber, in Badakhshán, threw himself on the protection of the king of Guzerát; and Bahádúr, whose family had risen to greatness under the House of Lódi, and who had himself found an asylum at the court of Ibráhím—being at once incited by favour for his hereditary patrons, resentment at Humáyún, and pride in his own power and prosperity—was tempted into measures as inconsistent with sound policy as with justice. Without any open declaration of war with Humáyún, he liberally supplied Alá ud dín with money, and enabled him, in a very short time, to assemble a large force, and to send it against Agra, under his son Tátár Khán. This army, so hastily collected, was as speedily dispersed; and Tátár Khán fell in battle, at the head of a division which remained faithful in the general desertion.

Encouraged by this success, or perhaps in pursuance of plans already determined on, Humáyún marched from Agra to revenge the injury he had received from Bahádúr Sháh. That prince was now at war with the Rám of Mēwár, and, being entirely occupied by the siege of Chitór, was particularly exposed to the attack of an enemy; but Humáyún, moved by his remonstrances against the impety of molesting a Mussulman prince while engaged in war with the infidels, or influenced by his own dilatory habits, retarded his march until the place was taken, and the besieger prepared to receive him in an entrenched camp at Mandesór. Bahádúr had chosen this course on account of the superiority of his artillery, commanded

<sup>1</sup> With regard to Alá ud dín, who was confined in a fort in Badakhshán, under Báber at Panj-Bab, see the account of his escape, and of his afterwards returning to India, in the *History of the Emperor of the Great Mogul*, by Tavernier, vol. i. p. 100.

by a Constantinopolitan Turk, and partly served by Portuguese prisoners. These advantages availed him little: his position was rendered untenable by the enemy's cutting off his supplies; and, finding that famine would soon force him to surrender, he blew up his guns, and fled in the night, almost alone, to Mandú, leaving his army to provide for its own safety.

The army immediately dispersed, and Bahádur, being hard pressed at Mandú, continued his flight to Chámpánír, and thence to the seaport of Cambay. Humáyún was by this time in pursuit of him in person, with a light detachment, and reached Cambay on the evening of the day on which Bahádur had quitted it for his final place of refuge at Diú, in the most remote part of the peninsula of Guzerát.<sup>3</sup>

Having failed in his immediate object, Humáyún quitted the peninsula, and proceeded to occupy the settled part of Guzerát. He soon obtained possession of the open country, but the year was well advanced before the hill-fort of Chámpánír fell into his hands. It was scaled in the night, with the help of steel spikes fixed in an almost perpendicular rock, by 300 chosen men, who climbed up, one by one, during an attack made on one of the gates by the army. Humáyún himself was among the 300.<sup>4</sup>

A.D. 1555,  
August;  
A.H. 962;  
Sefar.

Soon after the taking of Chámpánír, Humáyún received accounts of the commencement of those troubles which ended in the successful revolt of Shír Khán. He set off for Agra, leaving his brother, Mírzá Askarí, in charge of his new conquests; and had scarcely quitted Guzerát, when dissensions broke out among the officers left behind; discontents and intrigues ensued, and ended in some project for raising Mírzá Askarí to the throne. Bahádur profited by these

Expulsion  
of the Mo-  
guls from  
Guzerát.

<sup>3</sup> When Humáyún was encamped at Cambay, he was exposed to considerable danger from a night-attack of a body of Cúlis, a forest tribe still famous for similar exploits in Guzerát. They made their way with so much silence and intelligence into the camp, that they surprised Humáyún's own tent, and carried off his baggage and books, among which was a remarkable copy of the "History of Tamerlane," the loss and subsequent recovery of which are thought worthy of being recorded by the historians of those times. Humáyún, by way of retaliating the insult he had received from these lawless mountaineers, gave up the unoffending town of Cambay to plunder.

<sup>4</sup> When the fort was taken, it was found

that the place where Bahádur's treasure was concealed was known only to one officer, and it was suggested to have recourse to torture to make him disclose the secret; but Humáyún said they had much better have recourse to wine, and directed that the officer should be well treated, and invited to an entertainment by one of his own chiefs. Accordingly, when his heart was softened by kindness and warmed with good cheer, the officer made no scruple to tell his entertainer, that if the water were drawn off from a certain reservoir the treasure would be found in a vault beneath it; and his instructions being complied with, a large amount of gold and silver was found as he had described.

disorders; and to such a state of weakness were the invaders reduced, that they gave up Guzerát without a struggle, and evacuated Málwa, which was not even threatened.<sup>5</sup>

Humáyún had not been long returned to his capital before he set out against Shír Khán.<sup>6</sup> This person,<sup>7</sup> who was soon to act so great a part, was the grandson of Ibrahim Khán, a native of Afghánistán. Ibrahim claimed to be descended of the family (though probably only of the tribe) of the kings of Ghór, and both he and his son Hasan were married into noble families of their own nation. Hasan held a jágír at Sahserám, in Behár, for the maintenance of 500 horse. He had two sons by his Afghán wife, Shír Khán and Nizám Khán; but he was led, by the arts of a concubine, to slight his wife, and neglect her children; and as soon as Shír Khán was of an age to act for himself, he left his father, went to Jounpúr, and entered as a private soldier into the service of the governor. His father applied to the governor to send him home for his education, but Shír Khán urged that there were more opportunities of education at Jounpúr than at Sahserám; and he seems to have been in earnest in his preference, for he devoted himself to study, made himself familiar with history and poetry, and could repeat all the poems of Sádi from memory, besides acquiring a general knowledge of other branches of information. He was subsequently restored to favour by his father, and managed his jágír, until Soleimán, the son of his stepmother, had grown up. After this he found his situation so unpleasant, that he went off with his full-brother Nizám, and

<sup>5</sup> Ferishta, vol. ii. iv. Part ii. vol. iv. *Memoirs of Humayun* in *Burh's History of Guzerat*. Paper by Col. Miles, *Bombay Literary Transactions*, &c. vol. i.

<sup>6</sup> He marched in the month of Safar. But the year is uncertain: the *Tarikh-i Shír Shah* says c. 942 (c. 1535); and the *T. Mastakhat* & *T. Warakh*, as well as Ferishta, c. 943 (c. 1536). The former date 942 is impossible, because Humayun took the fort of Chanderpur, in Guzerat, in that very month and year. The other year, 943, is probable, and it all was only a twelve months' truce, after the settlement of Guzerat and Málwa, besides the return to Delhi and the preparations for the war with Shír Khán, while it was a year and a half for Humayun to travel to Persia, and though his grand name he took him to Chanderpur, it is probable that his march took place in

Safar, c. 944 (July 1537).

This account of Shír Shah is compiled from Ferishta, vol. i. ii. iv. from *Erskine's Baber*, and from *Abul Fazl's* *Proc.*, vol. iv. Ferishta gives a connected history of Shír Shah, vol. i. p. 98, which, though it appears to be written with perfect impartiality, is extremely confused from matters in the dates; the different expeditions of Baber being mingled up with those of Humayun in such a manner as to make them quite inexplicable without other aid. This aid he himself partially supplies under the reigns of Ibrahim, Baber, and Humayun, but more is derived from *Baber's own Memoirs*. *Abul Fazl* also furnishes several facts, though his general narrative is a mere invective against Shír Shah, such as might have been expected from the manner of Humayun's son.

entered into the service of Sultán Secander, who was then king.<sup>8</sup> He remained at Delhi until his father died, when the *jágir* of Sahserám was conferred on him; and after the defeat of Sultán Ibráhím (A.D. 1526), he was active in the service of Mohammed Sháh Lohání, who set up for king of Jounpúr and Behár. He was for some time in favour with this prince, but being again deprived of his paternal *jágir* by the intrigues of his half-brother Soleimán, he left the court in disgust, and joined Juníd, the governor of Jounpúr, on the part of Báber (A.D. 1527). By the assistance of Juníd, he assembled a body of adventurers in the hills of Behár, recovered his own *jágir*, and carried on attacks and depredations on the territory of Mohammed Sháh Lohání, professing himself a subject of Báber. About this time (A.D. 1528) he waited on that monarch, accompanied him to Chándérí, and was confirmed in his possessions and entrusted with a command in Behár, on the part of the emperor.

Next year (A.D. 1529) Mahmúd Lódí took Behár; and Shír Khán, either from necessity, or an inclination to the cause of his nation, joined the Lódí standard. On the dispersion of Mahmúd's army, he was one of the many chiefs who made their submission to Báber (April 1529).<sup>9</sup> Mohammed Sháh Lohání was now dead; and his son Jelál, who was a minor, in charge of his mother, and at that time accompanying the Bengal army, made his submission also, and was invested with considerable power, on the part of the emperor. He was still, however, under the management of his mother, Dúdú, over whom Shír Khán acquired such an ascendancy, that, on her death, Jelál was left in entire dependence on that ambitious chief. Shír Khán now made himself master of Behár, and also obtained possession of the fort of Chunár, as, at this or some subsequent period he did of the still more important fortress of Rohtás.<sup>10</sup>

These rapid advances to power were made in the early part of Humáyún's reign; and as soon as that prince had settled his discussions with Cámrán, and had time to attend to his interests in the provinces, he marched against Chunár, as has been already stated (A.D. 1532). He, however, was content with the recognition of his title, and the service of a body of horse, under

<sup>8</sup> Secander died in A.D. 1517.

<sup>9</sup> Erskine's *Báber*, p. 408.

<sup>10</sup> Rohtás was taken by treachery from a Hindú rája. Shír Khán persuaded him to give an asylum to his family, and then introduced armed soldiers in the covered litters, which were supposed to conceal

the women. This stratagem, which has so fabulous an appearance, was thought sufficiently plausible in modern times to be employed by M. Bussy to conceal the treachery of a governor who admitted him into the strong fort of Doulatábád.

Shir Khán's son; and this young man took an opportunity to withdraw, when the king began his march against Bahádur Sháh. Humáyún, thenceforward, was fully occupied in Guzerát; and, before his return, Shir Khán had got complete possession of Behár, had invaded Bengal, and had made great progress in the conquest of that rich kingdom.

His war with Bengal was occasioned by Jelál Lohání, who had called in the aid of the king of that country, to relieve him from the control of Shir Khán, and, by his means, had at one time nearly succeeded in his object; but Shir Khán soon retrieved his losses, repelled the attack on himself, and laid siege to Gour, the capital of the hostile king.

He was engaged in this enterprise when Humáyún returned; and that prince could not fail to perceive, at once, the advantage of attacking him while thus embarrassed, and the danger of allowing him to consolidate his power.

With these views, he marched at the head of a powerful army from Agra, and advanced through a peaceful country <sup>unmolested</sup> till he reached Chumár, near Benáres.

But Shir Khán was well aware of all the danger of his situation, and laid his plans for averting it with a foresight and combination of which we have no example in the previous history of India.

His first object was to gain time to complete the conquest of Bengal, before he should be disturbed by a new enemy. For this purpose he threw a strong garrison into Chumár, and provided it with all the means of retarding the advance of Humáyún, by an obstinate defence.

This fort stands on a rock, close to the Ganges, and it, as it were, a detached portion of the Vindhya mountains, which extend to the same river near Mirzápúr. From that neighbourhood the hills recede westward, by the fort of Rohtás and Shírháti, and do not approach the river again until near Bhágalpúr, after which they run straight south, leaving the Ganges at a great distance. These hills, therefore, cover the whole of the south-west of Behár and Bengal, and shut up the road along the south bank of the Ganges, in two places—one near Chumár, and the other at Siragallí, east of Bhágalpúr. The hills themselves are not high, but poor and covered with woods.

As Humáyún marched along the Ganges, and made use of that river to convey his guns and stores, it was necessary for him to begin with the siege of Chumár.<sup>11</sup> After

<sup>11</sup> The Memoirs of Humáyún say that "the army reached Chumár on the Shab"

investing the place, he endeavoured to mine such parts of the walls as were accessible on the land-side, and also brought floating batteries, constructed for the purpose, to bear upon the face towards the river. Notwithstanding all these preparations, his attack failed; the garrison, however, having already held out for several months, and knowing that they had no prospect of relief, at length surrendered. The siege had been conducted by Rûmî Khân, the Constantinopolitan Turk, who brought Bahâdur Shâh of Guzerat's ordnance to so high a state, and who had since entered into the service of Humâyûn; and so much importance was attached to the knowledge of the service of artillery in those days, that the right hands of all the gunners in the garrison, to the number of 300, were cut off, either to disable them for the future, or in revenge for the loss they had occasioned.

After the taking of Chunâr, Humâyûn pushed his march along the Ganges. Before reaching Patna, he was met by Mahmûd, king of Bengal, who had just been driven from his dominions, and was still suffering from a wound he had received in his last defeat.

As he approached the defile of Sîcragalli, he sent on a strong detachment to take possession of it. They found it already occupied by Jelâl Khân, the son of Shîr Khân, who attacked and repulsed them with considerable loss. Humâyûn hastened on with his main body to retrieve this check, but was agreeably surprised to find the pass deserted, and the road open to the capital of Bengal.

It was no part of Shîr Khân's plan to cope with the superior force of Humâyûn in this stage of the campaign. His design from the first was to retire to the hilly tract on the south-west; and with this view he had removed his family, and all that he possessed of value to Rohtâs. The protracted siege of Chunâr had enabled him to reduce Gour, and to defeat Mahmûd in a conclusive battle. He had still required time to remove the captured treasures and stores to Rohtâs, and to dispose of the open country in the manner that suited his views. Jelâl Khân had therefore been instructed to

Barât (Shâbân 15th) of A.H. 945, January 1539; but this would leave only six months for the conquest of Bengal, and all the other operations till Humâyûn's defeat in Safar, A.H. 946 (June 1539). I conclude, therefore, that the memoir-writer, who scarcely ever gives a date,

may have mistaken the year, although he has remembered the festival, and that the siege began 15th Shâbân, A.H. 944 (January 8th, 1538). All accounts agree that the siege lasted several months; some say six months.



delay Humáyún at the pass, but to avoid any serious encounter, and to join his father in the hills. Humáyún accordingly took possession of Gour<sup>12</sup> without further opposition. But the rains <sup>Taking of</sup> had by this time attained their height: the Delta of <sup>Gour by the</sup> the Ganges was one vast sheet of water, and in the <sup>invasion</sup> country beyond the reach of inundation every brook <sup>the defeat</sup> and channel was become an impassable flood. It was impossible to carry on operations in Bengal, and scarcely less difficult to keep up a communication with Upper India. This forced inactivity lasted for several months, during which time the spirit of the soldiers sank under the moist and sultry climate, and their numbers were thinned by the sickly season that follows the heavy rains. No sooner were the roads open, than they began to desert in numbers; and Prince Hindál, who had been left in North Behár, went off even before the rains had ceased.

Meanwhile Shír Khán issued from his retreat, took possession <sup>Accession</sup> of Behár and Benáres, recovered Chunar, laid siege to <sup>the city</sup> Jounpúr, and pushed his detachments up the Ganges as far as Canouj. Thus, when the season for military operations commenced, Humáyún found his communication with his capital again intercepted, and himself left with no alternative but to trust his new conquest to the charge of a weak detachment, and endeavour to force his way to Agra with the rest of his reduced army.

He for some time hesitated to adopt this decided measure, <sup>reasons</sup> and the dry season was half over before he set out on <sup>the</sup> his retreat. He sent on a considerable body before he himself began his march, under the command of Kháni Khánán Lodí, one of Báber's principal generals. By the time this force reached Monghír, it was surprised and defeated by a <sup>small</sup> detachment sent by Shír, who was now as enterprising <sup>as before</sup> as he had before been cautious; and who, to show his confidence in the result of his operations, had already assumed the title of king.

If Humáyún had not before had sufficient motives for extricating himself from his present situation, the accounts he was daily receiving of the progress of affairs at Agra must have filled him with impatience: but by the time he had passed

<sup>12</sup> Probably in or July 1556. Abul Fazl states that Bengal was conquered in 947. The year began on May 10th. It is not at all clear that Humáyún

had met with rain before he left Behar where the rainy season does not commence till June.

Baxar, between Patna and Benáres, he found that Shír Sháh had raised the siege of Jounpúr, and was come by forced marches to intercept his retreat. Shír Sháh had made a march of thirty-five miles on that day, and Humáyún was advised to attack him before his troops had time to refresh. The step seemed too hazardous to be adopted at once; and the next day he found Shír intrenched in such a manner that he could neither be passed nor attacked with any prospect of success. Humáyún, therefore, intrenched in his turn, and began to collect boats and form a bridge across the Ganges, so as to pursue his retreat along the opposite bank. Shír Sháh, to whom every delay was an advantage, allowed him to go on for nearly two months; when, the bridge of boats being nearly completed, Shír Sháh one day left his camp standing, and occupied by a sufficient force to conceal his movement from the enemy; while he himself, with the choice of his army, made a secret march to the rear of Humáyún's position, and, returning in the night, attacked him in three columns about daybreak, and completely surprised his camp. Humáyún had only time to leap on horse-back, and, though himself disposed to make one effort, at least, against the enemy, he was urged by those around him to provide for his own safety; and one of his principal officers, seizing his reins, in a manner compelled him to make his way to the river-side. The bridge, as has been mentioned, was not finished; and, as Humáyún had not a moment for deliberation, he plunged at once into the Ganges. Before he reached the opposite bank his horse was exhausted, and sank into the stream; and Humáyún himself must have met with the same fate, if he had not been saved by a water-carrier<sup>13</sup> who was crossing with the aid of the skin used to hold water, which he had inflated like a bladder, and which enabled him to support the king's weight as well as his own. Thus rescued, Humáyún pursued his flight, with a very small retinue, to Cálpi, and thence proceeded to Agra, almost the whole of his army having been cut off by the enemy or drowned in the river. Humáyún's queen, whom it had been the object of his last exertion to save, had already been surrounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy; she was treated by Shír Sháh with scrupulous delicacy and attention, and was sent on the first

Intercepts  
Humáyún on  
his retreat,  
at Chonsa.

Surprises  
him, and  
disperses  
his army.

A.H. 946,  
Safar 6;  
A.D. 1539,  
June 20.

<sup>13</sup> [This man afterwards came to Agra, and was rewarded by sitting half-a-day (or, as some say, two hours) on the throne, with absolute power; during

which interval he is said to have provided handsomely for himself and his friends. (*Erskine*, ii. 179.)—Ed.]



swim the Ganges; and the king was obliged to throw him from his seat on the neck, and give his place to an eunuch whom he found on the elephant, and who now guided the animal across the stream. The opposite bank was too steep for the elephant to ascend; and Humáyún must still have perished, if two soldiers,<sup>13</sup> who happened to have gained that part of the shore, had not tied their turbans together and thrown one end to him, so as to enable him to make good his landing. Before long he was joined by his brothers, the Princes Hindál and Askari, and also by some troops; and all together made their way to Agra, after a narrow escape from being plundered by the villagers on their road.

All hope of further resistance was now at an end; and they had scarcely time to remove the royal family and the most portable part of the treasures from Agra and Delhi, and to escape to Cámrán at Láhór.

Even there Humáyún was no welcome guest. Cámrán was equally afraid of being supplanted by him at home, and of being involved in his quarrel with Shír Sháh; and lost no time in making his peace with the conqueror, to whom he ceded the Panjáb, and retired himself to Cábul, leaving Humáyún to provide as he could for his own safety.

The deserted monarch turned his thoughts to Sind, the province which adjoined to Cámrán's territories on the south. It was in the hands of Husein, the head of the family of Arghún, who had been driven out of Candahár by Báber; and as it had once belonged to Delhi, Humáyún hoped that he might still find some means of inducing it to recognise his authority.

But there was nothing in Humáyún's character to promise him such an ascendancy.

Though not deficient in intelligence, he had little energy; and though free from vices and violent passions, he was no less devoid of principles and affections. By nature he was more inclined to ease than ambition; yet, as he had been brought up under Báber, and accustomed to bodily and mental exertion, he never was entirely wanting to the exigencies of his situation, or quite lost the advantages of his birth and pretensions, though he never turned them to the best account.

He passed into the Arghún territories through Uch; but after a year and a half of fruitless negotiations, and no less fruitless

<sup>13</sup> [Erskine says "one," who afterwards became a distinguished noble,—Shems ud

dín, the "atkah," or foster-father of Akber  
—ED.]

Remains  
at Láhór,  
A.D. 1540,  
July 8;  
A.H. 947.  
Rahí al-  
Awwal.

A.D. 1540,  
end of Oct.;  
A.H. 947,  
Jamádí'l  
Awwal.

Falls in an  
attempt on  
Sind.

hostilities (during which he attempted the sieges of Bakkar and Schwām), he found his funds expended, and the resources of the country exhausted, and was deserted by the adventurers he had collected,\* just as Husein Arghūn was advancing to attack him. <sup>in despair</sup> In this extremity he fled to Uch, and resolved, as a last <sup>and only</sup> resource, to throw himself on the protection of Māhesh, rājā of Mārwar, whom he supposed to be favourably disposed towards him; but when, after a journey over the desert, in which he lost many of his followers from thirst and fatigue, he had reached the neighbourhood of Jālpūr, he found that the rājā <sup>whom he</sup> was much less inclined to assist him than to deliver <sup>him</sup> up to his enemies, and was obliged again to seek comparative safety in the dreary sands from which he had just emerged. His present object was to make his way to Amroht, a fort in the desert not far from the Indus; and in this journey he had a more desolate tract than ever to pass, and had greater evils to encounter than any he had yet experienced. Before he quitted the inhabited country, the villagers repelled all approaches to their water, which was to them a precious possession; and it was not without a conflict and bloodshed that his followers were able to slake their thirst. And all this was but a prelude to scenes of greater distress. His small train was encumbered by the presence of the women of his family; and they had already left the last trace of human culture behind, and were struggling with thirst in the heart of the desert, when, one <sup>morning</sup>, after a night of fatigue, they perceived that <sup>their</sup> march was followed by a considerable body of <sup>troops</sup> horse; and the worst apprehensions seemed to be realised when they found it was commanded by the son of Māhesh, and was sent to chastise their intrusion into his territory.

These new enemies closed in on the exhausted party, cut off those who attempted resistance, and drove the rest before them; while another detachment pushed forward and took possession of the wells, on which the only remaining hope even of temporary relief was founded.

The calculations of the fugitives seemed now drawing to a close. Yet the Rājās had no intention of destroying them; and when all hope appeared to be extinguished, the rājā's son advanced with a wife to them, and after reproaching them with having encroached on his territory without leave, and with having killed his son, a Hindū minister, supplied them with water for

\* The Rājās were not, however, so cruel as to have a great number of the fugitives put to death. A few, who were treated with humanity, were sent back to the Rājās, and the rest were each deserted individually.

their immediate relief, and allowed them to proceed without further molestation. But the natural horrors of the desert still remained; several marches were still to be accomplished; and it was not till they had again endured the torments of thirst, and witnessed the miserable death of many of their companions, that Humáyún, with seven mounted attendants, at length found entrance to Amercót. The straggling survivors of his party assembled at the same place.

At Amercót he, at last, found a friend. The chief, whose name was Rána Persád, not only received him with respect is hospitably received at Amercót. and hospitality, but offered his assistance in another attempt to gain an establishment in Sind.

It was this period of depression and affliction that gave birth to Akber, a prince destined to raise the Indian Empire Birth of Akber. to the greatest lustre that it ever enjoyed (Oct. 14, 1542). During his residence beyond the Indus,<sup>17</sup> Humáyún had been struck with the beauty of a young lady, whom he saw at an entertainment given to him, in the women's apartment, by his stepmother, the mother of Prince Hindál. He found she was the daughter of a Seiad, a native of Jám, in Khorásán,<sup>18</sup> and formerly preceptor to that prince; that her name was Hamída, and that she was not yet betrothed; and so strong was the impression made on him, that, in spite of the angry remonstrances of his brother, he almost immediately married her. She was far advanced in her pregnancy during the march to Amercót, and it was with the utmost difficulty that she was conveyed through the hardships of the desert.

Humáyún had marched for Sind the day before the birth of Akber. It is usual on such occasions for the father to Second attempt on Sind. give presents among his friends. Humáyún had no presents to give, except one pod of musk, which he broke up when the news reached him, and distributed among his adherents, with a wish that his son's fame might be diffused throughout the world like the odour of that perfume.

He was accompanied on this expedition by Rána Persád, with a considerable body of Rájputs, and he had again collected 100 Moguls of his own. With this force they proceeded to Jún in Sind.<sup>19</sup> They took the place, after an action with the officer in charge; and though harassed by attacks from the

<sup>17</sup> [While he was besieging Bakkar in the summer of 1541, before Hindál had deserted him.—ED.]

<sup>18</sup> *Priee*, vol. iv. pp. 760, 840. *Memoirs of Humáyún*, p. 31.

<sup>19</sup> Probably Jún (or Jiún), on a branch of the Indus, halfway between Tatta and Amercót. (See the map to Dr. Burnes' *Account of Sind*.)

troops of the Arghûns, they were joined by the neighbouring Hindû princes, and formed an army estimated by the author of the Memoirs at 15,000 horse.

But Humâyûn's ill-fortune, or ill-management, continued to attend him. The rāja, after giving decisive proofs of his fidelity, was affronted by a Mogul; and got so little redress on complaining, that he quitted the camp in indignation, and was followed by all his Hindû friends.<sup>2</sup>

In consequence of this defection, Humâyûn was left almost alone to contend with Husein Arghûn, who was advancing against him. He, nevertheless, threw up intrenchments, and defended himself as well as he could; till Husein Arghûn, glad to get rid of him on any terms, consented to allow him to withdraw, and even to assist him on his journey, if he would immediately set out for Candahâr. These terms being settled, Humâyûn began his march towards his native kingdom (July 9, 1543).

His younger brothers had long quitted him, after occasioning <sup>himself</sup> him much annoyance from their restless disposition; <sup>and</sup> Candahâr was then held by Mirzâ Askari on the part of Clâmûn. Humâyûn's object probably was to bring that prince over to his side, or to take the chances of gaining possession in some other way. His professed intention, however, was to leave his son at Candahâr, and proceed himself on a pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>3</sup>

When he had reached Shâl, about 130 miles south of Candahâr, a horseman, sent by one of his old adherents, galloped up to his tent, springing from his horse, and, without quitting the bridle, rushed into the tent, and announced that Mirzâ Askari was close at hand, with the design of making Humâyûn prisoner. So little was he prepared for this intelligence, that he had only time to place his queen on his own horse, and was obliged to leave her child to the compassion of his uncle. Mirzâ Askari soon after arrived. He pretended to have come with friendly intentions, treated his infant nephew with affection, and removed the whole party to Candahâr (Dec. 14, 1543).

<sup>2</sup> The author says, "Aurangzeb, the son of the emperor, who was then at the head of the army, was the one who was the cause of the defection of the rāja." But it is not clear from the text whether this is the same person as the one mentioned in the next footnote.

<sup>3</sup> The author says, "The delay must have been caused by the delay of the army." But it is not clear from the text whether this is the same person as the one mentioned in the next footnote.

<sup>3</sup> The author says, "The delay must have been caused by the delay of the army." But it is not clear from the text whether this is the same person as the one mentioned in the next footnote.

Meanwhile Humáyún, accompanied by forty-two followers, escaped to the Garmsír,<sup>22</sup> and thence to Sístán, which was then under the Persian government. He was received with great respect by the governor, and sent on to Herát, His flight to Persia. to wait the orders of the king of Persia. At the latter city he was joined by several of his partisans from Candahár.

Three years had elapsed since his first arrival in Sind, of which eighteen months had been occupied in his negotiations and military attempts in that country: six months were spent in his journeys to the eastward of the Indus, and a year in his residence at Jún and his journey to Candahár. In his military affairs he had shown no want of personal courage, but great deficiency in enterprise; and he had gone through his subsequent calamities with cheerfulness that approached to magnanimity.

His temper was put to many trials; for, as delicacy and subordination cannot be kept up under great sufferings, he was often exposed to instances of ill-humour and disrespect from his followers. He was more than once refused a horse, when it was almost necessary to his safety. A boat, which he had prepared to convey his family, on his flight, across the Indus, was seized by one of his chiefs; and during the terrible march to Amercót, an officer, who had lent his horse to the mother of Akber, on finding his own exhausted, compelled her to dismount; and Humáyún was obliged to give her *his*, and proceed on foot till he met with a baggage-camel. On the other hand, he sometimes showed little consideration for his followers. When he reached Amercót, and was under the protection of the rája, he suddenly seized the baggage of his adherents, and even ripped open their saddles to discover their property, of which he took half to supply his own exigencies. At the end of one of his first marches towards Jód-púr, where he had lost many of his party in the desert, he loaded all the cattle, even his own horses, with water, to relieve the survivors who might be unable to come on; and as he went part of the way back himself, he found a Mogul merchant, to whom he owed a large sum of money, lying in the last stage of exhaustion, when, with a hard-hearted pleasantry, he refused to give

<sup>22</sup> ["The temperature in Persia depends on elevation and soil, more than on latitude. Both the northern and southern provinces have a cold and warm region (or *sardsir* and *garmsir*). The former is the higher and more mountainous part within land; the latter those

plains which stretch along the shores of the Caspian, Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean." (Balfour's *Alt Hazin*, p. 100, note.) The *Garmsir* of the text is the low tract of land lying on the Helmand. —Ed.]



him a drop of water until he had cancelled his debt before legal witnesses; and it does not appear that he ever relieved the poor man from the consequences of this forced remission.

### CHAPTER III.

#### SHIR SHÁH, AND OTHERS OF THE FAMILY OF SŪR.

THE ultimate success of the House of Timūr, and the great celebrity which they afterwards obtained, have occasioned Shir Sháh to be regarded as an usurper. Yet, as he was born in India, and expelled a foreign family who had only been fourteen years in possession, his claim was, in reality, more conformable to justice than those of most founders of dynasties in that country.

The retreat of Cámrán seems to have been concerted with Shir Sháh, for he had no sooner withdrawn than the latter monarch took possession of the whole of the Panjáb. After settling the province, and founding the famous fort of Ráhtás, on the Hydaspes, which he named after that in Behár, he returned to Agra, and was soon called to subdue the revolt of his own governor of Bengal. He made such a division of that province for the future as to guard against a repetition of disturbance.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of the next year he conquered Málwá; and in that succeeding he reduced the fort of Ráhtsin, which was held by the son of Silsháh, a Hindú chief, who had enjoyed great authority under the government of Bahádur Sháh. The garrison surrendered on terms; but when they had left the fort, the capitulation was declared null, on the authority of the legal opinion of some Mohammedan lawyers; and the Hindús, who had confided to the fact of their engagement, were attacked and cut to pieces, after a brave resistance. No motive can be discovered for this act of treachery and cruelty. There was no example to make or inspire to revenge, and the days of religious fury were long since past; but yet there is no action so atrocious in the history of any Mohammedan prince in India, except Tamerlane.

Next year, S. invaded Marwár with an army of 80,000 men.

<sup>1</sup> He was the first of the present independent branch that (Enslaved by the British) has since been reduced to a vassal state. (428-431)

Máldeo, rája of that country, was in the height of his power, and derived additional strength from the sterility of his territory, and the want of water in many parts of it. Although he had only 50,000 men to oppose to the superior numbers of his antagonist, he appears, at first, to have overawed the invader. Shír remained for a month, halted within a short distance of his army; but succeeded, at last, by the usual trick of letters written on purpose to be intercepted, in exciting the rája's suspicions of his chiefs, and thus inducing him to commence a retreat. One of those chiefs, indignant at the imputation, determined, in the Rájput spirit of honour, to wipe it off at any risk. He quitted the army with his own tribe, consisting of only 12,000 men, and fell with such impetuosity on Shír Sháh, who was unprepared for so vigorous an effort, that he threw his camp into confusion; and so nearly gained the victory, that Shír Sháh, when he had, at last, succeeded in repulsing the assailants, declared that he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of millet,—alluding to the poverty of the country and the low quality of its produce.

After this he reduced the Rána of Mewár to submission, and subsequently laid siege to Cálínjer.<sup>2</sup> He was here overtaken by a just retribution for his breach of faith at Ráísín, for the rája refused to enter into terms which he could not be sure would be observed; and as Shír was superintending the batteries, he was involved in the explosion of a magazine, which had been struck by the enemy's shot, and was so scorched that, although he survived for some hours, his recovery was hopeless from the first, and towards evening he expired.

In the midst of his agonies, he continued to direct the operations of the siege; and when intelligence was brought to him that the place was taken, he exclaimed, "Thanks be to Almighty God!" and never spoke again.

Shír Sháh appears to have been a prince of consummate prudence and ability. His ambition was always too strong for his principles, and in the massacre at Ráísín, he had not even that passion to plead; but towards his subjects, his measures were as benevolent in their intention as wise in their conduct. Notwithstanding his short reign and constant activity in the field, he brought his territories into the highest order, and introduced many improvements in his civil government. Abúl Fazl affects to deride his institutions,

A.D. 1544,  
A.H. 951.  
Invades  
Márwar.

Takes Chitôr.

Is killed at  
Cálínjer.

A.D. 1545,  
May 23;  
A.H. 952,  
Rabí ul  
Awwal.

His character.

His internal  
improvements.

<sup>2</sup> [Besieged in vain by Mahmúd in A.D. 1023, and taken by the English in 1812.—Ed.]

which he represents as a revival of those of Alâ ud din : nevertheless, most of them remained after the downfall of his dynasty, and are spoken of by the same author, along with many others of former sovereigns, as original conceptions of his master Akber. Another author, who wrote under Akber,<sup>1</sup> states that Shîr Shâh made a high-road, extending for four months' journey, from Bengal to the western Rhôtas, near the Indus, with caravanserais at every stage, and wells at every mile and a half ;<sup>2</sup> there was an imâm and a muezzin at every mosque, and provisions for the poor at every caravanserai, with attendants of proper casts for Hindus as well as Mussulmans. The road was planted with rows of trees, for shade; and in many places was in the state described, when the author saw it, after it had stood for fifty-two years.

Shîr Shâh was buried at Sahserâm, where his stately mausoleum is still to be seen, standing in the centre of an artificial piece of water a mile in circumference, which is faced by walls of cut stone, with flights of steps descending to the water.

#### *Selim Shâh Ser.*

Adil Khân was the eldest son of Shîr Shâh, and had been recognised as his heir by that king. He was a prince of a feeble character, while his second brother, Jelâl Khân, was a man of known abilities, and had distinguished himself as a soldier in his father's wars. For these reasons, most of the chiefs were disposed to support Jelâl; and four of the principal of them having pledged their faith to Adil for his personal safety, and for his receiving an adequate provision, he was induced to abdicate in favour of his brother. Jelâl accordingly was proclaimed by the title of Selim Shâh, and a tract of country near Bîhâr was assigned to Adil. He soon after took alarm at some proceedings of Selim, and he seems to have had good grounds for his suspicions : as Khowâs Khân, the principal general of Shîr Shâh, and one of the four chiefs who were security for the late agreement, took Adil under his protection, revolted from the king, and marched straight to the capital for the purpose of deposing him. Selim

<sup>1</sup> Feroz-ul-Mulk, or Ferishta, *ibid.* p. 104.  
<sup>2</sup> Feroz-ul-Mulk, *ibid.* p. 104.  
<sup>3</sup> The Zahir-ul-Mulk, or Zahir-ul-Mulk, was a man of known abilities, and had distinguished himself as a soldier in his father's wars. For these reasons, most of the chiefs were disposed to support Jelâl; and four of the principal of them having pledged their faith to Adil for his personal safety, and for his receiving an adequate provision, he was induced to abdicate in favour of his brother. Jelâl accordingly was proclaimed by the title of Selim Shâh, and a tract of country near Bîhâr was assigned to Adil.

<sup>1</sup> Feroz-ul-Mulk, or Ferishta, *ibid.* p. 104.  
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<sup>4</sup> Feroz-ul-Mulk, or Ferishta, *ibid.* p. 104.  
<sup>5</sup> Feroz-ul-Mulk, *ibid.* p. 104.

had much to fear from disaffection at home as well as from the declared rebels; but he anticipated all movements against him by his promptitude and firmness, defeated the enemy, and in time entirely crushed the rebellion. A'dil fled to Behár, and was never more heard of.

The nobles who had been secretly engaged in the conspiracy did not feel that their failure to take part with it had saved them from the suspicions of the king. One was convicted and punished; and the others began to plot anew, and took arms for their own protection, without setting up any competitor for the crown.

The contest on this occasion took place in the Panjáb. The rebels were again defeated. They retired among the Gakkars; by the strength of whose country, and the support of the Afghán tribe of Niyázi, they were able to keep alive the insur-  
Till  
A.D. 1547,  
A.H. 954.

The rest of Selím's reign was passed in tranquillity.<sup>6</sup> On one occasion, indeed, he was informed that King Humáyún, who had recovered Cábul, had actually crossed the Indus to attack him. Selím happened to be indisposed at the time, and was sitting under the application of leeches; but he started up on the instant, directed an immediate march, and was encamped six miles from Delhi before evening. If alarm had any share in this display of energy, it was ill-founded: Humáyún had only crossed for local purposes, and almost immediately retired to Cábul.

Selím Sháh died after a reign of nine years. He was an improver, like his father, but rather in public works than in laws.<sup>7</sup> One division of the royal palace at Delhi was built by him; and although Humáyún ordered it to be called Núrghar, by which name only it can be mentioned at court, it still retains that of Selímghar everywhere but in the royal presence.

In this king's reign there appeared at Biána a sectary, named

<sup>6</sup> [Gwáliyár was his favourite capital, as also his successor's.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> [Even Abúlfazl allows that he and his father had immense administrative ability. Abdul Kádir says: "He resumed, and placed under the immediate management of the state, the lands enjoyed by the troops, establishing pecuniary payments in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Shir Sháh. Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political, or revenue, in all their

most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which served as a guide to the officials of the state; a measure which obviated the necessity of referring to a cázi or mufti, any case relating to matters which hitherto had been settled according to the principles and precepts of Muhammadan law." (See H. Elliot's *Historians*, i. 230.)—Ed.]





abilities and force of mind sufficient to maintain his ascendancy amidst a proud and martial nobility, and to prevent the dissolution of the government, weighed down as it was by the follies and iniquities of its head.<sup>10</sup>

Vigour and talents of Hémú.

A'dil was scarcely seated on his throne before he had dissipated his treasures by the most indiscriminate profusion. When he had nothing of his own to give, he resumed the governments and *jágírs* of his nobles, and bestowed them on his favourites. As the Afgháns are never very capable of subordination, and are particularly jealous of any slight, the sufferers by these resumptions bore their wrongs with great impatience. On one occasion, when the king transferred the lands held by a military chief<sup>11</sup> to an upstart whom he favoured, the son of the dispossessed chief started forward, and exclaimed "What! is my father's estate to be given to a seller of dogs?"

Oppressive measures of the king.

An attempt was made to force him out of the court; and the person to whom the grant had been made seized him by the throat for the purpose, when the young man drew his dagger, and laid the aggressor dead at his feet. Being now attacked on all sides, he ran at the king, who leaped from his throne, and had scarce a moment to pass into his seraglio when the assassin was at the door. The king, however, was able to draw the bolt, and was soon delivered from his danger by the death of his assailant. The ill-consequences of the affair did not end here. On the same day, one of the principal nobles fled from the court, and, being joined by other malcontents, set up the standard of revolt near Chunár.

A.D. 1554.  
A.H. 961.  
Rebellions.

The king marched against the rebels, but, though he defeated them in action, his affairs were little improved by his success; for Ibráhím Súr, a person of his own family, seized on Delhi and Agra, and the king, after a vain attempt to expel him, was forced to leave him in possession, and confine himself to the eastern portion of his dominions. This example of successful rebellion was not lost on the spectators. Secander Súr, another nephew of Shír Sháh, proclaimed himself king in the Panjáb, advanced on Ibráhím, defeated him in action, and constrained him to leave Delhi and Agra. Ibráhím was now driven in on the territory still in the hands of A'dil. He was met and defeated by Hémú, and pursued to Biána, where he would have been

Separation of Delhi and the western provinces.

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Revolt of the Panjáb under Secander Súr.

<sup>10</sup> [He was of low stature, and too feeble in health to ride on horseback; even in the field he was carried about in a litter, or on an elephant; but he is said to have

gained twenty-two battles for his king. (*Erskine*, ii. 492.)—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> [Sháh Muhammad Fírmálí.—Ed.]



## CHAPTER IV.

## HUMAYÚN RESTORED.

At the time when Humáyún entered Persia the throne was occupied by Sháh Tahmásp, the second of the Safaví (or Sophi) kings. His father was descended from a family of dervises, which had derived importance and influence from its sanctity, and was still principally supported by the enthusiasm of the nation for the Shíá religion, which had been widely disseminated by the family, and formally established in Persia by Sháh Ismaíl, the first king of the race. Though the Shías and Sunnis differ less than Catholics and Protestants, their mutual animosity is much more bitter; and the attachment of the Persians to *their* sect is national as well as religious, the Shíá faith being professed in no great kingdom but theirs. Coming so early in the succession to its founder, Sháh Tahmásp was not only a devout adherent but an ardent apostle of this new religion; and it was by his feelings in that respect that he was, in a great measure, actuated in his conduct to Humáyún. The intercourse between those princes was highly characteristic of Asiatic despots. Humáyún's reception was marked with every circumstance of hospitality and magnificence. The governor of every province received him with the highest honour, and the people of every city came in a body to meet him; he was lodged in the king's palaces, and entertained with regal splendour; but in the midst of this studied respect, he was treated with little delicacy, and all semblance of generosity disappeared as often as he disputed the will of the Persian monarch, or became in any way obnoxious to his pride or caprice. Though welcomed from the moment of his arrival, he was not allowed to approach the capital, and many months elapsed before he was admitted to an interview with the king. During this interval, he sent his most confidential officer, Bairám Khán, on a mission to Sháh Tahmásp; and it was through a circumstance in the treatment of his envoy that he was first reminded how completely he was in the power of another.

More effectually to unite his followers by some visible symbol, the first Safaví had made them wear a particular description of cap, from which the Persians took the name they now bear. This sectarian distinction was an object of as much aversion to the other Mahometans as a

Reception of  
Humáyún  
in Persia,  
A.D. 1544.

Account of  
the Safavis  
(or Sophis).

Magnifi-  
cence and  
hospitality  
of Sháh  
Tahmásp.

His arro-  
gance and  
caprice.

Forces Hu-  
máýún to  
profess the  
Shíá religion.



rosary and crucifix would have been to a Calvinist of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

On one occasion of Bairâm's attendance at court, the king desired him to wear the cap; and on Bairâm's representing that he was the servant of another prince, and was not at liberty to act without orders, Tahmasp told him "he might do as he pleased," but gave evident signs of great displeasure; and sending for some offenders, ordered them to be executed on the spot, with a view to strike a terror into the refractory ambassador.

Shâh Tahmasp's meeting with Humâyûn was on terms of perfect equality, and in every way suitable to his own grandeur and the dignity of his guest. Yet the two kings were scarcely seated, when Tahmasp told the king of India that he must adopt the disputed cap; and Humâyûn, to whom the demand was not unexpected, at once consented, with an appropriate compliment. His assenting it was announced by a triumphal flourish from the king of Persia's band, and welcomed by a general salutation to both monarchs by the Persian courtiers. Some more private conversation probably passed on the subject of religion, in which Humâyûn was not so compliant; for next day, when Tahmasp was passing Humâyûn's palace on a portage, the latter prince went to the gate to salute him, but the Persian passed on, without noticing him, and left Humâyûn distressed and humiliated. Some days after, when a large supply of firewood was sent to Humâyûn, it was accompanied by a message that it should serve for his funeral pile if he refused to embrace the Sani religion. To this the exiled prince replied with amity, but with firmness, and requested leave to proceed on his pilgrimage; but Tahmasp was inexorable, declaring that he was determined to extirpate the Sanius, and that Humâyûn must adopt the religion of the country, or had voluntarily entered on take the consequences.

After all this intimidation, he was departed by Shah Tahmasp to reside with the emperor at Humâyûn, with three papers, which told him, in strong terms, his order was not to be signed. Humâyûn received them in submission, with indignation, and at once he started up to call his staff officers. His object was

<sup>1</sup> "The crucifix and the rosary were the symbols of the Catholic religion, and the king of Persia, who was a Calvinist, would have been shocked at the sight of them. The king of Persia, who was a Calvinist, would have been shocked at the sight of them. The king of Persia, who was a Calvinist, would have been shocked at the sight of them." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 1, p. 104.

composed by the cází, who conducted his negotiation with kindness as well as with address, and succeeded in convincing him that, although he might give up his own life for his religion, he had no right to sacrifice those of his adherents; and that his duty as well as his interest called on him to comply with a demand which he had no means of effectually resisting.

The memoir-writer does not mention, and may not have known, the contents of the paper; and Abúl Fazl, with courtly dexterity, passes over the whole subject of religion, and scarcely hints at a temporary misunderstanding between the kings; but it seems clear that it must have contained a profession of the Shia religion, and a promise to introduce it into India, as well as an engagement to cede the frontier province or kingdom of Candahár. This last article was carried into effect; and it was probably a sense of the impossibility of fulfilling the other that made Humáyún so indifferent to a rupture with Persia, when the period of performance drew near. That Humáyún himself professed to have been converted appears from a pilgrimage which he made to the tomb of Shékh Sáfi at Ardebíl, a mark of respect not very consistent with the character of a professed Sunní.<sup>3</sup>

After the contest about this paper, Humáyún was neglected for two months; and when Tahmásp renewed his attentions, they were not unmingled with ebullitions of an overbearing temper on points unconnected with the favourite topic of religion. Tahmásp had heard from some of Humáyún's enemies, that, during that monarch's prosperity, on some practice of divination to discover the destiny of reigning princes, he had placed the king of Persia in a class inferior to that in which he ranked himself. Tahmásp now took him to task for his assumption, and, on Humáyún's endeavouring to explain his reasons, told him that it was through such arrogance that he came to be driven out of his kingdom by peasants, and to leave his women and his child in the hands of his enemies.

Nevertheless the public conduct of the king of Persia continued to be as cordial and as generous as ever. He gave

<sup>3</sup> The "Muntakhab ut Tawárikh" states that the paper contained the Shia confession of faith, and that Humáyún complied with the demand for his accepting it by reading it aloud without any other sign of assent or dissent. The same book adds, that he adopted the Shia mode of reciting a portion of the public prayers, which is the most contested point between the two sects. [Erschine shows (ii. p. 298) that

it is only from Jouher that we learn the various humiliations which Humáyún had to endure in Persia. Abúl Fazl and Ferishta try to disguise or conceal them; "Jouher's narrative, incorrect and artificial as it is, is one of many instances of the inestimable value, for historical truth, of even the meanest contemporary record."—ED.]

great hunting and drinking parties in honour of Humáyún; and, when the time of that prince's departure approached, he loaded him with attentions, and on one occasion laid his hand on his heart and entreated his guest to forgive him if he had ever failed in what was due to him. He then dismissed Humáyún, with a promise that 12,000 horse should be ready to join him in Sistán. But the two kings were not destined to part without one more explosion of temper from the king of Persia. Instead of marching straight to the frontier, Humáyún loitered about different places which he wished to visit, until he was overtaken by Tahmásp, who was moving on some business through his dominions. He no sooner saw Humáyún's tents than he exclaimed, "What! has he not yet left this country?" and sent a messenger to direct him to make a march of twelve farsakhs (upwards of forty miles) without a moment's delay.

In Sistán Humáyún found 14,000 horse (instead of the 12,000 promised) under the command of the king's son, *Mirzá* *Mirzâ* *Qámrán*.<sup>4</sup> *Qámrán* was still in possession of Cabul. *Qámdahár* had been surprised by *Hindál*, but retaken; and that prince had been forgiven by his brother, and was now governor of *Ghazni*, the government of *Chaudhár* being entrusted to *Mirzá Askeri*. *Qámrán* had also taken *Balakhsán* from his relative *Sulaimán*, who had been placed there by *Rák*; it comprehended the south of *Bactra*; the northern part of that province, including *Balkh*, was in the hands of the *Uzbeks*. *Shir Sháh* was still alive, and there was little to be hoped from an invasion of *Hindustán*.

Humáyún's own troops, while in Persia, only amounted to 700 men, and these were probably not more numerous when he marched with the Persian force against the fort of *Bist*, on the river *Hindúsh*. That place soon surrendered, and the force advanced and obstructed to *Qámdahár*. March 16th.

The *Uzbeks* of *Persia* sent the *mirzá* *Mirzá Askeri* marching on with his treasures, led them at first to a tributary, attended by a small party of the garrison, and then, as it was too late to retreat, he lasted for more than two months, during which he was harassed by *Bakht Khan*, the chief of the *Uzbeks*, who took him to *Qámdahár*. His escape was unsuccessful, and he was confined in a prison, from whence he fled, and returned to his country.

<sup>4</sup> *Qámrán* was the son of *Shír Sháh*, and was at that time a prisoner of the *Uzbeks*. He was released by *Humáyún*, and was at that time in possession of *Cabul*. He was a very brave and able prince, and was a great favourite of his father.

joined Humáyún, the Persians began to be disheartened, and to talk of returning to their own country. At length things took a favourable turn : deserters of different ranks came in from Cábul ; and the garrison of Candahár being reduced to distress for subsistence, many of the troops composing it escaped to their own homes, while others let themselves down from the walls and came over to the besiegers.

Mírzá Askerí was now obliged to surrender ; and, by the intervention of his aunt, the sister of Báber, he obtained a promise of pardon from his brother (September 1545). <sup>Taking of Candahár ;</sup> But Humáyún's heart seems to have been hardened by his long misfortunes and disappointments ; and his proceedings, which formerly were chiefly to be blamed for weakness, began to assume a darker character. Askerí was compelled to make his appearance before the conqueror with his sword hung naked from his neck, and to display his submission in the most humiliating forms. When this was over, Humáyún with seeming generosity placed him by his side, and showed him every mark of forgiveness and returning kindness. A great entertainment was given to celebrate the reconciliation ; but when the festivity was at its height, and all fears and suspicions had been laid aside, some orders which Askerí had written to the Belóch chiefs for apprehending Humáyún during his flight to Persia were produced ; and, on pretext of this long-past act of enmity, he was made prisoner, and kept in chains for nearly three years.

The fort and treasures were made over to the Persians, on which the greater part of their troops returned home ; and the garrison which was left under Morád Mírzá <sup>which is ceded to the Persians,</sup> began, according to Abúl Fazl, to oppress the inhabitants. Abúl Fazl enters on a long apologetical narrative of the events that followed ; which, for its own cant and hypocrisy, as well as the perfidy of the acts it defends, is not surpassed by anything even in the Memoirs of Tamerlane. The sum is, that the Persian prince having suddenly died, Humáyún, still <sup>but treacherously recovered by Humáyún, after the departure of the Persian army.</sup> professing the most fervent attachment to Sháh Tahmásp, obtained admission on friendly terms into the city, slaughtered many of the garrison, and made an extraordinary merit of allowing the rest to return to their own country.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The following is a specimen of Abúl Fazl's manner of relating a story like the present. It is from Col. Price's version, and, though not literal, gives the spirit of the original. After enlarging on the com-

plaints of the people of Candahár (who had never been subject to Humáyún) against the officers of their present sovereign, the king of Persia, he goes on : "The generous monarch felt himself

It is probable that the sophistical pretexts of Abûl Fazl are not chargeable to Humâiyûn, who might plead that he was not bound to observe an engagement wrung from him by force. This argument, however, if admissible as far as relates to his conversion, does not apply to the cession of Candahâr. *Thîr* was the price of the assistance of the king of Persia; and by availing himself of that assistance, after he was free from restraint, he ratified his engagement anew; and his infraction of it, especially with the concomitant circumstances, must leave him under the stigma of treachery, though not, perhaps, of ingratitude.

After the occupation of Candahâr, Humâiyûn marched for <sup>TAKLA-MACAN</sup> Cābul, although the winter had already set in with extraordinary severity. As he advanced, he was joined by his brother Hindal; and afterwards by other deserters, in such numbers that, when he reached Cābul, Cāmshîr found it impossible to resist, and fled to Bakkar on the Indus, where he threw himself on the protection of Husen Arghûn, prince of Sindh. Humâiyûn entered Cābul, and recovered his son Akbar, now between two and three years of age.

After remaining for some months at Cābul, Humâiyûn set out <sup>to recover Badakhshân, which was again in the hands of Mirzâ Sulaimân.</sup> Before his departure, he thought it prudent to put his cousin, Yûlghâr Mirzâ, who had just joined him, and was suspected of fresh intrigues, to death. What is remarkable in this event is, that the governor of Cābul flatly refused to carry the order into execution, and that Humâiyûn directed another person to perform it without inflicting any punishment on the governor.

Humâiyûn, after his departure, was succeeded in Candahâr by a man of the name of *Shîrân*, who was a native of the country, and had been a soldier of fortune. He was a man of great courage and ability, and had been a great favourite of the emperor. He was a man of great courage and ability, and had been a great favourite of the emperor. He was a man of great courage and ability, and had been a great favourite of the emperor.

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While Humáyún was at Badakhshán, where he remained for many months, Cámrán returned from Sind and surprised Cábul. Humáyún marched against him in the dead of winter, defeated his troops, and drove him within the walls. On this and all subsequent occasions during the siege, Humáyún put his prisoners to death in cold blood, which Cámrán retaliated by still greater cruelties, and even threatened to expose young Akber, who had again fallen into his hands, to the fire of the cannon, if they continued to batter the town.<sup>7</sup>

At length Cámrán was compelled to quit Cábul (April 1547). He made his escape in the night, and fled to Góri, in the south of Bactria. Being, after some time, dislodged from thence by a detachment of Humáyún's, he had recourse to the Uzbeks at Balkh, and by their aid he recovered Badakhshán. During these operations the summer passed, and Humáyún was constrained by the snow to defer his march from Cábul until the next spring. He then set out for Badakhshán, where Cámrán was defeated, driven into Tálekán, and, being disappointed of the assistance he expected from the Uzbeks, reduced to surrender (August 1548). On this occasion Humáyún behaved with perfect good faith and humanity: he treated Cámrán with great kindness; and three of the brothers being now together, he released the fourth, Mírzá Askerí, and they all assembled at a feast, where they ate salt together, and were, for the time, entirely reconciled.

After this Humáyún returned to Cábul. Next spring (1549) he set out to attack the Uzbeks in Balkh; and he appears at last to have acquired a sufficient spirit of enterprise; for, having taken the small fort of Eibak, he immediately began to hold consultations about the conquest of Transoxiana: but, at the moment of his reaching Balkh, where he had beaten off a sally of the garrison, he received intelligence that Cámrán had rebelled, and was threatening Cábul; and on commencing his march on his return to his capital, he was so pressed by the Uzbeks that his retreat soon became a flight, and it was with difficulty

Cámrán  
recovers  
Cábul.

Is driven  
out by  
Humáyún.

Gives him-  
self up to  
Humáyún,  
and is kindly  
treated.

Humáyún  
invades  
Balkh.

Fresh re-  
bellion of  
Cámrán.

Calamitous  
retreat from  
Balkh.

<sup>7</sup> Abúl Fazl states that Cámrán did actually expose Akber, without giving the least notice; and that it was only by the direct interposition of Providence, shown in miracles, of which he relates the particulars, that the destruction of the royal infant was averted. The account given in the text of this one fact is from the memoir-writer; that author passes over

most of the other atrocities on both sides; but on that subject I am afraid there is no reason for distrusting Abúl Fazl. The memoir-writer mentions that Cábul was given up to plunder, after the flight of Cámrán, as a punishment for the infidelity of the inhabitants; which is not noticed by Abúl Fazl.

that his troops made their way, in total confusion and disorder, to a place of safety. This calamity shook the fidelity of his remaining adherents; and in a battle which took place soon after, some of his greatest chiefs deserted him; and he had nearly lost his life in the defeat which followed. On this occasion he was wounded by a soldier of Cāmran, who was about to repeat the blow, when Humáyūn called out, "You wretch! how dare you?" and the man was so confounded by the stern look of the king, that he dropped his arm, and allowed his wounded antagonist to retire (middle of 1550). Humáyūn now fled, with only eleven attendants, among whom was Jouher, the author of the memoir. He underwent many hardships, and for some time suffered from his wound; in the end he reached Badakhshān, where Mirzá Solemán, for the first time, zealously supported him. On his flight, Cāmran again took Cábul, and Akber once more fell into his hands. But in a subsequent battle, fortune proved favourable to Humáyūn; Cāmran was obliged to take refuge with an Afghan tribe in the mountains of Kheiber; Cábul was taken, and all the open country restored to obedience (1551).

The king soon after marched against Khalils, the tribe that had harboured Cāmran. He was attacked in the night by those mountaineers; his brother Hindál was killed, and he was obliged to take refuge in Bésút, a small fort in the pass between Pesháwer and Cábul. The Afghans did not follow up their advantage; and while Cāmran was feasted in turn by successive tribes, Humáyūn again took the field, defeated the Afghans, and compelled Cāmran to fly to India; where he sought an asylum with Sultán Selim, the successor of Shír Sháh (1552). Receiving no encouragement in that quarter, he fled to the sultán of the Gakkars, and was ultimately betrayed by him to Humáyūn, three years after his last expulsion from Cábul (September 1555).

There is Cāmran's repeated offences would have justified his immediate execution, they do not in the least reconcile us to the treatment he received when given up.

1. When, in the first chapter, Humáyūn is represented as having been driven from Cábul, the author writes, "Humáyūn, after his flight from Cábul, crossed the Hindúcush, and entered the mountains of Badakhshān." It is not till the next chapter that we are informed that he took refuge with the Afghans. The author, in the passage, thus implies that he was driven from Cábul, and that he crossed the Hindúcush, and entered the mountains of Badakhshān, before he took refuge with the Afghans.

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Humáyún had come into the Gakkar territory to receive the prisoner; and Cámrán, when brought before him, advanced with great humility; but Humáyún received him graciously, seated him on his right hand, and soon after, some water-melon being handed round, he gave half of the piece he had taken to his brother. In the evening there was an entertainment, with singers, and the "night was passed" in "jollity and carousing."<sup>10</sup> Next day passed in the same manner: during the course of it, some of his counsellors asked Humáyún what he intended to do with his brother? and he answered, "Let us first satisfy the Gakkar chief, and then I will do what I think proper."

On the third day the Gakkar chief was satisfied; and it was determined that Cámrán should be blinded. The author ~~and blinded-~~ of the Memoirs, having been ordered to attend on the prince, describes the particulars of his misfortune. At first no person was willing to undertake the duty, and the king had given the order just as he was setting off on his march. One officer rode after him, and told him in Túrki the difficulty that had arisen; on which the king reviled him, and asked why he had not done it himself? On the officer's return, the order was made known to Cámrán with many expressions of sorrow, and the operation was performed by piercing his eyes repeatedly with a lancet. Cámrán bore the torture without a groan, until lemon-juice and salt were squeezed into his eyes, when he called out, "O Lord, my God! whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this world: have compassion on me in the next."

After witnessing this part of the scene, the author could no longer remain: he went on to the camp, and sat down in his tent in a very melancholy mood. On this the king sent for him, and asked why he had come away without orders? The author replied that the business was completed, and the king told him he need not go back; and immediately gave him an order about some trifling business, without further noticing what had passed. He probably felt more shame than pleasure at the intelligence; and, indeed, the circumstances are important, rather as showing the effects of his situation than his own disposition, of which they are not otherwise characteristic than in the indecision and the wish to go on smoothly to the last. He was not naturally either cunning or cruel; and if he had been a limited monarch in Europe, he would most likely not have been more treacherous or bloody than Charles II.

<sup>10</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 104.





the building, and only guarded by an ornamental parapet about a foot high). Hearing the call to prayers from the minarets, he stopped, as is usual on such occasions, repeated the creed, and sat down on the steps till the crier had done. He then endeavoured to rise, supporting himself on his staff; the staff slipped on the polished marble of the steps, and the king fell headlong over the parapet. He was stunned at the time; and, although he soon recovered his senses, the injury he had received was beyond cure. On the fourth day after his accident he expired, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-sixth of his reign, including the sixteen years of his banishment from his capital.

His unsettled reign left little time for internal improvements; and it is marked by no domestic event of importance, except the death of the celebrated Persian historian, Khóndemír, who had come to Báber's court soon after his invasion of India, and died in the camp of Humáyún during his expedition to Guzerát.

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## BOOK VIII.

### STATE OF INDIA UP TO THE ACCESSION OF AKBER.<sup>1</sup>

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### HISTORY OF THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF INDIA AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF DELHI.

As we have reached the epoch at which the whole of India was formed into one empire, and a considerable alteration was made in the relation of different classes of the inhabitants, the time seems suitable for reviewing the preceding transactions of the separate communities, and ascertaining their actual condition at the commencement of the change.

<sup>1</sup> [The entire Hindú period of Elphinstone's history corresponds only to this eighth book of the Muhammadan,—so widely do the two periods differ from each other in all that constitutes historical

value. A somewhat similar survey of the state of India 250 years later may be found in the first chapter of Professor Wilson's Continuation of Mill's History. — Ed.]

The empire of Delhi, in the reign of Mohammed Tughlak, <sup>extended to the Himálaya mountains on the north-east, and to the Indus on the north-west; on the east and west it reached the sea; and on the south it might be said to include the whole of the peninsula, except a long narrow tract on the south-west, the frontier of which would be imperfectly marked by a line drawn from Bombay to Raméshwar. But within the limits, one large space was unsubdued and another unexplored.</sup>

This last was the kingdom of Orissa, a tract of forest which extended nearly from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Godáveri, something less than 500 miles, and ran inland for a depth of from 300 to 400 miles. The imperfectly conquered part was the Rájput territory, a still more extensive tract in the north-west of India.

During the disorders produced by the misgovernment of <sup>the reign of</sup> Mohammed Tughlak, the rájas of Telingána and Carnáta <sup>restored those territories to the Hindús. The former prince had not long before been driven from Warangal, and compelled to retire to the south; and he now returned to re-occupy his old possessions. The other was of a new family, who set themselves up in the place of the Ballals, and fixed their capital at Bijayanagar, on the Tumbadra. These two rájas soon reduced the Mussulman frontier to the Krishna on the south, and the meridian of Hiderikád on the east. They also brought the more southern parts of the peninsula into dependence, and formed states capable of contending on equal terms with their Mahometan neighbours. The western state, that of Bijayanagar, was the most considerable from the first. It was of much longer duration than the other, and before its fall had attained a pitch of power and splendour not, perhaps, surpassed by any previous Hindú dynasty since the Mahometan invasion.</sup>

This second east, which took place in a.d. 1344, was preceded by the revolt of Bengal (about a.d. 1340); and succeeded in a.d. 1347 by the general rebellion of the south. Decline, by which the power of Delhi was driven across the Nerbudda.

The decline of Mohammed Tughlak (a.d. 1351) for a time put a stop to further dismemberment; but towards the end of the century, driven to a minority of Mahmud (the last Tughlak king), Gujarat, Malwa, and Jampur, proclaimed their independence; the latter being long formed of the country on the Ganges,

from Bengal to the centre of Oudh. The invasion of Tamerlane soon followed (A.D. 1398): the remaining provinces threw off the yoke; and the territory of Delhi was reduced to a few miles near the capital.

The recovery of some parts of these last dominions has already been related; and I shall now explain their progress during the intermediate period, and the position in which they stood at the accession of Akber.<sup>2</sup>

The first place is claimed by the kingdoms of the Deckan.

### KINGDOMS OF THE DECKAN.

Hasan Gángú, who headed the successful revolt against Mohammed Tughlak, transmitted his crown to his descendants, who reigned for thirteen generations and for 171 years.

Bahmaní  
kingdom of  
the Deckan.  
A.D. 1347,  
until  
A.D. 1518.

The Hindú rajas of Bijayanagar and Warangal were the allies of the new monarchy in its resistance to the empire of Delhi; but when delivered from their common enemy, their natural antipathy revived. The struggle was of long duration, but the Mahometans were the gainers in the end. During the rule of the house of Bahmaní, they conquered the country between the Kishna and Tumbadra from Bijayanagar, and entirely subverted the kingdom of Warangal; and immediately before their fall, they had gained a territory in Orissa, and had extended their conquest on the east coast as far as Masulipatam, and on the west as far as Goa.

These long wars on tolerably equal terms, together with occasional alliances against common enemies, seem to have had some effect in mitigating the overbearing conduct of the Mussulmans towards the Hindús. Men of both religions entered freely into each other's service: the flower of the king of Málwa's army, during an invasion of the Bahmaní territories, is said to have consisted of 12,000 Afgháns and Rájputs, while Deó Ráj, rája of Bijayanagar, recruited Mahometans, assigned lands to their chiefs, and built a mosque at his capital expressly for their encouragement.

Increased  
intercourse  
with the  
Hindús.

The domestic history of the Bahmaní dynasty was much

<sup>2</sup> As the particular transactions of these separate kingdoms are not essential to the general history of India, I have

thrown them into an Appendix, and confined the text to an outline and the results.

influenced by the rivalry between the foreign and native troops. In most Asiatic despotisms the king first trusts to the army against the people, and then to a body of foreign household troops, or Mamlûks, against the rest of the army; and these Mamlûks, in the end, usurp the government. In the Deekan the course was different: the army which placed the Badamaui dynasty on the throne was chiefly composed of foreigners, and there seems to have been no guard more trusted to than the rest. In time, the native troops increased in number, and so nicely balanced the foreigners, that neither party ever obtained a permanent influence over the government.

At the time of the separation from Delhi, many of the foreign troops were probably Mogul converts; in latter times, according to Ferishta, they consisted of Persians and Türks, Georgians, Circassians, Calmucs, and other Tartars; the greater part of them were of the Shia sect; and the contest with the native troops was probably more between Shias and Sunnis than between parties arising from difference of race. The native party, or Deecanis as they were called, were always joined by the Abyssinian mercenaries, who came in numbers by the seaports on the western coast, and who may be presumed to have been Sunnis.

These parties reached the highest pitch of animosity in the reign of Ali Ad-din Hu. A.D. 1437. They occasioned continual jealousy and distraction, and were as injurious to the government by their intrigues at court as by their want of co-operation on service. They were kept in control under vigorous administrations; but towards the end of the dynasty, Mahmud, a weak prince, was alternately the tool of the foreigners, whose chief was Yüsuf Adil Khan, a Turk, and of the Deecanis, then under Nizam Malk Behm, the son of a converted Hindu.

The Deecanis having gained the ascendancy, Yüsuf Khan was retired to his government of Banpur, where he afterwards successfully took the title of king, and founded the dynasty of Adil Shahu.

Nizam Malk Behm, afterwards assassinated by Käsım, Barid, a Turk, as soon as Ahmed set up a separate dynasty, called Nizam Shahu, the capital of which was Ahmednagar.

Käsım Barid was now the master of the court of Mahadöl; and the court of Ahmednagar became independent, although they

continued to acknowledge Mahadöl as their nominal sovereign, and to the latter acknowledged the superiority of the former.

did not, for some time, take the title of king. These were, Kutb Kulí, a Turkman, from Persia, and Imád ul Múlík, descended from Hindú converts: the former founded the dynasty of Kutb Sháh, at Golcónda, close to Heiderábád; and the latter <sup>Golcónda.</sup> that of Imád Sháh, at E'lichpúr in Berár. Amír Baríd, <sup>Berár.</sup> the son of Kásim, governed for some time under a succession of pageants: at length he threw off the mask, and was <sup>Bídar.</sup> first of the Baríd kings of Bídar, the family of Bahmaní being thenceforth no longer mentioned.

The internal strife between Shíás and Sunnís which continued after the formation of these kingdoms, their wars and <sup>Their</sup> alliances among themselves and with the neighbouring <sup>history.</sup> Mahometan princes towards the north, give sufficient variety to their history during the period for which they lasted, but lose all their importance when the whole merged in the empire of the house of Tímúr.

Their conquests from the Hindús had more permanent effects. The rája of Bijayanagar long maintained his place among the powers of the Deckan, taking part in the wars and confederacies of the Mahometan kings; but at length, in 1565, the Mussulmans became jealous of the power and presumption of the infidel ruler, and formed a league against Rám Rája, the prince on the throne at the time.<sup>4</sup> A great battle took place on the Kishna near Tálícót, which for the numbers engaged, the fierceness of the conflict, and the importance of the stake, resembled those of the early Mahometan invaders. <sup>A.D. 1565, Jan. 25; A.H. 972. Jamáda's Sání 20. Battle of Tálícóta.</sup> The barbarous spirit of those days seemed also to be renewed in it; for, on the defeat of the Hindús, their old and brave rája, being taken prisoner, was put to death in cold blood, and his head was kept till lately at Bijápúr as a trophy.

This battle destroyed the monarchy of Bijayanagar, which, at that time, comprehended almost all the south of India. <sup>Fall of the kingdom of Bijayanagar.</sup> But it added little to the territories of the victors; their mutual jealousies prevented each from much extending his frontier; and the country fell into the hands of petty princes, or of those insurgent officers of the old government, since so well known as zemíndárs or poligárs.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> [Krishna Ráya extended the kingdom in every direction, and was a great patron of Telugu literature. At his death, he left no legitimate children, and after a disputed succession his son-in-law Ráma Rája succeeded to the throne.—ED.]

<sup>5</sup> Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. iii. pp. 127 and 414. Wilson, *Mackenzie Catalogue*, vol. i.

p. cli. Wilkes' *Mysore*, vol. i. p. 18. The brother of the late rája removed his residence farther east, and finally settled at Chandragiri, about seventy miles north-west of Madras, at which last place his descendant first granted a settlement to the English, in A.D. 1640. Rennell's *Hindustan*, p. 291. [This settlement was

The kings of Golconda were more fortunate in their separate conquests. They completely subdued all Warangul, which had made efforts at independence, and reduced other parts of Telengâna and Carnâta, as far as the river Penâr. These acquisitions by no means extended to the recovery of the country lost by Mohammed Tughlak; but were all that were made by the Mussulmans until the time of Aurangzib.

### KINGDOMS IN HINDOSTAN AND THE ADJOINING COUNTRIES.

Guzerât and Mâlwa became independent during the reign of Mahmûd Tughlak, and probably assumed the name of kingdoms after that title was abolished in Delhi, on the invasion of Tamerlane. Khândêsh, which had not joined the rebellion in the Deccan, afterwards followed the example of its northern neighbors.

But although the revolt of the three provinces was simultaneous, it was not made in concert; and whatever connexion afterwards subsisted between their histories arose out of their wars rather than their alliances.

The territory of the kings of Guzerât, though rich, was small, and was everywhere enclosed by hills and forests, filled with predatory robbers, and surrounded by powerful enemies. Yet they were the most conspicuous of all the minor kings after the extinction of the Bahmanî dynasty.

They twice conquered Mâlwa, and finally annexed that kingdom to their own; they repeatedly defeated the Râjpûts of Mewâr, and took their famous capital of Chittôr; they established a sort of supremacy over Khândêsh, and even received the homage of the kings of Ahmednagar and Bidar; on one occasion they carried their arms to the Indus; and they were more than once engaged in arduous wars with the Portuguese, who made regular incursions into the interior of that nation.

The kingdom of Mâlwa was first subdued by Humâd Khan, who was overthrown; the confusions which soon followed, and which were continued to the reign of Akbar,

1. The name of the king of Guzerât, who was defeated by Mahmûd Tughlak, is not known. It is probable that he was a descendant of the line of the Râjpûts, who were the most powerful in the country at that time. The name of the king of Mâlwa, who was defeated by Mahmûd Tughlak, is also not known. It is probable that he was a descendant of the line of the Râjpûts, who were the most powerful in the country at that time.

2. The name of the king of Khândêsh, who was defeated by Mahmûd Tughlak, is not known. It is probable that he was a descendant of the line of the Râjpûts, who were the most powerful in the country at that time.

Málwa was engaged in frequent wars with all its neighbours in Hindostan and the Deekan; but the most remarkable part of its history was the ascendancy obtained by a Hindú chief, who by his courage and abilities rescued the king from many difficulties, but at last engrossed all the powers of the state, filled all offices with Rájputs, and was only dispossessed by the march of the king of Guzerát to the assistance of his brother Mahometan.

Khándesh, Bengal, Jounpúr, Sind, and Moltán, were all independent at the accession of Akber; but their separate history is of little moment.

Other  
Mahometan  
kingdoms.

The states yet mentioned were all fragments of the empire of Mohammed Tughlak; but a portion of the original princes of India still remained unconquered, and are acknowledged as sovereign states even to the present day.

The Rájput  
States.

The Rájputs, who at the time of Sultán Mahmúd's invasion were in possession of all the governments of India, sank into the mass of the population as those governments were overturned; and no longer appeared *as rulers*, except in places where the strength of the country afforded some protection against the Mussulman arms.

Change in  
the condi-  
tion of the  
Rájputs  
after the  
Mahometan  
conquests  
in India.

Those on the Jumna and Ganges, and in general in all the completely conquered tracts, became what they are now; and, though they still retained their high spirit and military figure, had adapted their habits to agriculture, and no longer aspired to a share in the government of the country.

The remains of Rájput independence were preserved on the table-land in the centre of Hindostan, and in the sandy tract stretching west from it to the Indus. Their exemption from the encroachment of the Mussulmans was in proportion to the strength of the country. Méwát, Bundélcand, Bághélcand, etc., lie on the slope towards the Jumna, and, though close to the level country on that river, are rough and broken: it is there that we find the tributaries so often in insurrection, and there also are the forts of Rintimbór, Gwáliór, Cálínjer, etc., the taking and retaking of which seem to occur in almost every reign. The open part of the table-land is partially protected by this tract: it is easier of access from the north about Jeipúr, which principality has always been submissive. Ajmír and Málwa, on the open part of the table-land, were early conquered and easily retained. The east part of the rána of Oudipúr's country (or Méwár) was equally defenceless, but he had an inexpugnable retreat in the Aravalli mountains, and in the hills and forests



connected with them, which form the northern boundary of Guzerât. The rāja of Jódhpúr (or Márwár), with his kinsman the rāja of Bikhánér, the rāja of Jésalmér, and some smaller rajas, were protected by the desert, with which the fertile parts of their territories are interspersed or surrounded.

The government of the Rájpúts, partly feudal and partly clanish, their high sense of honour, and their strong mutual attachment, have already been explained, and had not degenerated in Akber's time.

The state of the different governments, at the accession of that monarch, was as follows :

The family and tribe of the rāja of Ondipúr (which were first called Ghelót, and afterwards Sesodia) are said to be descended from Ráma, and, consequently, to draw their origin from Ondli. They were afterwards settled in the peninsula of Guzerât, from whence they moved to Idar, in the hills north of that province ; and ultimately established themselves at Chitôr, Colonel Tod thinks, early in the eighth century of our era. They make no figure in history till A.D. 1303, when Chitôr was taken by Alâ ud din, and almost immediately after recovered by the rāja. Hamír, by whom that exploit was performed, had a series of able successors, and by their means Mewâr attained the ascendancy among the Rájpúts, which enabled Sangá to bring them all into the field against Bôber.

The great defeat sustained in that contest weakened the power of Sangá's family, and at a later period it was so much reduced by the incapacity of his grandson, Borhanmit, that Bahádur king of Guzerât, was able to take Chitôr, and would have turned his success to account, but for his defeat by Humáýún, which immediately followed the capture of Chitôr. From that time till the accession of Akber, the rajas remained in quiet possession of their territory, and retained their high rank among the Rájpút princes, though they never recovered their political ascendancy, and were compelled, in the reign of Shír Sháh, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of Delhi.

The next Rájpút state of importance was that of the Ráñtles, who were in Marwar, the capital of which was Jódhpúr. The Ráñtles were in possession of Cacher when that kingdom was subverted by Sangá and died in A.D. 1444. After the conquest, part of the Ráñtles remained on the Ganges, and occasionally revolted against the Musslims, until the Moghuls reconquered to the whole of their portion, and the two grandsons of the last Ráñt ruler, who were then in the hands of the Moghuls, were

king, preferred their liberty to their country, and retired to the desert between the table-land and the Indus. They there subdued the old inhabitants of the race of Jats, dispossessed some small tribes of Rájpúts, who had preceded them as colonists, and soon formed an extensive and powerful principality. A younger branch of the royal family at a later period (A.D. 1459) founded the separate state of Bikanír, and occupied an <sup>Bikanír.</sup> additional portion of the desert. The Ráhtórs do not seem to have been molested by the Mussulmans until the expedition of Shír Sháh against Máldéó, and probably recovered their independence after the storm was blown over. Máldéó was still alive in the beginning of Akber's reign.

In the western part of the desert were the Bháttis, under the rája of Jéśalmér. The Bháttis claim to be of the tribe <sup>Jéśalmér.</sup> of Yadu, and consequently derived from Mattra on the Jumna. They were part of Crishna's colony in Guzerát, and were expelled after the death of that hero. They then retired towards the Indus, and are lost in an unusually thick cloud of Rájpút fable, until they appear at Tánót, north of Jéśalmér, and within fifty miles of the Indus. From this period (which Colonel Tod thinks was in A.D. 731) their annals assume an historical character, but are marked by no important event, except the removal of their capital, in A.D. 1156, to Jéśalmér. They came very little in contact with the Mussulmans till after Akber's time.

The rájas of Ambér, or Jeipúr, of the tribe of Cachwahá, have, in modern times, stood on an equality with the rána of Oudipúr and the rája of Jódipúr; but their <sup>Ambér or Jeipúr.</sup> rise into distinction is since the accession of Akber. They were ancient feudatories of Ajmír, and probably remained in submission to the Mahometans after the conquest of that kingdom. They may have increased their consequence during the weakness of the neighbouring governments in the fifteenth century, for they must have been held in consideration when Akber married the rája's daughter.

The rájas of the tribe of Hára, who give their name to Hárauti, claim descent from the family that ruled in <sup>Hárauti.</sup> Ajmír before the Mahometans; and settled in their present possessions, of which Búndi was then the capital, in A.D. 1342. They were in some degree of feudal dependence on Oudipúr. They are not noticed in Mahometan history till just before Akber, when the reigning rája obtained the famous fort of Rintambór from the governor who had held it for the Afghán kings.



occasions ; but when he was determined to persevere, there was no remedy short of rebellion.<sup>1</sup>

The duties of vazir, or prime minister, varied according to the abilities of the individual and the activity of the king. In some cases he was an uncontrollable vice-gerent ; in others only the chief among the ministers. The others had their departments, but not very strictly defined.

The kings were easy of access : they inquired into petitions, and transacted a great deal of business in the daily assemblies of their court ; which although it must have caused some confusion and loss of time, afforded them the advantage of information from many quarters, besides giving publicity to their decisions and their principles of government.

The governors of provinces exercised, each within his jurisdiction, all the executive powers of the state. Several of the subordinate officers were appointed by the king, but all were under the orders of the governor. In most provinces there were Hindú chiefs who retained an hereditary jurisdiction ; the most submissive of this class paid their revenue and furnished the aid of their troops and militia to the governor, and were subject to his control in cases where he thought it necessary, but were not interfered with in the ordinary course of their administration : the most independent only yielded a general obedience to the government, and afforded their aid to keep the peace ; but these last were confined to strong countries, or large tracts bordering on a province.<sup>2</sup>

Part of the army were men hired singly by the king, and mounted on his horses, but the greater number probably brought their own horses and arms ; and these last would often come in parties, large or small, under leaders of their own. There was no feudal authority under the kings of Delhi.<sup>3</sup> Fírúz Sháh Tughlak is said to have been the first that assigned land in lieu of pay ; and Alá ud dín is said to have been extremely on his guard against all grants, as tending to the independence of his officers.<sup>4</sup>

Most governors had under them some portion of the regular

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. the royal prerogative in the Institutes of Manu, *supra*, pp. 20, 21.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> It was to these hereditary chiefs that the term *zemindár* was originally applied. The pride of the Mussulmans extended it to independent princes (like those of Oudipúr and Jódipúr), whom they affected to consider as subordinate to their government ; but it is only in comparatively modern times that it has been extended

downwards, so as to include persons holding assignments of the government revenue, as well as district and village officers.—(See Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 239.)

<sup>3</sup> [The usual system was that of *jáگیر* (see p. 81). Cf. pp. 378, 545.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *History of Fírúz Sháh*, by Shamál Suráji.

army, in addition to their local troops; and in case of disturbance, reinforcements were sent under separate commanders, who, when the force was considerable, were nearly on an equality with the governor.

At other times governors were summoned to contribute to the formation of armies, and on those occasions they collected the contingents of their zemindârs, took away as many as could be spared of the troops of the province, and, if their situation was favourable, recruited new ones for the occasion.

By the original theory of the Mahometan government the law was independent of the state, or, rather, the state was dependent on the law. The calif was not excluded from a control over the administration of justice; but in that, and even in his military and political transactions, he was to be guided by the rules of the Korân, and the decisions and practice of the Prophet, and of his own predecessors. Before long, the accumulation of decisions and the writings of learned lawyers contributed to form a great body of jurisprudence, the interpretation of which required a distinct profession. At the same time the extension of the Mussulman conquests gave rise to a sort of common law, not derived from the Korân, but from the custom of the country and the discretion of the kings. From these separate sources arose two distinct classes of tribunals: those of the *qâzîs*, who recognised the Mahometan law alone, and which only acted on application, and by fixed rules of procedure; and those of the officers of government, whose authority was arbitrary and undefined.

Civil trials, about marriage, adoption, inheritance, and generally speaking, all questions regarding private property, ought properly to come before the *qâzî*; who ought also to try all offences that did not threaten the safety of the state or the public tranquillity.

The jurisdiction of the king's officers was not so well defined. We may presume that their interference in civil cases would be in the contested cases between servants of the government, and where the one were parties of such power as to be beyond the reach of the *qâzî*; leaving it reasonably to be expected also to supply the defects of the Mahometan law in the case of Hindûs; and the revenue officers would be natural umpires in many disputes about land. Criminal cases, rebels, conspirators, and highway robbers, as well as persons embezzling public money, contravening established laws against the state, fell under the jurisdiction of the state tribunals. In general, how-

ever, the governors and their officers were not scrupulous in confining themselves to those classes of trials. They received all complaints that were made to them, giving summary decisions in many cases, and referring those that turned on points of Mahometan law to the *cázi*, to whom also all causes that did not excite interest or promise profit would be left. The power of the *cázis* varied in different reigns. At some times we see the office, even in provincial courts, filled by men of celebrity; and at those times, we must conclude, their authority was respected, as appeared likewise from the occasional resistance of the *cázis* to the governors: at others it probably sunk nearly to its present level, when the duty is reduced to performing marriages, registering and authenticating deeds, and similar unimportant functions.

There was no church establishment, or, rather, no church government: every man, king, or subject, who founded *Charah* a mosque, left funds to maintain the priest (*imám*) and other persons required for public worship. Assignments were also made to holy men and their successors, and even to their tombs.

There was in each district an officer called *sadr*, whose business it was to see that the objects of all these grants, or at least those made by the crown, were carried into effect; and there was a *sadr us sudúr* at the head of all the *sadrs*: their jurisdiction was only over the application of the funds; the succession was settled by the original grantor, and generally depended on the choice of the incumbent, regulated by the opinion of the learned of the neighbourhood.

Though there was no organised body of clergy, there was a class (called *moulavis* or *mullahs*) from which judges, *Moulavis* lawyers, and ministers of religion were generally or always taken. But these were rather *graduates* in law and divinity than ecclesiastics. The degree was conferred by a meeting of some of the recognised members of the class, who were supposed to ascertain the learning and fitness of an individual, and who formally invested him with his new character, by tying on a peculiar kind of *tarban*. He was bound by no vows, and was subject to no superior, but was controlled by public opinion, and the hopes of preferment alone.

Distinct from the ministers of religion was a numerous class of monkish devotees, called *dervises* in Persia, but in *Fakirs* India more frequently *fakirs*. This is an excrescence of the Mahometan system, originating in the sanctity of particular persons. At first there were no saints, and the earliest instances



ground. The miracles of their jógis are related by orthodox writers with as perfect a conviction as could have been given to those in the Korán; witchcraft was universally believed; omens and dreams were paid the greatest attention to; and this credulity was not influenced by the prevalence of scepticism in religion; it was admitted even by Akber, and exercised absolute sway over his son, while it was by no one treated so contemptuously as by the bigoted Aurangzib. The Shíá religion <sup>Sects.</sup> never made any progress in Hindostan, as it did in the Deccan: there were no sectarian animosities, and, altogether, ~~Hindús.~~ there was more superstition than fanaticism. The Hindús were regarded with some contempt, but with no hostility. They were liable to a capitation tax (jizya) and some other invidious distinctions, but were not molested in the exercise of their religion. The Hindús who are mentioned as military commanders may perhaps have been zemíndárs, heading their contingents, and not officers appointed by the crown: there is no doubt, however, that many were employed in civil offices, especially of revenue and accounts;<sup>7</sup> and we have seen that Hémú and Médni Rái<sup>8</sup> were entrusted with all the powers of their respective governments, and that under Mobárik Khiljí the whole spirit of the court and administration was Hindú.

It is difficult to form an opinion as to the period when the conversions of Hindús were chiefly accomplished, or <sup>Conversions.</sup> in what circumstances they were brought about. The actual state of the population affords us little light. The largest proportion of Mussulmans to Hindús is probably in the remote districts in the east of Bengal; while about the Mahometan capitals of Delhi and Agra it is much less considerable.<sup>9</sup>

The terror of the arms of the Mahometans, and the novelty of their doctrines, led many to change their religion at first; but when these were succeeded by controversial discussion and more moderate intolerance, a spirit opposed to conversion would naturally arise.

The whole of the Mussulmans in India at the present moment do not exceed one-eighth of the population; and, after allowing for the great and long-continued immigration, and for

<sup>7</sup> Báber informs us that when he arrived in India, "the officers of revenue, merchants, and work-people, were all Hindús."—(Erskine's *Báber*, p. 232.)

<sup>8</sup> [For this Rájput chief, see the account of Málwa in the Appendix.—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup> In Bengal, east of the Ganges, they are more than one-half of the population.

In most parts of Bengal they are one-fourth; but in the west of Behár and in Benáres, not above one-twentieth. See Lord Wellesley's interrogatories, in 1801, laid before Parliament. Buchanan makes the Mahometans in the west of Behár one-thirteenth.



the natural increase, during eight centuries, of a favoured class whose circumstances gave great facility in rearing families, the number left for converts would not be very great. Even if the whole eighth part of the population were converts, the proportion would be surprisingly small compared to other Mahometan countries.<sup>10</sup>

The revenue system was probably the same as now exists revenue and as existed under the Hindûs; for the alterations attempted by Shîr Shâh, and accomplished by Akber, were not designed to change the system, but to render it more perfect. The confusion of new conquests, and the ignorance of foreign rulers, must, however, have led to many abuses and exactions.

The condition of the people in ordinary times does not appear condition to have borne the marks of oppression. The historian there the of Firûz Shâh (A.D. 1351 to 1394) expatiates on the happy state of the ryots, the goodness of the houses and furniture, and the general use of gold and silver ornaments by their women. He is a panegyric writer, and not much to be trusted; but he says, among other things, that every ryot had a good bedstead and a neat garden; and the mere mention of such circumstances shows a more minute attention to the comforts of the people than would be met with in a modern author.

The general state of the country must, no doubt, have been flourishing. State of the country Nicolo di Conti, who travelled about A.D. 1420,<sup>11</sup> speaks highly of what he saw about Guzerât, and found the banks of the Ganges (or perhaps the Mégha) covered with towns, amidst beautiful gardens Towns and country and orchards, and passed four famous cities before he reached Maurazia, which he describes as a powerful city filled with gold, silver, and precious stones. Barbosa and Barthelema, who travelled in the first years of the sixteenth century, corroborate those accounts. The former, in particular, describes Cambay as a remarkably well-built city, in a beautiful and fertile country, filled with merchants of all nations, and with artisans and manufacturers like those of Flanders.<sup>12</sup> Even Ibn Batûta, who travelled during the anarchy and oppression of Mohammed Tughlak's reign, about 1340 or 1350, though re-

<sup>10</sup> The proportion of converts, as from H. H. Wilson's *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 10. He does not give his authority, but it is supported by the common opinion.

<sup>11</sup> Barbosa, vol. i. p. 339.

<sup>12</sup> Barbosa in Ramusio, vol. i. p. 284, and Barthelema in the same volume, p. 167. Cosmo Polonio, in 1563, gives a similar account of Guzerât, Ramusio, vol. ii. p. 286 (edition of 1756), and Hackl, vol. ii. p. 147.

surrections were raging in most parts through which he passed, enumerates many large and populous towns and cities, and gives a high impression of the state in which the country must have been before it fell into disorder.

Báber, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, although he regards Hindostan with the same dislike that Europeans still feel, speaks of it as a rich and noble country, abounding in gold and silver;<sup>13</sup> and expresses his astonishment at the swarming population, and the innumerable workmen in every trade and profession.<sup>14</sup>

The part of India still retained by the Hindús was nowise inferior to that possessed by the Mahometans. Besides the writers already mentioned, Abdurrazzák, an ambassador from the grandson of Tamerlane, visited the south of India in A.D. 1442;<sup>15</sup> and all concur in giving the impression of a prosperous country.

Those of them who visited Bijayanagar are unbounded in their admiration of the extent and grandeur of that city; their descriptions of which, and of the wealth of the inhabitants and the pomp of the rája, are equal to those given by others of Delhi and Canonj.<sup>16</sup>

Other populous towns are mentioned; and Ibn Batúta speaks of Madura, at the extremity of the peninsula (then recently conquered by the Mahometans), as a city like Delhi. The same author says, that through the whole of Malabár for two months' journey, there was not a span free from cultivation: everybody

<sup>13</sup> Erskine's *Báber*, pp. 310, 333.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 334. To all these accounts of the flourishing state of the country, it is natural to oppose the statement of Báber, that in his time elephants abounded about Cálpí and in Karrah and Mánikpúr (Erskine's *Báber*, p. 315), and the fact of Akber's falling in with a herd of those animals near Coláras in the east of Málwá (Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 216); from which we might suppose that those places were then amidst forests which have since been cleared away. I am disposed to think, however, that the disappearance of the elephants is to be ascribed to the activity of the Mahometan hunters, and not to the improvement of the country. Ibn Batúta, who wrote near two centuries before Báber, expressly says that Karrah and Mánikpúr were the two most populous districts in India (Lee's *Ibn Batúta*, p. 119); small tracts of hills and jungle would be enough to shelter ele-

phants, who would spread over the cultivated country for food; and that there is no necessary connexion between the residence of such animals and the absence of population, appears from the facts that the rhinoceros is still common in the Ráj-mahal hills, close to the populous lands of Bengal, while in the vast forest on the east of Berár there are neither rhinoceroses nor elephants, except a few of the last, which are supposed to be tame ones which have escaped.

<sup>15</sup> Murray's *Discoveries in Asia*, vol. ii. p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Abdurrazzák's description of Bijayanagar is so glowing, that it is scarcely surpassed by that in the story of Prince Ahmed in the *Arabian Nights*, which appears to be taken from it. Conti is so extravagant as to say that it is sixty miles in circumference. Bartema says seven miles; but adds, that it is very like Milan.

had a garden, with his house placed in the middle of it, and a wooden fence round the whole.<sup>1</sup>

The seaports, above all, seem to have attracted admiration. Those on both coasts are described as large cities, the resort and habitation of merchants from every part of the world, and carrying on trade with Africa, Arabia, Persia, and China.<sup>2</sup> A great home trade was likewise carried on along the coast, and into the interior.

The adulation of the historians of later kings has had a tendency to depreciate the state of improvement attained under the early dynasties. One claims the institution of posts for his hero, another the establishment of highways with caravanserais and rows of trees; and Abûl Fazl has been the occasion of most of the useful inventions in India being ascribed to Akber. But we have seen from Ibn Batûta that regular horse as well as foot posts existed under Mohammed Tughlak; and foot posts, to a certain extent, must be coeval with village establishments.<sup>3</sup> The roads may have been improved by Shîr Shâh; but Ibn Batûta, 200 years before his time, found the highways shaded by trees, with resting-houses and wells at regular intervals along a great part of the coast of Malabar, then under the Hindûs; and in an inscription lately discovered, which there is every reason to think is of the third century *before* Christ, there is an especial order by the king for digging wells and planting trees along the public highways.

It has been said (though not by Abûl Fazl) that Akber first coined a gold silver or gold money. The assertion is inconsistent with all history; if the Hindûs had not a coinage in those metals earlier, they at least adopted it from the Bactrian Greeks,<sup>4</sup> about the beginning of the Christian era. The Ghaznavites could not have dropped a practice observed by the Sāmânîs and the califs; and the second coin in Mr. Marsden's collection, belonging to the Delhi kings, is a silver coin of Alauddîn, who died in 1230.

If the value of the coins at different periods can be fixed at all, it can only be after long inquiry by a person accustomed to such details. The first pieces used dinars and dirhams, like the

<sup>1</sup> See *Travels*, p. 109. "The houses of the great men are in the middle of a garden, and the garden is surrounded by a wooden fence."—Ibn Batûta, *Travels*, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> "The seaports are large cities, the resort of merchants from every part of the world, and carrying on trade with Africa, Arabia, Persia, and China."—Ibn Batûta, *Travels*, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> "The roads may have been improved by Shîr Shâh; but Ibn Batûta, 200 years before his time, found the highways shaded by trees, with resting-houses and wells at regular intervals along a great part of the coast of Malabar, then under the Hindûs; and in an inscription lately discovered, which there is every reason to think is of the third century *before* Christ, there is an especial order by the king for digging wells and planting trees along the public highways."

<sup>4</sup> "The second coin in Mr. Marsden's collection, belonging to the Delhi kings, is a silver coin of Alauddîn, who died in 1230."

califs; these were succeeded by tankhas, divided into dáms or jítals. Shír Sháh changed the name of tankha to that of rupeia, or rupee, which was adopted by Akber; and the latter prince fixed the weight and relative value of money on a scale which remained unaltered till the dissolution of the Mogul empire, and is the basis of that now in use.

We are enabled, in some degree, to judge of the progress of the early Mussulmans by the specimens they have left of <sup>Architecture.</sup> their architecture. The arches of the unfinished mosque near the Kutb Minár, besides their height and the rich ornamental inscriptions with which they are covered, deserve mention as early instances of the pointed arch.<sup>22</sup> The centre arch appears by the inscription to have been finished in A.H. 594, A.D. 1197. Many of the buildings of the later princes before Akber have small pointed arches, and seem to betray the incapacity of the builders to erect a dome of any size. Their mosques are composed of a collection of small cupolas, each resting on four pillars; so that the whole mosque is only a succession of alleys between ranges of pillars, with no clear space of any extent.

It is probable, however, that this form may have been retained, as that originally appropriated for mosques, by architects capable of constructing large cupolas. The Black Mosque at Delhi, for instance, is in the ancient style, though built in A.D. 1387, under Fírúz Tughlak; while the tomb of Ghiyás ud dín Tughlak, who

following statements:—The dinár under the califs was about equal to 10s. 8d. (Marsden's *Numismata*, p. xvii.). In Ibn Batúta's time a western dinár was to an eastern as 4 to 1, and an eastern dinár seems to have been one-tenth of a tankha, which, even supposing the tankha of that day to be equal to a rupee of Akber, would be only 2½d. (*Ibn Batúta*, p. 149). A modern dinár, in Cábul, is so small, that it takes 200 to make an abíssi, a coin of less value than a shilling. The tankha is said by Ferishta (vol. i. p. 360) to have been, in Alá ud dín's time, equal to fifty jítals (a copper coin which some said was equal to a peisa), and in Mohammed Tughlak's time it was so debased as to be worth not more than 15 peisas. The tankha appears to be the coin represented by the modern rupee, and, perhaps, when at its proper standard, was about the same value. The rupee of Akber contained 174·5 grains of pure silver, and was divided into 40 dáms or peisas (of 191½ grains of copper each). The dām was divided into 25 jítals (probably a nominal coin). Queen

Elizabeth's shilling contained 88·8 grains of pure silver; Akber's rupee, therefore, was worth 1s. 11½d. of English money of his time. Akber's standard remained almost unaltered, all over the Mogul dominions, until the breaking up of the empire in the middle of the last century, when numerous mints sprung up, and issued much debased money. The rupee that now circulates in the Company's territories contains 176 grains of pure silver, and exchanges for 64 peisas, containing 100 grains of copper each.

[Cf. Prinsep's *Useful Tables* (Mr. Thomas' edit.) and Mr. Thomas' papers on the coins of the Pathán Sultans in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.—Ed.]

<sup>22</sup> The Kutb Minár, finished by Altamish between A.D. 1210 and A.D. 1236, has pointed arches in the doors. By examining the ruins of old and new Delhi alone, a view of the progress of Indian architecture might be made out which would throw light on the history of the art in the East.

died in A.D. 1325, is covered with one cupola of considerable magnitude.<sup>2</sup>

The domes at first are low and flat; they gradually gain elevation till the time of Jehángir, or Sháh Jehán, when they take in considerably more than half of a sphere, and are raised upon a cylinder. The arches, also, are different at different times: the early ones are plain Gothic arches; the latest ones are ogee and horse-shoe arches, feathered all round. The buildings after Akber's accession are much lighter, as well as more lofty and more splendid, than those of an earlier date; which, on the other hand, make a strong impression from their massive and austere character.<sup>3</sup>

Though the constant use of the pointed arch, the nature of the tracery, and some other particulars, create a resemblance between the Gothic, and Indian architecture which strikes every one at first sight, yet the frequency and importance of domes, and the prevalence of horizontal lines in the Indian, make an essential difference between the styles. The more ancient buildings in particular, which in other respects are most like the Gothic, are marked by a bold and unbroken cornice formed of flat stones, projecting very far, and supported by deep brackets or moldings of the same material.

Even the abundance of turrets and pinnacles does not increase the resemblance to the Gothic; for they seldom taper at all, and never much; and they always end in a dome, which sometimes bulges out beyond the circumference of the turret.

The early Mussulmans were stout and ruddy men, dressed in *maumers*—short tunics of thick cloth, and always in boots. Those of Aurangzib's time were generally slender, dark, and sallow, and wore long white gowns of the thinnest muslin, which spread out from the waist in innumerable folds, and scarcely showed the naked foot and embroidered slipper. It is difficult to ascertain the gradation by which this change, and a corresponding alteration in manners, were effected.

It must have *begun* soon after the dissolution of the connexion with Ghazni and Ghôr. Ibn Batuta, in the middle of the fourteenth century, mentions the use of *hútel*, and notices peculiari-

<sup>2</sup> The dome was said to have well fastened the stones of the trunk or pillar, and that the great street had no better support. The dome was made of mud, and the stones of that city were of the same kind. See the account of the Sultan's Palace.

<sup>3</sup> See the account of the Sultan's Palace, and

traced their work like jewellers. Yet the ornaments, found as they are in their proper places, are never thrown away, or allowed to interfere with the general appearance and solemn character of their edifices. See *Europe's History Journal*, vol. 1, p. 265.

ties in the cookery, and what he calls *oddity* in the manners; and Báber, early in the sixteenth, is shocked to find everything so unlike what he is used to.<sup>26</sup> It is probable that the greatest alteration took place after the accession of the house of Tímúr, when the influx of foreigners was stopped by hostile feelings towards the Uzbeks and Afgháns, and by religious prejudices against the Persians.<sup>27</sup> It was the direct policy of Akber that the manners of the Mahometans should assimilate to those of the original natives.

This mixture probably softened the manners of the people from the first; but it was some time before it had any effect on the government. There were many more instances of cruelty and perfidy under the slave kings than in the time of Mahmúd and his successors. Such atrocities under the succeeding dynasties were generally owing to the tyrannical disposition of an individual, or the revolts of foreign troops; and under most of the princes of the house of Tímúr, the general character of the government approached to the mildness and moderation of European sovereignties.

Purely Mahometan literature flourished most in India during the period to which we are now adverting, and fell off after the accession of Akber. Improvements in science <sup>Mahometan literature.</sup> were, doubtless, obtained from Hindú and European sources; but, I believe, there is no eminent specimen of Persian composition in India after the epoch mentioned.

The great superiority of Mahometan writers over their predecessors in Sanscrit is in history, and is derived from the Arabs. Though often verbose on ordinary topics, and silent on those of interest, deficient in critical skill and philosophical spirit, and not exempt from occasional puerility and exaggeration, their histories always present a connected narrative of the progress

<sup>26</sup> Báber's account is amusing, being written with all the violent prejudice still felt by persons just arrived from Cábul or from Europe. "Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, or frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manners, no kindness, no fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no

good food or bread in their bázárs, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick." He then goes on to ridicule their clumsy substitutes for the last useful articles. (Erskine's *Báber*, p. 333.)

<sup>27</sup> So complete was the separation at last, that Aurangzib treats the Persians (the original models of the Indian Mus-sulmans) as rude barbarians, and hardly ever mentions their name without a rhyming addition, which may be translated, "monsters of the wilds." [We may compare the separation which took place between the Normans who settled in England and their brethren in Normandy. —Ed.]

of events, show a knowledge of geography, a minute attention to dates, and a laudable readiness to quote authorities, which place them immeasurably above the vague fables of the Brahmans.

It is surprising that so little is known of the modern language-  
*language* of the Indian Mahometans.

After the founding of the kingdom of Delhi, the conversation of their wives and children, as well as their continual intercourse with the natives, must have taught the conquerors to speak the language of the country, in which most of the roots were Sanscrit, but the forms and inflexions more like modern Hindostānī. It is not likely that this language remained long unmixed; though the progress of its change into that now spoken has not yet been traced by any orientalist.

It is stated by a modern Mahometan writer,\* that the language took its present form during Timūr's invasion; and, although it cannot be supposed that an incursion which lasted less than a year, and left no traces but in blood, could affect the language of a nation, yet it is not improbable that the beginning of the fifteenth century may have formed a marked epoch in the progress of Hindostānī.

It could have made little progress before the end of the twelfth century as it is formed on the Indian dialect of Ganoug, and not on that of the Panjāb, the only province previously occupied.†

The use of this mixed language in composition must have been of a later date; for though Mr. Colebrooke mentions a Hindu poet who wrote at Ambr (or Ajipūr) about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and who sometimes borrowed words from the Persian; yet he states that even Mahometan poets at first wrote in the pure local dialect above mentioned, which, he says, was called Hindi or Hindevi; and the specimens given in a Persian book on the poets of India (written in A.D. 1752), although all composed by Mahometans, do not introduce Persian or Arabic till near the end of the series.

The earliest of the celebrated poets in modern Hindostānī is Wālī, who wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century. He is followed by a long train, down to the present time. Their compositions, are, in general, mere imitations of the Persians. It is probable, however, that they had the merit of introducing satires on manners and domestic life in Asia; for those of the

\* *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 125. *History of the Mughal Empire*, by Mr. Colebrooke, vol. i. p. 125. *History of the Mughal Empire*, by Mr. Colebrooke, vol. i. p. 125.

Arabs and Persians seem to have been invectives against individuals, like Ferdousi's against Mahmúd. The best author in this branch of poetry is Soudá, who lived late in the last century.

The other dialects (as those of Bengal, Guzerát, etc.), and also the languages of the Deckan, have admitted Persian and Arabic words in great numbers, but without forming a new language like the Hindostání.

## BOOK IX.

### AKBER.

#### CHAPTER I.

FROM 1556 TO 1586.

AKBER was only thirteen years and four months old at his father's death, and though unusually manly and intelligent for his age, was obviously incapable of administering the government. He had been sent by Humáyún as the nominal head of the army in the Panjáb, but the real command was vested in Bairám Khán; and the same relation was preserved after Akber's accession. Bairám received a title equivalent to that of "the king's father,"<sup>1</sup> and was invested with the unlimited exercise of all the powers of sovereignty.

A.D. 1556,  
A.H. 962.  
Accession  
of Akber.

Bairám  
Khán.

The nobleman thus trusted was a Túrkmán by birth,<sup>2</sup> and had been a distinguished officer under Humáyún before his expulsion from India. In the final defeat of that monarch by Shír Sháh, Bairám was separated from his master, and made his way, after a long series of dangers and adventures, through Guzerát to Sind, where he joined Humáyún, in the third year after his expulsion. He was received with joy by the whole of the exiled party, who seem already to have rightly estimated his value in times of difficulty. He became thenceforward the most confidential of Humáyún's officers; and it would have been better for the

<sup>1</sup> It was "Khán Bábat," which is the Persian for the title of Atábek, so common among the Túrks, both meaning "Lord Father."

<sup>2</sup> Bairám Khán was originally a subject of Persia and a Shíah, and had ac-

companied the army sent by Sháh Ismail to assist Báber in the conquest of Transoxiana. He had escaped when the army was routed, and had ever since served Báber and his family. Abúl Fazl is his warm panegyrist. (*Érakine*).—Ed.]



affairs of his sovereign if they had borne more of the impress of his determined character.

At the time of Humāyūn's death Bairām was engaged in putting an end to the resistance of Secander Sūr, who had retired to the skirts of the northern mountains, and still retained his pretensions to be king of Delhi and the Panāb. He had scarcely time to arrange the new government, when he received intelligence that Mirzā Soleimān of Badakhshān had taken possession of Cabul and all that part of Humāyūn's late dominions; and while he was considering the means of repairing this disaster, he learned that Hēmu had set out with an army on the part of Sultān Adali, for the double purpose of expelling the Moguls and reducing the rebellion of Secander Sūr. The result of this contest has been already told.<sup>1</sup> The Afghāns were defeated; and Hēmu, who fought with desperate valour, and had continued to resist after he had received a mortal wound from an arrow through the eye, at length fell senseless on his elephant, and was taken prisoner and brought to Akber's tent. Bairām was desirous that Akber should give him the first wound, and thus, by imbruing his sword in the blood of so distinguished an infidel, should establish his right to the envied title of "Ghāzī," or "Champion of the Faith"; but the spirited boy refused to strike a wounded enemy, and Bairām, irritated by his scruples, himself cut off the captive's head at a blow.

Akber soon after took possession of Delhi and Agra. He was, before long, obliged to return to the Panāb, by intelligence that Secander Sūr had issued from the mountainous fastnesses, and possessed himself of a great portion of the province. The plain country was easily recovered, and Secander retired to the strong fort of Mānkēt. He defended that place with obstinacy; and it was not till after eight months' operations that he capitulated, and was allowed to retire to Bengal, which was still held by an officer of the Afghan dynasty.

The restoration of the House of Tūghlāk may be dated from this period; it had been brought about entirely by the exertions of Bairām Khān, whose power was now at the highest pitch, ever reached by a subject, and already began to show distant indications of decline.

<sup>1</sup> See the account of this battle in the preceding volume, and the *Annals of the Moguls*, vol. i. p. 104. See also the *History of the Afghāns*, by Mr. Dowson, p. 104.

Bairám's military talents, and the boldness and vigour of his government, had enabled him to surmount external difficulties under which a less determined leader would have sunk; and even his arbitrary and inflexible disposition was essential to the maintenance of subordination in an army of adventurers, whose disorders Humáyún had never been able to repress, and which must soon have overturned the government after it fell into the hands of a minor.

His domination was therefore submitted to without a murmur as long as the general safety depended on his exercise of it; but when the fear of immediate destruction was removed, the pressure of his rule began to be felt, and was rendered more intolerable by some of the vices of his nature. His temper was harsh and severe, his manners haughty and overbearing. He was jealous of his authority to the last degree, exacted unbounded obedience and respect, and could not suffer the smallest pretension to power or influence derived from any source but his favour.

These qualities soon raised up a host of enemies, and, in time, alienated the mind of the king, now advancing towards manhood, and impatient of the insignificance to which he was reduced by the dictatorial proceedings of his minister.

His indignation was increased by the injustice of some of Bairám's acts of power. As early as the battle with Hémú, Bairám took advantage of Akber's absence on a hawking party, to put to death Tardí Bég, the former governor of Delhi, without even the ceremony of taking the king's orders on so solemn an occasion.<sup>5</sup> The victim had been one of Báber's favourite companions, and had accompanied Humáyún in all his wanderings, but had no doubt exposed himself to punishment for his premature evacuation of Delhi. One day, while Akber was amusing himself with an elephant fight, one of these animals ran off the field, pursued by its antagonist, and followed by a promiscuous crowd of spectators: it rushed through the tents of Bairám, some of which were thrown down; thus exposing the minister himself to danger, while it threw all around him into the utmost confusion and alarm. Irritated by this seeming affront, and perhaps suspecting a secret design against his life, Bairám ordered the elephant-driver to be put to death, and for

<sup>5</sup> [Tardí Bég and Bairám were old rivals under Humáyún; the former was one of the oldest Chaghatái nobles, and he stood in the way of the able and ambitious

Bairám,—the Transoxian chiefs looking up to him as much as those from Persia did to Bairám (*Erskine*).—ED.]

some time maintained a reserved and sullen demeanour towards the king himself. A nobleman of consequence enough to oppose Bairám was put to death on some slight charge by that minister. The king's own tutor, Pír Mohammed Khán, narrowly escaped the same fate, and was banished, on pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca. Those about the king's person were constantly harassed by Bairám's distrustful temper, and were provoked by his persecutions to realize his suspicions of their enmity. At length Akber was driven to make an effort to deliver himself from the thralldom in which he lived. He concerted a plan with those around him, and took occasion, when on a hunting party, to make an unexpected journey to Delhi, on the plea of a sudden illness of his mother. He was no sooner beyond the sphere of the minister's influence, than he issued a proclamation, announcing that he had taken the government into his own hands, and forbidding obedience to orders issued by any other than his authority. Bairám's eyes were opened by these proceedings; and he exerted himself, when too late, to recover the king's confidence. He sent two of his principal adherents to court; but Akber, nowise mollified by this submission, refused to see the envoys, and soon after committed them to prison.

This open separation was not long in producing its natural effect: all ranks forsook the falling minister, to court the sovereign, from whose youthful virtues, and even weaknesses, they expected a happy contrast to the strict control of Bairám.

The minister, thus left to his own resources, meditated various schemes for retrieving his power: he once thought of seizing the king's person, and afterwards of setting up an independent principality in Malwa; but the support he met with did not encourage him, and he probably was at heart reluctant to draw his sword against the son of his old master: he therefore set off for Nagur, with the avowed intention of embarking in Guzerat for Mecca.

At Nagur he lingered, as if in hopes of some change in his fortunes, until he received a message from Akber, dismissing him from his office, and directing him to proceed on his pilgrimage with all delay. On this he sent his standards, with addresses, and other tokens of authority to the king, and set out, in a private character, on his way to Guzerat: but, entertained with the proceedings of Akber, he again changed his mind, dismissed his body of troops, and, going openly into

insurrection, attempted an invasion of the Panjáb. He was disappointed in his reception in that province. Akber moved against him in person, and sent detachments to intercept him; he was defeated by one of those detachments, constrained to fly to the hills, and at length reduced to throw himself on the king's mercy. Akber did not, on this occasion, forget the great services of his former minister. He sent his principal nobility to meet him at some distance, and to conduct him at once to the royal tent. When Bairám appeared in Akber's presence, he threw himself at his feet, and, moved by former recollections, began to sob aloud. Akber instantly raised him with his own hand, seated him on his right, and, after investing him with a dress of honour, gave him his choice of one of the principal governments under the crown, a high station at court, or an honourable dismissal on his pilgrimage to Mecca. Bairám's pride and prudence equally counselled the latter course. He was assigned a liberal pension, and proceeded to Guzerát; but, while he was preparing for his embarkation, he was assassinated by an Afghán, whose father he had killed in battle during the reign of Humáyún.

The charge which Akber had now taken on himself seemed beyond the strength of a youth of eighteen; but the young king was possessed of more than usual advantages, both from nature and education.

He was born in the midst of hardships, and brought up in captivity. His courage was exercised in his father's wars, and his prudence called forth by the delicacy of his situation during the ascendancy of Bairám. He was engaging in his manners, well formed in his person, excelled in all exercises of strength and agility, and showed exuberant courage even in his amusements, as in taming unbroken horses and elephants, and in rash encounters with tigers and other wild beasts. Yet with this disposition, and a passionate love of glory, he founded his hopes of fame at least as much on the wisdom and liberality of his government as on its military success.

It required all his great qualities to maintain him in the situation in which he was placed.

Of all the dynasties that had yet ruled in India, that of Tamerlane was the weakest and the most insecure in its foundations. The Houses of Ghazní and Ghór depended on their native kingdom, which was contiguous to their Indian conquest; and the slave dynasties were supported by the continual influx of their

countrymen; but though Báber had been in some measure naturalized in Cábul, yet the separation of that country under Cámrán had broken its connexion with India, and the rival of an Afghán dynasty turned the most warlike part of its inhabitants, as well as of the Indian Mussulmans, into enemies. The only adherents of the House of Tamerlane were a body of adventurers, whose sole bond of union was their common advantage during success.

The weakness arising from this want of natural support had been shown in the easy expulsion of Humáyún, and was still felt in the early part of the reign of his son.

It was probably by these considerations, joined to a generous <sup>his plan of</sup> and candid nature, that Akber was led to form the <sup>restoring</sup> noble design of putting himself at the head of the <sup>and consolidating</sup> whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or religion, into one community.

This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindús to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every party to the highest stations in the service, according to their rank and merit; until, as far as his dominions extended, they were filled with a loyal and united people.

But these were the fruits of time; and the first calls on Akber's attention were of an urgent nature:

1. To establish his authority over his chiefs.
2. To recover the dominions of the crown.
3. To restore, in the internal administration of them, that order which had been lost amidst so many revolutions.\*

In the first years of Akber's reign, his territory was confined <sup>known</sup> to the Panjáb and the country round Delhi and Agra. <sup>territory</sup> In the third year, he acquired Ajmir without a battle; early in the fourth, he obtained the fort of Gwálib; and, not <sup>long</sup> long before Bairám's fall, he had driven the Afgháns <sup>out of</sup> out of Lucknow, and the country on the Ganges as far east as Jounpúr.

The adherents of the House of Súr that still remained in those <sup>parts</sup> parts were under Shír Sháh II. a son of the last king. <sup>Added</sup> And, and, soon after Akber took charge of his own <sup>government</sup> government, that prince advanced with a considerable <sup>army</sup> army to Jounpúr, in the hope of recovering his dominions. He was totally defeated by Khán Zeman, a chief of Akber's; but

\* See the account of the reign of Akber in the History of Hindoostan, Part IV. in F. B. Shaw's edition, which will be found in the Appendix.

the victor, despising the youth and feeble resources of his master, withheld the king's share of the booty, and showed so great a spirit of independence that Akber found it necessary to proceed in person towards the residence of the refractory governor. His presence produced more dutiful behaviour, but the disposition to insubordination was only kept under for the time.

A.D. 1560,  
A.H. 968.

The next affectation of independence was in Málwa. That province had remained in possession of Báẓ Bahádur, one of the officers of the Afghán kings,<sup>7</sup> and an attempt had been made to dispossess him during the administration of Bairám Khán. The undertaking was renewed with more vigour by Akber. Adham Khán, the officer employed, succeeded in defeating and expelling Báẓ Bahádur,<sup>8</sup> but was as little disposed as Khán Zemán to part with the fruits of his victory.

Akber did not wait for any open act of mutiny: he disconcerted the ill designs of his general by a rapid march to his camp; and Adham Khán, unprepared for so sudden a crisis, lost no time in making his submission: his offence was readily pardoned; but he was soon after removed from his government, which was given to the king's former tutor, Pír Mohammed Khán. This man, bred to letters, showed none of the virtues to be expected, either from his old profession or his present station. He was invaded by Báẓ Bahádur; and, although he gained considerable successes at first, he stained them by the massacre of the inhabitants of two cities of which he had obtained possession, and was ultimately defeated and drowned in the Nerbadda; the whole province falling into the hands of its old possessor. Báẓ Bahádur was finally subdued by Abdulla Khán Uzbek, whom Akber immediately sent against him. At a subsequent period, he entered the service of the emperor, whose liberal policy always left that resource for his conquered enemies.

A.D. 1560,  
May,  
A.H. 968,  
Shábán.

A.D. 1561,  
A.H. 969.

The ungovernable spirit of Adham Khán was not tamed by his removal from power; for, on some subsequent rivalry with

<sup>7</sup> [He was the son of the old governor, Shujá' Khán.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> An affecting incident occurred on this occasion. Báẓ Bahádur had a Hindú mistress who is said to have been one of the most beautiful women ever seen in India. She was as accomplished as she was fair, and was celebrated for her verses in the Hindú language. She fell into the hands of Adham Khán on the flight of Báẓ Bahádur; and finding herself unable to resist

his importunities and threatened violence, she appointed an hour to receive him, put on her most splendid dress, on which she sprinkled the richest perfumes, and lay down on a couch with her mantle drawn over her face. Her attendants thought that she had fallen asleep, but on endeavouring to wake her on the approach of the Khán, they found she had taken poison, and was already dead.—(*Kádfi Khán.*)

Akber's vazir, he stabbed him while at prayers, in a room adjoining to that occupied by the young king. Akber ran out on hearing the disturbance, and his first impulse was to revenge the death of his minister with his own hand: he restrained himself sufficiently to sheathe his sword, but ordered the murderer to be thrown from the lofty building where his offence took place. Nor was Abdulla Khán less unruly in his government of Málwa: within a little more than a year of the conquest of the province, he obliged Akber to move against him in person; and having in vain attempted to oppose the royal army, he fled to Guzerát, and took refuge with the king of that country. His fate was viewed with dissatisfaction by several other Uzbeks, who occupied commands in Akber's army. They suspected that the young monarch was actuated by a dislike to their race, such as a descendant of Báber might well be supposed to entertain; and they shared with many military leaders in their impatience of the subordination to which their class was about to be reduced. In this spirit they revolted, and were joined by Khán Zemán, before mentioned, and by A'saf Khán, another nobleman, who had lately distinguished himself by the conquest of Garráh, a principality on the Nerbadda, bordering on Bundélicand. It was governed by a queen, who opposed the Mahomedan general in an unsuccessful action, when, seeing her army routed, and being herself severely wounded, she avoided falling into the hands of the enemy by stabbing herself with her dagger. Her treasures, which were of great value, fell into the hands of A'saf Khán: he secreted the greater part, and the detection of this embezzlement was the immediate cause of his revolt.

The war with these rebels was attended with various success, and with alternate submission and renewed defection on the part of more than one of the chiefs. It occupied Akber for more than two years; and was concluded by an act of courage very characteristic of the conqueror. Akber had made great progress in reducing the rebellion, when he was drawn off by an invasion of the Panáth, under his brother Hakim. This occupied him for several months; and on his return, he found the rebels had recovered their ground, and were in possession of most parts of the Séhás of Oudh and Allahábad. He marched against them without delay, though it was the height of the rainy season; drove them across the Ganges; and when they thought themselves secure behind that swollen river, he made a forced march through a flooded country, swam the Ganges at nightfall with

his advanced guard of not 2,000 men on horses and elephants, and, after lying concealed during the night, attacked the enemy about sunrise. The rebels, though aware of the approach of a small body of horse, were quite unprepared for an attack; and Khán Zemán having been killed, and another principal chief unhorsed, and made prisoner, in the first confusion, they lost all the advantage of their numbers, fell into complete disorder, and soon after dispersed and fled in all directions.

Quelled after a struggle of seven years.

The invasion from Cábul which had interrupted Akber's operations, had its origin in much earlier events. Two of Akber's chiefs, Abúl Maálí<sup>9</sup> and Sherf ud dín, had revolted at Nágór, before the Uzbek rebellion (in A.D. 1561, A.H. 969), had defeated the king's troops, and advanced towards Delhi: they were afterwards driven back in their turn, and forced to seek for safety beyond the Indus. They retired with the remains of their force to Cábul, where circumstances secured them a favourable reception.

Affairs of Cábul.

That kingdom was left at the death of Humáyún under the nominal government of his infant son, Mírza Hakím, and immediately after was overrun, as has been mentioned,<sup>10</sup> by his relation, Soleimán of Badakhshán; and, though soon afterwards recovered, was never really in obedience to Akber.<sup>11</sup> The government was in the hands of the prince's mother, who maintained her difficult position with ability, though not more exposed to danger from foreign enemies than from the plots and usurpations of her own ministers.

Nominal government of Prince Hakím, Akber's brother.

She had recently been delivered from a crisis of the latter description, when she was joined by the rebellious chiefs from India; and before long she was induced to confide the control of her affairs to Abúl Maálí. That adventurer at first showed himself a useful minister; but his secret views were directed to objects very different from the establishment of the Bégum's authority, and as soon as he had himself formed a party in the kingdom, he had her assassinated, and took the government into his own hands. The aid of Mírzá Soleimán was now invoked, and the result was the defeat and death of Abúl Maálí (1563). Mírzá Soleimán affected to leave his young relation in possession of Cábul, but really placed him under the tutelage of one of his dependants, whose yoke was so irksome that Mírzá Hakím rose

<sup>9</sup> [Abúl Maálí was a sayyid of Káshghar, who entered Humáyún's service about 1551. He was a man of ability, but his overbearing temper led him into continual

rivalry with Bairám Khán.—Ed.]

<sup>10</sup> See p. 496.

<sup>11</sup> [But Cf. pp. 512, 517.—Ed.]



against it; and, after a struggle with Solcimán, was overcome <sup>Hakim</sup> and chased out of Cábul. This took place in the last <sup>1556</sup> year of the war with the Uzbek chiefs; and Hakim, although he had received such assistance as the times admitted from Akber, yet, conceiving his brother's hands to be fully occupied with the rebellion, at once resolved to indemnify himself at his expense, seized on Láhór, and took possession of the greater part of the Panjáb. This invasion ended in the expulsion of Prince Hakim from India (November 1556); and an opportune change of circumstances at the same moment opened the way for his return to Cábul, of which country he remained for a considerable period in undisturbed possession.

During these transactions, and before the final close of the <sup>major</sup> operations against the Uzbeks, another revolt had taken <sup>place</sup> place in India, which ultimately led to important consequences. Sultán Mirzá, a prince of the House of Tamerlane, had come to India with Báber; he had rebelled against Hamá-yún, and though subdued and pardoned, his four sons and three nephews took advantage of the general disturbance just mentioned, and revolted at Sambal, the government which had been assigned to their father. At first they were overpowered without an effort; and the danger from them seemed to be completely <sup>removed</sup> at an end, when they were compelled to fly to Guzerát <sup>1560</sup> (1560); yet they there sowed the seeds of future troubles, which only ended with the subjugation of the kingdom.

Some instances occurred during the disturbances above mentioned, which, although they had no important results, yet serve to show the state of society at the time.

During the insurrection of Sheráf-din, as Akber was going in procession to a celebrated shrine, an archer, who, it afterwards appeared, belong to the rebel chief, mixed with the spectators, and, pretending to discharge his arrow at a bird which was flying over him, suddenly brought it down in the direction of the emperor, and lodged it some inches deep in his shoulder. He was instantly seized, and Akber was entreated to put off his execution; and to extort a disclosure of the name of his instigator; but he said that a confession in such circumstances was more likely to criminate the innocent than the guilty, and allowed the punishment to take its course.<sup>17</sup> On another occasion, Kiaya Mirza, a near relation of Akber through his mother, had given way to a violent temper, and treated his wife with such brutality, that her relations applied to Akber to intercede with

<sup>17</sup> Khair Khán. Akber, vol. ii.

him, and prevail on him to leave her with her mother when he was about to remove to his *jágr*. Akber took an opportunity, while going out on a hunting party, to pay him a visit in his house near Delhi; but the monster guessed his design, and running to his female apartment before Akber had alighted, stabbed his wife to the heart, and threw the bloody dagger from the window among the king's attendants. When Akber entered the house he found him armed for resistance, and narrowly escaped death from one of his slaves, who was cut down as he was making a blow at the emperor. Akber, incensed at these atrocities, ordered Móazzim to be thrown headlong into the Jumna: he did not immediately sink; and Akber relented and ordered him to be taken out and imprisoned in Gwáliór, where he soon after died a maniac.<sup>12</sup>

On one of Akber's marches he found two great bodies of Hindú devotees prepared, according to their custom,<sup>14</sup> to contend sword in hand for the possession of a place for bathing during a great annual festival at Tanésar. He endeavoured at first by all means to bring about an amicable settlement; but finding all was in vain, he determined to allow them to fight it out, and looked on at the conflict in which they immediately engaged. At length one party prevailed, and Akber, to prevent the slaughter that would have followed, ordered his guards to check the victors, and thus put an end to the battle.<sup>15</sup>

During this struggle with the military aristocracy, Akber was fighting for his crown no less than in his contests with the successors of Shír Sháh; but by the time he had completed his twenty-fifth year, he had crushed his adversaries by his vigour, or attached them by his clemency, and had time to turn his thoughts to foreign countries. The first which attracted his attention was that of the Rájput princes. Bahára Mal, the rája of Ambér (now Jeipúr), was always on friendly terms with him, and had, at an early period, given his daughter in marriage to Akber; both he and his son, Bhagaván Dás, being at the same time admitted to a high rank in the imperial army.

Soon after the fall of Bairám (A.D. 1561, A.H. 969) he had sent a force against Márwár, and by the capture of the strong fort of Mirta had made an impression on that country which he was unable to follow up. He now turned his arms against the rána of Chítór (or Ondipúr). U'di Sing, the reigning rána, was the son of Báber's competitor, Rána Sanga, but was a man of feeble character. On the approach of Akber,

<sup>12</sup> Akbernáme.<sup>14</sup> See p. 65.<sup>15</sup> Akbernáme.

he withdrew from Chitôr, and retreated into the hilly and woody country north of Guzerât. His absence did not facilitate the capture of the fortress. There was still a strong garrison under Jei Mal, a chief of great courage and ability; and the place, though twice taken before, was still regarded by the Rájputs of Mēwâr as a sort of sanctuary of their monarchy. Akber carried on his approaches with caution and regularity. His trenches are minutely described by Ferishta, and closely resemble those of modern Europe. They were zigzags protected by gabions and by earth thrown from the trench. The object, however, was not to establish a breaching battery, but to get near enough for sinking mines. This was done in two places; and the troops being prepared for the occasion, fire was set to the train. The explosion was the signal for the storming party to rush forward; but it had only taken effect in one of the mines; and while the soldiers were climbing up the breach, the second mine exploded, destroyed many of both parties, and struck such a panic as to occasion the immediate flight of the assailants.

The operations of the siege had now to be recommenced; but Akber, one night, in visiting the trenches, perceived Jei Mal on the works, where he was superintending some repairs by torch-light: he immediately singled him out, and was so fortunate as to shoot him through the head with his own hand. The garrison lost heart on the death of their gallant leader: and, with their usual infatuation, abandoned the breaches and withdrew to the interior of the fort, where they devoted themselves with the accustomed solemnities. The women were committed to the flames with the body of Jei Mal, and the men ran out to meet death from the Mussulmans, who had mounted the ramparts unopposed. Eight thousand men were killed on this occasion, by the Rájput account: and the Mahometan writers make the number still greater.<sup>2</sup> The rāna, notwithstanding the loss of his capital, remained independent in his fastnesses. Nine years afterwards his son and successor, Rānâ Pratāp, was deprived of his strongholds of Kondah and Gogunda (probably in A.D. 1578, A.D. 1586), and was compelled for a time to fly towards the front. But, unlike his father, he was a brave high-spirited prince, and his perseverance was rewarded by success: before the death of Akber he recovered a great portion of the open part of his dominions, and founded a new capital called Udaipar, which is still occupied by

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta says that the Rájput troops "had burned the place, and then retired to the interior of the fort, where they had a great quantity of gunpowder, which they set on fire, and the explosion killed many of the Rájputs."—*ibid.* p. 100. The Rájput account is that the Rájputs "killed eight thousand of the Rájputs."

<sup>3</sup> The Rájput account is that the Rájputs "killed eight thousand of the Rájputs."

his descendants.<sup>18</sup> His house, alone, of the Rájput royal families, has rejected all matrimonial connexions with the kings of Delhi; and has even renounced all affinity with the other rajas, looking on them as contaminated by their intercourse with an alien race.

Such connexions were zealously promoted by Akber, and were long kept up by his successors. He himself had two Rájput queens, of the Houses of Jeipúr and Márwár; and his eldest son was married to another princess of Jeipúr. The bride, on these occasions, acquired a natural influence over her husband; her issue had equal claims to the throne with those born of a Mahometan mother; and the connexion was on a footing of so much equality, that from being looked on with repugnance as a loss of cast, it soon came to be coveted as an honourable alliance with the family of the sovereign.\*

In the course of the next year Akber took the strong hill-forts of Rintambór and Cálínjer; he went in person against the former place. On a subsequent occasion, being near the frontier of Jódipúr, Máldéo, the old raja of Jódipúr, sent his second son to meet him.<sup>19</sup> This Akber resented, as an imperfect substitute for his own appearance; and afterwards, assuming a superiority to which he was not entitled, made a formal grant of Jódipúr to Rái Sing of Bikanír, a junior member of the same family. Rái Sing, however, did not obtain possession; and, on the death of Máldéo, his son submitted, and was afterwards treated with the greatest favour and distinction by the emperor.<sup>20</sup>

Akber's attention was soon after drawn to an enterprise of great magnitude, involving the re-annexation of Guzerát to the empire. That kingdom had passed, on the death of Bahádur Sháh, to his nephew Mahmúd II.; and on the death of the latter king, his favourite, Etimúd Khán, who had been a Hindú slave, carried on the government in the name of a boy whom he pretended to be a son of Mahmúd, and who bore the title of Mozaffér III. The usurpation was opposed by another chief named Chengíz Khán; and it was with this last person that the Mirzás, whose revolt was mentioned in A.D. 1566, took refuge on their flight. Their extravagant pretensions soon drove them into a quarrel with their protector; and, after some partial success, they were expelled from Guzerát, and made an attempt to seize on Málwa, not long after the taking of Chitor,

<sup>18</sup> Tod's *Rájasthan*, vol. i. p. 332, etc.

\* [For a very interesting illustration to show how the Rájputs really regarded these marriages, see Kay's *Life of Lord*

*Metcalf*, vol. i. p. 416.—Ed.]

<sup>19</sup> Ferishta.

<sup>20</sup> Tod's *Rájasthan*, vol. ii. p. 34.



He had not been a month at his capital, when he learned that Mírzá Husein had again entered Guzerát, had been joined by one of the principal officers of the former king, and had already reduced the royal troops of the province to a defensive position, which they found some difficulty in maintaining. The rains had also set in, so that the march of a regular army was impossible ; but Akber, with the activity, and perhaps temerity, that characterized him, at once determined to retrieve his affairs in person. He sent off 2,000 horse to make the best of their way to Patan, and soon after followed himself with 300 persons (chiefly men of rank) on camels. He performed the journey of more than 450 miles with such celerity that, in spite of the season, he had assembled his troops, and faced his enemy at the head of 3,000 men, on the ninth day from leaving Agra. His force was still very unequal to that of the rebels ; but they were astonished at the sudden apparition of the emperor, and were, moreover, engaged in a siege, and exposed to a sally from the garrison. Akber, therefore, though again exposed to imminent personal hazard from his own thoughtless impetuosity, was at last successful. Both the insurgents were killed ; and tranquillity being completely restored, he again returned to Agra.<sup>21</sup>

Akber's next great enterprise was the conquest of Bengal. Part of Behár had been occupied after the defeat of Shír Sháh II., in A.D. 1560 ; the rest of the province, <sup>Conquest of Bengal.</sup> with all the country to the east of it, was still to be subdued. Bengal had revolted from Sultán A'dil before the return of Humáyún, and had remained under different Afghán kings till now. It was held by Dáúd, a weak and debauched prince, who had been nearly supplanted by his vazír, and was engaged in a civil war occasioned by his execution of this dangerous minister.

Akber had profited by these dissensions to obtain a promise of tribute from Dáúd : a temporary prospect of security had led that unsteady prince to reassert his independence, and the king thought the occasion favourable for going against him in person. He left Agra in the height of the rainy season, availing himself of the Jumna and the Ganges for the transport of his stores and

<sup>21</sup> Before this battle, while Akber was arming, he saw a stripling (the son of one of the Rájput rajas) labouring under the weight of a suit of mail, out of all proportion to his strength. He immediately exchanged it for a lighter suit of his own ; and seeing another rája unprovided, he told him to put on the heavy armour which had remained unoccupied. This rája was a rival of the father of the

young Rájput, who was so indignant at the use made of his armour, that he tore off that given him by the king, and declared that he should go into the action without any armour at all. Akber took no notice of this disrespect but to say, that he could not allow his chiefs to be more exposed than himself, and that he would also go unarmed into the battle. (*Akbernámeh.*)



chiefs had profited by the unsettled state of the country ; they seized on the *jágírs* of the Afgháns for their own benefit, and accounted for the rest of the royal revenue as expended on military operations. The conquest was completed about the time of Akber's great financial reform, and the governor was required to remit revenue to the treasury; while all *jágírs* were strictly inquired into, and musters of the troops for which each was held were rigorously exacted. The new conquerors were too conscious of their strength to submit to these regulations.<sup>21</sup> They revolted first in Bengal, and soon afterwards in Behár; when Akber found himself completely dispossessed of the fruits of his victory, and a formidable army of 30,000 men in the field to oppose him. After much ill success on the part of the king's troops, Rájá Tódar Mal was sent to recover the province. He was at first successful, partly owing to his influence with the Hindú *zemíndárs*; but some harsh pecuniary demands on the part of the *vazír* at Delhi led to numerous desertions, even among the chiefs unconnected with the rebels, and it was not till the end of the third year from the breaking out of the rebellion, that it was finally put an end to by Azíz, or A'zim Khán, who had succeeded Tódar Mal, and seems to have bought off many chiefs, and continued their lands to many of the troops (Afgháns as well as Moguls), who had heretofore enjoyed them.<sup>22</sup>

The old Afghán adherents of Dáúd Khán had not been idle during these dissensions among the Moguls. They assembled soon after the rebellion broke out under a chief called Kuttú, and before long made themselves masters of Orissa and of all the country up to the river Damóder, near Bardwán. Azíz having left the province after the rebellion was subdued, Rájá Mán Sing was sent from Cábúl to conduct this new war. He entered the country held by the Afgháns, and cantoned for the rains near the present site of Calcutta. A large detachment of his was afterwards defeated by the enemy, and his son, who commanded it, taken prisoner; so that his affairs wore an unfavourable aspect; when Kuttú luckily died (1590), and I'sa, a prudent and moderate chief, became guardian to his sons. With this chief an agreement was soon concluded by Mán Sing allowing the sons of Kuttú to retain Orissa as dependants or subjects of the emperor. After two years, I'sa died. His successor incurred general odium, by

Mutiny of  
the troops in  
Bengal and  
Behár.

A.D. 1579,  
A.H. 957.

Insurrection  
of the Af-  
gháns in  
Bengal.

<sup>21</sup> Stewart's *History of Bengal*. Mun-      <sup>22</sup> Stewart's *History of Bengal*.  
takhab ut Tawárikh.



seizing on the revenues of the great temple of Jagannāth. Akber took advantage of this mistake to send Mān Sing again with an army, who defeated the Afghāns on the borders of Bengal, drove them to Cattak, and by concessions of jāgirs, added to more rigorous measures, finally reduced them to submission.

Their last struggle was in 1592; and thenceforth (although Osmān, one of Kuttū's sons, rebelled again in A.D. 1600) the pretensions of the Afghāns to the possession of the province may be considered as quite extinguished.

While his officers were employed in the settlement of Bengal, Akber's own attention was drawn to a distant part of his dominions. His brother, Mirzā Hakim, who had long been undisturbed in Cābul, was led, by a wish for farther aggrandizement, again to invade the Panjāb. Rājā Mān Sing, the governor, was compelled to retire before him, and to take refuge in Lahōr; and Akber found it necessary to proceed himself, with an army to raise the siege and deliver the province.

Mirzā Hakim retreated before him; and the emperor, whose situation no longer required his allowing such attacks to pass with impunity, followed up his success, crossed the Indus, and after a feeble opposition on the part of his brother, took possession of Cābul. Mirzā Hakim fled to the mountains. He afterwards made his submission, and Akber generously restored him to his government. He thenceforth, probably, remained in real subordination to his brother.

After this settlement, Akber returned to Agra, leaving Rājā Bhagayān Dās of Jeppūr governor of the Panjāb. On his way he founded the fort which still stands at the principal ferry of the Indus, and gave it the name of Attok Benāris.

After the abdication of Mozaffar Sāhi of Guzerāt, he was imprisoned, and sent to Agra, and was kept for some time in confinement at the court. He had hitherto been allowed to reside at a distance, and he was given to him, and was no longer to be held in suspicion from Delhi to Lashī. In this case, as in many others, Akber paid dearly for his magnanimity. Not long after his return to Guzerāt, and Mozaffar was invited by Sūr Kāshī, the father of the principal actors in the former troubles, to join with him in a rebellion in Hindostān, and put himself at the head of the rebels of that kingdom. An insurrection ensued, which seemed to threaten, at least, that the king's troops would be obliged to withdraw to Patana in the north of Guzerāt.

while Mozaffer Sháh occupied Ahmedábád, Baróch, and almost the whole of the province. Mírzá Khán<sup>26</sup> (the son of Bairám Khán) was sent to quell this rebellion. He defeated Mozaffer, and recovered the continental part of Guzerát; but Mozaffer retired among the almost independent chieftains of the peninsula, repelled the attacks of Mírzá Khán, and made various attempts, at different periods, to recover his dominions. His efforts were all unsuccessful; but the endeavours of the Moguls to penetrate his retreat in the peninsula were attended with as little effect; and no result was produced for a long period, except alternate victories and heavy loss on both sides.

A.D. 1584,  
January;  
A.H. 984,  
Muharram.

On one occasion, indeed, in A.D. 1589, Azíz made his way to the sea-coast on the south, and fought a great battle. The victory was doubtful, but was followed by the retreat of the Moguls; and it was not till four years after this period, and twelve after his rebellion (in A.D. 1593), that Mozaffer Sháh was taken, on an incursion into the settled part of the province, and cut his throat with a razor while on his way to the court at Agra.

## CHAPTER II.

### FROM 1586 TO THE DEATH OF AKBER.

AFTER Mozaffer had been driven into the peninsula, Akber began to take part in the disputes of the Deckan (in A.D. 1586). His first attempts failed, as will hereafter be related; and before long he was fully occupied by the affairs of his own northern dominions. In the year 1585 his brother,

Akber interferes in the disputes of the Deckan.

<sup>26</sup> [Mírzá Abd ul Rahím was one of the most distinguished nobles of Muhammadan India: he was born at Lahor in 1556. When he came of age, Akber bestowed on him the title of Mírzá Khán, and he was soon afterwards appointed governor of Guzerát. When twenty-eight years of age he was made atalik or tutor of Prince Selím, and in the same year he was sent to put down Mozaffer Sháh's insurrection. The emperor had ordered him not to risk a general engagement with his inferior numbers; but an old noble told him that now was the time to become Kháni Khánán or to fall in battle, and he accordingly fought the battle mentioned in

the text, and was promoted in consequence to the rank of Amír of 5,000 with the predicted title. He was next honoured with the very rare title of Vakil-i-Sultanat or lord lieutenant of the empire. He successfully held the governments of Jaunpúr, Multán, and Sind, and performed great services in the wars in the Deckan. His daughter was married to Prince Dániyál. Under Sultán Jehangír he retained the same influence in the imperial councils, and we find him sent with Prince Sháh Jehán to Kandahár. He died at Delhi about 1626. (See Erskine's *Life of Biber*, preface, p. vii.)—ED.]

Mirzâ Hakîm, died; and, although he had no difficulty in taking Akber's territories held by that prince into his immediate possession, yet he heard, about the same time, that Mirzâ Seîmân had been driven out of Badakhshân by Abdullâh, the Khân of the Uzbeks; and it was, probably, apprehension of the further progress of that formidable neighbour which chiefly induced him to go in person to Câbul. Abdullâh Khân, however, was contented with Badakhshân; and as Akber made no attempt to recover that possession of his family, the peace remained undisturbed. The emperor was now in the neighbourhood of the northern mountains, a great portion of which was comprised within its dominions; and he was engaged by this circumstance in wars of a new description, attended with greater difficulties than any he had yet encountered.

The first was the conquest of Cashmir. That celebrated kingdom is an extensive plain, situated in the heart of the Himalaya mountains, and more than half way up their height. Placed, by its elevation, above the reach of the heat of Hindostan, and sheltered by the surrounding mountains from the blasts of the higher regions, it enjoys a delicious climate, and exhibits, in the midst of snowy summits, a scene of continual verdure, and almost of perpetual spring. Trees belonging to different climates are scattered over its surface, while fruits of various kinds and flowers of innumerable descriptions are poured forth with spontaneous profusion over the hills and plains. The level country is watered by rills, which issue from the valleys or fall in cascades down the mountains, and collect in different places, especially in two lakes, whose varied banks and floating gardens are the great boast of the valley.

This terrestrial paradise can only be approached by difficult and dangerous passes. The road, though steep ascent on the whole, often rises and descends over rocky ridges; sometimes winds through low and close dingles; and sometimes runs along the face of precipices overhanging deep and rapid rivers. The higher part of the mountain, from whence the descent into Cashmir commences, is at one season further obstructed, and in some places rendered impassable, by snow.

Cashmir had been ruled by a long succession of Hindu, and sometimes of Muslim, princes, from a very remote period; but it was not till the thirteenth century, when it was conquered by the Mahomedans, that it was held by a permanent dynasty, till the time of Akber's inva-

sion.<sup>1</sup> The hopes of that enterprising monarch were excited by distractions which prevailed among the reigning family; and while at Attok, in A.D. 1586, he sent a detachment under Sháh Rokh Mirzá, the son of Mirzá Soleimán (who had entered his service when driven out of Badakhshán), and his own brother-in-law, Rája Bhagaván Dás of Jeipur, to take possession of the prize thus exposed to hazard by the contention of its owners.

The obstacles already mentioned, especially the snow, retarded the progress of the army; and although it, at last, penetrated through a pass which had not been guarded, yet its supplies had been exhausted in these unproductive and inaccessible mountains, and the remaining difficulties seemed so considerable that the two chiefs entered into a treaty with the ruling power of Cashmír, by which the sovereignty of Akber was acknowledged, but his practical interference with the province forbidden. The emperor disapproved of this engagement; and next year sent another army, whose efforts were attended with more success. The dissensions which prevailed in Cashmír extended to the troops stationed to defend the pass: part came over to the Moguls; the rest quitted their post and retired to the capital. The barrier once surmounted, Cashmír lay at the mercy of the invaders. The king submitted, was enrolled among the nobles of Delhi, and was assigned a large jágir in Behár. Akber afterwards made a journey to Cashmír to enjoy the pleasures of his new conquest. He only repeated his visit twice during the rest of his reign; but Cashmír became the favourite summer retreat of his successors, and still maintains its celebrity as the most delicious spot in Asia, or in the world.

Though Akber's next operations were not unprovoked, like those against Cashmír, they were opposed with much greater obstinacy, and terminated with less success. They were directed against the north-eastern tribes of the Afgháns, who inhabit the hilly countries round the plain of Pesháwer. The plain is of great extent and prodigious fertility, combining the productive soil of India with many of the advantages of the temperate countries

Wars with  
the north-  
eastern  
Afgháns.

Description  
of those  
tribes and  
of their  
country.

<sup>1</sup> The *History of Cashmír* called the "Rája Tarangini" is remarkable, as the only specimen of that department of literature in the Sanscrit language. It is executed by four different hands; the first of whom wrote in A.D. 1148, but quotes the works of earlier historians with a precision that gives confidence in

his accuracy. The early part, as in all history, is fabulous, but it gradually approaches to consistency in facts and dates until about A.D. 600, from which period the chronology is perfectly accurate. (Wilson's *History of Cashmír*, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 3, 85.)

in the west. It is bounded on the north by the great chain of Hindû Cush; on the west by the high range of Sôleimân; and on the south by a lower range, called the hills of Kheiber, which extends from that of Sôleimân to the Indus. This tract forms about one-tenth of the proper country of the Afghâns. Its inhabitants are now called Berdûrânîs, and are distinguished from the other Afghâns by some peculiarities of dialect and manners.

The northern part belongs to the Yûsufzeis, who are by much the most considerable of these north-eastern tribes, and who afford a good specimen of the rest. The territory includes the northern part of the plain of Peshâwer, and stretches up the mountains of the snowy ridge of Hindû Cush, embracing some valleys of thirty or forty miles in length, and corresponding breadth, from each of which other valleys run up on both sides; all rivalling Cashmîr in climate and beauty, and all ending in narrow glens, hemmed in by high precipices or lost in woods and forests. Such a country is full of intricacy and obstructive to an invading army, but affords easy communications to the natives, who know the passes from one valley to another, and who are used to make their way even when there is no path to assist them. The original population was Indian, consisting, probably, of descendants of the ancient Paropamisadae.<sup>1</sup> It had, at a comparatively recent period, been conquered and reduced to a sort of villanage by certain Afghân tribes; and they, in their turn, were dispossessed, about a century before this period, by the Yûsufzeis, a tribe from near Candahâr, which had just suffered a similar expulsion from its native seats. With such possessions, and with their numerous vassals, the Yûsufzeis added the pride of wealth to the independence natural to mountaineers; and their self-importance was increased by their democratic constitution. Though each of their clans had an hereditary chief, he had no authority in time of peace, except to consult the people and to make known their wishes to the other clans. Internal affairs were conducted by the inhabitants of each village; causes were tried by a sort of jury, and meetings for civic or other purposes were constantly held in the public apartment of the village, which served also as a place of relaxation for the inhabitants, and of entertainment to guests or passing strangers. The land was equally divided; and equality was maintained by new distributions of it from time to time. The Indian vassals were well treated, but they had no share

in the government; and the conquerors were not more distinguished by their fair complexions than the superiority apparent in their demeanour.

The other tribes inhabiting the plains and the lower hills to the south had been longer settled there, and had had more intercourse with the Mahometans of India; but some of those in the Sóleimání mountains had a still more rugged country and less civilized manners than the Yúsufzeis. The Emperor Báber had endeavoured to bring the north-eastern tribes under his dominion, and partially succeeded with some. He failed entirely with the Yúsufzeis, though he employed the means of conciliation as well as destructive inroads into the accessible part of their country.

The present quarrel originated in a fanatical spirit, which had sprung up, many years before, among this portion of the Afgháns. A person, named Bá Yazíd, had then <sup>Sect of the Rósheniya.</sup> assumed the character of a prophet; had set aside the Korán, and taught that nothing existed except God, who filled all space and was the substance of all forms. The Divinity despised all worship and rejected all mortifications; but he exacted implicit obedience to his prophet, who was the most perfect manifestation of himself. The believers were authorized to seize on the lands and property of infidels, and were promised, in time, the dominion of the whole earth. Bayazíd soon formed a numerous sect (which took the name of Rósheniya, or enlightened), and established his authority in the hills of Sóleimán and Kheiber, with an influence over the neighbouring tribes. He was so long successful, that the government was obliged to make an exertion to put him down. His own presumption and the blind confidence of his followers led him to meet the royal troops in the plain. He was defeated with great slaughter, and died soon after of fatigue and vexation.<sup>3</sup> His sons dug up his bones, and bore them in an ark, at the head of their column; but they ceased to be formidable beyond their hills till about A.D. 1585, when one of the youngest, named Jelála, assumed the command, and exercised it with such vigour, that the ordinary government of Cábúl was found incompetent to resist him. When Prince Hakím died,<sup>4</sup> and Cábúl came directly under Akber, the government was given to Rája Mán Sing, whose talents and connexion with the emperor were supported by the forces which he could draw from his hereditary dominions.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Leyden's account of the Rósheniya Sect, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 363.

<sup>4</sup> [In A.D. 1585.—Ed.]

Even these advantages did not prove effectual; and one of the professed objects of Akber's expedition to the Indus was to settle the Afghāns. With this view he sent successive detachments from his camp on the east bank of the Indus; and commenced his operations by an attack on the Yūsufzeis, although they had long before quarrelled with the Rōsheniyas, and renounced the tenets of the sect.

The chief commanders in the force detached were Zein Khān, the emperor's foster-brother, and Rājā Bir Bal, his greatest personal favourite. So great was the importance attached to this expedition that Abūl Fazl relates that he himself drew lots with Bir Bal who should command one of the divisions, and was much mortified at being disappointed in this opportunity of distinguishing himself; his brother Feizi accompanied the force. The open country was soon overrun and laid waste; but on Rājā Bir Bal's advancing up one of the valleys, he found himself, by degrees, involved among defiles, where there was no outlet, and was at length obliged to give up the enterprise, and retrace his steps to the plain. Zein Khān showed more perseverance: he made his way through many rugged and dangerous mountains, and even built a redoubt in a place convenient for controlling the neighbourhood; but his troops were by this time so much exhausted by fatigue, and so much harassed by the increasing numbers and audacity of their enemies, that he was compelled to form a junction with Bir Bal; and both combined would have been unable to pursue their operations if they had not received further reinforcements from Akber.

They now resumed their plan of invasion. Bir Bal was on bad terms with Zein Khān, and it was contrary to the strongest remonstrances of the latter that they determined to risk their whole force in a desperate attack on the Afghāns. The resolution taken, they advanced into the mountains. They soon came to a strong pass, where Bir Bal succeeded in ascending; but on reaching the top, after a day of fatigue, he was set on by the Afghāns, with such effect, that his men dispersed, and made their way, as they best could, to the plain. Zein Khān, who had remained at the foot of the pass, was attacked at the same time, and defeated by a sort of ambuscade, during the night and part of the next day, when both chiefs were at last enabled to come to a halt, and to collect their scattered forces. Zein Khān continued shut in, till he was obliged on his own honour to capitulate with the

the emperor,  
of the main  
dangerously  
by the  
Yūsufzeis

v. c. 1786,  
Jahangir,  
v. c. 1791,  
Sulaiman

enemy ; but Bír Bal could not be prevailed on to accede to any of his suggestions ; and, having received information that the Afgháns intended to complete the ruin of the army by a night attack, he marched off his troops without consulting Zein Khán, and endeavoured to make his way through a defile, which would have afforded him the means of retreating to the open country. The intelligence was probably given for the purpose of drawing him into an ambuscade, for he had no sooner reached the gorge at the head of the pass than he was assailed on all sides by the Afgháns, who overwhelmed him with showers of stones and arrows, and, rushing down the sides of the hills, fell, sword in hand, on his astonished soldiers. All attempts to preserve order on his part were vain ; men, horses, and elephants were huddled together in their flight down the defile ; and Bír Bal himself, with several other chiefs of note, was slain in the rout and slaughter which ensued. Nor was Zein Khán more fortunate in his position on the plain : for, although during the day he kept up an orderly retreat, amidst swarms of archers, matchlockmen, and slingers ; yet, after a short respite which he was allowed in the evening, the alarm of "The Afgháns !" was again raised, and his troops fled in disorder, during the darkness of the night, losing many men killed, and more prisoners, while he himself escaped on foot, and made his way with difficulty to Attok.<sup>6</sup>

The news of this disaster spread alarm in the emperor's camp. One of his sons, Prince Morád, under the guidance of Rája Tódar Mal, was ordered out with a force to check the approach of the Afgháns. After the first apprehension had subsided, the prince was recalled, and the force left under the command of Tódar Mal and Rája Mán Sing.

Akber refused to see Zein Khán, and was long inconsolable for the death of Bír Bal. As the rája's body was never found, a report gained currency that he was still alive among the prisoners ; and it was so much encouraged by Akber, that, a long time afterwards, an impostor appeared in his name ; and as this second Bír Bal died before he reached the court, Akber again wore mourning as for his friend. Bír Bal's favour was

<sup>6</sup> Akbernáme. Muntakhab ut Tawárikh. Kháfi Khán. Abúl Fazl must have been minutely informed of the real history of this transaction ; but his anxiety to soften the disgrace of Akber's arms, and to refrain from anything that may reflect on Bír Bal, was so great, that his account is confused and contradictory, and I have been obliged to supply his deficiencies from the "Muntakhab ut Tawárikh." As a proof of the defects I have

ascribed to him, I may mention that, although he gives a full and even eloquent description of the total destruction of the army, he concludes by stating the loss at 500 men. Kháfi Khán, with equal inaccuracy, asserts that of 40,000 or 50,000 horse and foot, *not a single person* escaped alive. The defeat seems to have taken place in the mountains of Swát, and the names given to the passes are Karah, or Karah-Korah, and Bilandsei.



owing to his companionable qualities, no less than to his solid merit. He was a man of very lively conversation, and many of his witty sayings are still current in India.\*

The Yūsufzeis made no attempt to pursue their advantages. Tālar Māl and Mān Sing took up and fortified positions in different parts of the country, and prevented the Yūsufzeis from cultivating their portion of the plain. By these means, according to Abūl Fazl, they were reduced to unqualified submission; and, in reality, some temporary agreement or tacit understanding was brought about, so as to leave Mān Sing at liberty to act against the Rōsheniyas, under Jelāla, in the southern and western hills.

Accordingly, in the course of the same summer, he marched <sup>in 1567</sup> against them; and, after being exposed to considerable <sup>in 1568</sup> hazard, he succeeded in gaining a partial success. The Rōsheniyas, however, stood their ground, and the ascendancy of <sup>in 1567</sup> the government was not restored till the next year, <sup>in 1568</sup> when a combined attack was made by Mān Sing, from Cābul, and a force detached by Akber, to cross the Indus to the south of the salt range, and come in on the enemy from their rear. Jelāla was at that time completely defeated; he, <sup>From</sup> however, almost immediately renewed his operations, <sup>in 1567</sup> which were kept up for many years, and were some- <sup>to</sup> times aided by contests between the government and the Yūsufzeis, which produced no permanent results. During this time, it was the policy of the Moguls to prevent the cultivation of the fertile plains and valleys; so that Jelāla was often compelled, by want of supplies, to leave the strong countries he occupied, and expose himself to the risk of battles on more equal ground. He was several times obliged to fly to the mountains of the Cāfirs, and once to the court of Abdullah, the Klān of the Uzbeks; still he always returned and renewed his attacks; and in A.D. 1600, he was in sufficient strength to obtain possession of the city of Ghazni.

This was the last of Jelāla's exploits. He was soon driven out of the city; and, being repulsed and wounded in an attempt which he afterwards made to recover it, he was pursued on his retreat and was overtaken and killed before he could make his way to a place of safety.

Thereafter his war was continued by his successors, during the two next reigns of Jelānger and Shāh Jelānir; and when, at

\* Chiefly from the *Muntakhab ul Tawārikh*. He was a friend of the *Shāh* or *Emperor*. [E.]

last, the enthusiasm of the Rósheniyas wore out, the free spirit of the Afgháns, which had owed nothing to its success, survived its extinction: the north-eastern tribes were never more formidable than in the reign of Aurangzib; and the Yúsufzeis have resisted repeated attacks from the Mogul emperors, and afterwards from the kings of Persia and Cábul, <sup>Imperfect settlement at the end of fifteen years.</sup> and retain their turbulent independence undiminished to the present day.<sup>8</sup>

The nature of the war with Jelála had not, latterly, been such as to prevent Akber's employing his troops in the adjoining countries. It was some years before the death of that leader, that he made the important acquisitions of Sind and Candahár.

The province of Sind had passed from the Arghúns<sup>9</sup> into another family of military adventurers, and Akber took advantage of some dissensions which afterwards took place among these new usurpers, to endeavour to recover that old <sup>Conquest of Sind.</sup> possession of the kings of Delhi. He sent an army from Láhór, where he was himself at the time, to enter Sind from <sup>A.D. 1591, A.H. 999.</sup> the north, and lay siege to the fort of Sehván, the key to Lower Sind, and a place of great importance to the security of the whole province.

The success of this attempt was prevented by the chief of Sind, who drew near with his army, and intrenched himself in such a position that Akber's general could neither attack him nor carry on the siege while he was so near.

This difficulty was surmounted, by the sagacity of the emperor himself. He sent another detachment to enter Sind by the way of Amercót; and, by thus distracting the attention of the chief, deprived him of the advantages of his position, and, before long, reduced him to give up the province. He received very favourable terms, and was appointed by Akber, according to <sup>A.D. 1592, A.H. 1000.</sup> that monarch's practice, to a high rank among the nobles of the empire.<sup>10</sup>

\* Abúl Fazl's account of these wars is a curious specimen of his adulation and his inconsistency. Immediately after Bír Bal's calamity (that is, in the first year of the war), he says: "The highlands were soon cleared of the rubbish of rebellion. Many were killed, and a large number took refuge in Irán and Túrán (Persia and Tartary): and thus the countries of Bájaur, Swád, and Tirah, which are rarely to be equalled in the world for their climate and fertility, and the plenty of their fruits, were cleansed of these wicked wretches." Yet this alleged conclusion of the war does not prevent Abúl Fazl's relating the

various events which took place during the course of it in the remaining fifteen years that are included in his history. He even accounts for Akber's fourteen years' stay in the Panjáb, by "his being at one time engaged in suppressing the Tájiks (Rósheniyas), and at another in reducing the inhabitants of the northern hills." (Chalmers' *MS. Translations of the Akbernámeh*.)

<sup>9</sup> See p. 429, and Appendix, *Sind*.

<sup>10</sup> [He was made a commander of 5,000 and appointed to the government of Tatta. (*Morley's Catalogue*, p. 74.)—Ed.]

It is mentioned in the "Akbernámeh" that the chief of Sind employed Portuguese soldiers in this war, and had also 700 natives dressed as Europeans. These were, therefore, the first *Sepoys* in India.

The same chief is said to have had a fort defended by an Arab garrison: the first instance in which I have observed any mention of that description of mercenaries, afterwards so much esteemed.

After the treacherous seizure of Candahár by Humáýún, the <sup>Recovery of</sup> king of Persia made several attempts to recover possession <sup>Candahár</sup>. He had no success until the beginning of Akber's reign, when the divided state of the monarchy enabled him to effect his purpose. Similar disorders in the early part of the reign of Sháh Abbás gave a corresponding advantage to Akber. The Persian chiefs fell out among themselves; one of them fled to India; and all parties ultimately turned their eyes to the same quarter: so that, at length, both the <sup>city and</sup> town and territory fell, without a blow, into the hands <sup>of the</sup> of the Mogul prince.

These proceedings led to no quarrel with Persia: Sháh Abbás was fully employed at home, and being desirous of Akber's assistance against the Uzbeks, he soon after renewed the friendly intercourse which had long been suspended between the courts, and patiently waited his opportunity of recovering Candahár: which did not present itself till after the death of Akber.

The acquisition of Candahar placed Akber in complete possession of his hereditary kingdom beyond the Indus (the war <sup>ceased</sup> with the north-eastern Afgháns being now confined to <sup>the</sup> the mountains); and nearly at the same time he had completed the conquest of Hindostan Proper. Sind had fallen in 1592; the last attempt at rebellion in Cashmir was quashed about the same time; the reduction of Bengal was completed by the submission of Orissa; and all disturbances in Guzzerat terminated in the death of Mogaather in 1604; so that the whole of Hindostan to the Nerbudda was now under Akber's authority, though it had been under any former king. The name of Orizpúr, indeed, continued unsubdued; but the other Rájá's chiefs were changed from nominal tributaries to active and attached vassals.

The next object for Akber was to extend his dominions over <sup>the</sup> the Deccan. As early as A.D. 1586, he had taken up arms in the cause of Burhan, a brother of Murteza Nizám Sháh, who had been expelled from Agra by Humáýún, who claimed to submit

ster the government on the ground of the mental derangement of its actual possessor. An expedition sent by Akber from Málwa to support this claim had failed, and Burhán remained for some years under Akber's protection. At a later period (A.D. 1592), after his brother's death, Burhán acquired possession of his hereditary kingdom without any aid from Akber; but he found it divided by internal faction, and engaged in war with his neighbour the king of Bījápúr. All these distractions were increased on the death of Burhán. That event happened after a short reign; and in A.D. 1595 there were no less than four parties in the field, each supporting a separate claimant. The chief of the party that was in possession of the capital had recourse to the aid of the Moguls; and at his invitation, Prince Morád entered the Deckan from Guzerát, and Mirzá Khán, the Kháni Khánán, from Málwa, the two armies forming a junction within a short distance of Ahmednagar. But, in the meantime, the chief by whom they were called in had been obliged to leave the capital, and it was now in the hands of Chánd Sultána, or Chánd Bībí, one of the most distinguished women that have ever appeared in India. This princess was acting as regent for her infant nephew Bahádúr Nizám Sháh, and she no sooner was aware of the approach of the Moguls than she applied herself to conciliate the king of Bījápúr, her relation, and at the same time to reconcile the heads of the other internal parties; that all might, for a time at least, unite to resist the power whose ambition threatened equal danger to them all. So successful was her appeal, that one of the chiefs, Nehang, an Abyssinian, immediately set out to join her, and cut his way into Ahmednagar while the Moguls were in the act of investing the place: the other two likewise laid aside their private animosities, and joined the army of Bījápúr, then marching against the Moguls. These preparations increased the eagerness of Prince Morád. He pressed on the siege, and had already run two mines under the works, when they were discovered and rendered useless by the countermines of the besieged, Chánd Bībí herself superintending the workmen, and exposing herself to the same dangers as the rest. The third mine was fired before the means taken to render it ineffectual were completed: the counterminers were blown up, a wide breach was made in the wall, and such a sudden terror was struck among those who defended it, that they were on the point of deserting their posts and leaving the road open to the storming party which was

A.D. 1595,  
about Nov. ;  
A.M. 1004,  
about the  
end of Rabi'  
ul 'Akhir.

Chánd Sul-  
tána.

Her defence  
of Ahmed-  
nagar.

advancing. But they were soon recalled by Chând Bibi, who flew to the breach in full armour, with a veil over her face and a naked sword in her hand; and having thus checked the first assault of the Moguls, she continued her exertions till every power within the place was called forth against them: match-lock-balls and arrows poured on them from the works: guns were brought to bear upon the breach; rockets, gunpowder, and other combustibles were thrown among the crowd in the ditch; and the garrison in front opposed so steady a resistance, that, after an obstinate and bloody contest, which lasted till evening, the Moguls were obliged to draw off their troops and postpone the renewal of the assault till the next day. But the garrison and inhabitants had been raised to enthusiasm by the example of the regent: and, as her activity and energy were not slackened during the night, the Moguls found, when the day dawned, that the breach had been built up to such a height as to render it impossible to mount it without new mines. Meanwhile the confederates drew near; and though the Moguls were still superior in the field, they were unwilling to risk all on the chance of a battle. Chând Bibi, on the other hand, was well aware of the precarious duration of a combination like the present; and both parties were well satisfied to come to terms; the king of Ahmednagar surrendering to the Mogul emperor his claim on Berâr, of which he had recently made a conquest.<sup>11</sup>

The Moguls had not long withdrawn, when fresh dissensions were kindled in Ahmednagar. One Mohammed Khân, whom Chând Bibi had appointed peshwâ,<sup>12</sup> or prime minister, plotted against her authority, and finally applied for aid to Prince Morâd. The prince was already engaged in a dispute with the Deekan princes about the boundaries of Berâr; both parties had once more recourse to hostilities, and before the expiration of a year from the peace they again met each other in the field in greater force than before.

The king of Kândesh, who acknowledged himself Akbar's subject, appeared on his side on this occasion, while the king of

<sup>11</sup> The Mogul emperor, who had been informed of the success of Chând Bibi, sent him a large sum of money to reward her services. Khân Khânân, the Mogul minister, was so much affected by the example of her activity and energy, that he resolved to visit her in person, and to see her in her own quarters. He was received with the most respectful attention, and he was so much struck by her courage and resolution, that he was obliged to acknowledge her superiority.

<sup>12</sup> The Mogul emperor, who had been informed of the success of Chând Bibi, sent him a large sum of money to reward her services.

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Golcónda had now joined his forces to those of Bījápúr and Ahmednagar. The battle took place on the river Godáverí : though maintained with great fury for two days, its result was indecisive. The Moguls claimed the victory, but made no attempt to advance ; and their ill-success, together with the disagreement between Prince Morád and the Kháni Khánán, induced Akber to recall them both. Abúl Fazl (the author), who was his prime minister, and had been lately in temporary disgrace, was sent to remove the prince ; and, if necessary, to take the command of the army. His representations convinced Akber that his own presence was required: he therefore left the Panjáb towards the end of 1598, (after a residence of fourteen years in the countries near the Indus); and before the middle of 1599 he arrived on the river Nerbadda. The strong fortress of Doulatábád had been taken before he appeared ; several other hill forts fell about the same time ; and as soon as the royal army reached Burhánpúr, on the Tapti, a force was sent forward under his son, Prince Dániyál, and the Kháni Khánán, to lay siege to Ahmednagar. Chánd Bibí's government was now in a more disturbed state than ever. Nehang, the Abyssinian chief, who had joined her in Ahmednagar at the beginning of the former siege, was now besieging her. He drew off on the approach of the Moguls ; but the intestine disturbances still rendered a defence hopeless ; and Chánd Bibí was negotiating a peace with the Moguls, when the soldiery, instigated by her factious opponents, burst into the female apartments and put her to death. Their treason brought its own reward: in a few days the breach was practicable ; the storm took place ; the Moguls gave no quarter to the fighting men ; and the young king, who fell into their hands, was sent prisoner to the hill fort of Gwáliór. But the fall of the capital did not produce the submission of the kingdom. Another pageant king was set up, and the dynasty was not finally extinguished till the reign of Sháh Jehán, in A.D. 1637.

Before the siege of Ahmednagar, a disagreement had taken place between Akber and his vassal, the former king of Khándésh, which induced the emperor to annex that country to his immediate dominions. The military operations which ensued occupied Akber for nearly a year, and it was not till some months after the storm of Ahmednagar that the reduction of the province was completed by the fall of Asírghar, when Akber appointed Prince Dániyál viceroy of

A.D. 1596,  
December,  
or Jan. 1597.

Akber goes  
in person to  
the Deccan.

Death of  
Chánd  
Sultána.

Taking of  
Ahmedna-  
gar.

A.D. 1600,  
about July ;  
A.H. 1009,  
Safar.

Conquest of  
Khándésh.

Akber re-  
turns to  
Hindustan.

Khândesh and Berâr, with the Khânî Khânân for his adviser, and marched, himself, to Agra, leaving the command in the Deekan and the prosecution of the conquest of Ahmednagar to Abûl Fazl.

Before his departure Akber had received embassies and presents from the kings of Bijâpûr and Golconda, and had married his son Dâniyâl to the daughter of the former prince.<sup>1</sup> Akber's return to Hindostan was rendered necessary by the refractory conduct of his eldest son, Selim.<sup>2</sup> The prince, who was now turned of thirty, does not appear to have been deficient in natural abilities; but his temper had been exasperated, and his understanding impaired, by the excessive use of wine and opium.<sup>3</sup> He had always looked on Abûl Fazl as his mortal enemy; and the temporary disgrace of that minister, and his subsequent removal to the Deekan, were concessions made by Akber to the complaints and jealousy of his son. On his own departure for the Deekan, Akber declared Selim his successor, appointed him viceroy of Agra, and committed to him the conduct of the war with the râja of Oudipûr, sending Râja Mân Sing to assist him with his arms and counsels. After much loss of time Selim set forth on this duty, and had made some progress in the fulfilment of it, when intelligence arrived of the revolt under Osmân in Bengal, of which province Mân Sing was the viceroy. He immediately set off for his government; and Selim, now free from all control, and seeing the emperor's whole force employed in other quarters, was tempted to seize on the provinces of Hindostan for himself. He marched to Agra, and, as the governor of that city contrived to elude his demands for its surrender, he proceeded to Allahâbâd, and took possession of the surrounding countries of Orah and Behâr. He at the same time seized on the local treasures, amounting to thirty lacs of rupees (2,000,000*rs.*), and assumed the title of king.

<sup>1</sup> The marriage of Dâniyâl with the daughter of the king of Bijâpûr, was celebrated in the year 1595, and was the first of a series of alliances which Akber entered into with the rulers of the Deekan, in order to secure the peace of that country. The marriage of Dâniyâl with the daughter of the king of Golconda, was celebrated in the year 1596, and was the second of a series of alliances which Akber entered into with the rulers of the Deekan, in order to secure the peace of that country. The marriage of Dâniyâl with the daughter of the king of Bijâpûr, was celebrated in the year 1595, and was the first of a series of alliances which Akber entered into with the rulers of the Deekan, in order to secure the peace of that country. The marriage of Dâniyâl with the daughter of the king of Golconda, was celebrated in the year 1596, and was the second of a series of alliances which Akber entered into with the rulers of the Deekan, in order to secure the peace of that country.

However much Akber may have been afflicted by this conduct, he determined not to drive his son to extremities. He wrote a temperate letter, warning him of the consequences of his conduct, and assuring him of his own undiminished affection, if he would in time return to the path of his duty. As these remonstrances were soon followed by Akber's return to Agra, Selím replied in the most submissive terms, and actually marched as far as Etáyah with the professed intention of waiting on his father. Whether he in reality intended his approach to be hostile, or entertained apprehensions for his own safety, he spared no efforts to raise troops, and had assembled such a body that Akber sent to desire him to advance slightly attended, or else to return to Allahábád. Selím chose the latter course.

It is not improbable that this retreat was procured by negotiation; for it was soon followed by a grant of Bengal and Orissa by Akber to his son, and by renewed professions of fidelity and devotion on the part of the latter. During this deceitful calm, the prince had an opportunity, which <sup>Murder of</sup> ~~Abúl Fazl~~ he did not let slip, of revenging his own supposed injuries, while he inflicted the severest blow on the feelings of his father.

Abúl Fazl had at this time been recalled from the Deckan, and was advancing with a small escort towards Gwáliór, when he fell into an ambuscade laid for him by Narsing Deó, rája of O'reha in Bundélcand, at the instigation of Prince Selím; and although he defended himself with great gallantry, he was cut off with most of his attendants, and his head sent to the Prince.<sup>16</sup> Akber was deeply affected by the intelligence of this event. He shed abundance of tears, and passed two <sup>A.D. 1602,</sup> <sup>A.H. 1011.</sup> days and nights without food or sleep. He immediately sent a force against Narsing Deó, with orders to seize his family, ravage his country, and exercise such severities as on other occasions he never permitted. He does not seem to have known of his son's share in the crime: so far from interrupting his intercourse with him, he sent Selíma Sultána, one of his wives, who had adopted Selím after his own mother's death, to

<sup>16</sup> Selím, in his Memoirs, written after he was emperor, acknowledges the murder, and defends it on the ground that Abúl Fazl had persuaded Akber to renounce the Korán, and to deny the divine mission of Mahomet. On the same ground he justifies his own rebellion against his

father. (Price's *Memoirs of Jehángír*, p. 33.) One of his first acts after his accession was to promote the murderer, Narsing Deó (who had escaped the unrelenting pursuit of Akber), to a high station, and he always continued to treat him with favour and confidence.



endeavour to soothe his mind and bring about an entire reconciliation.

This embassy was attended with the desired effect. Selim soon after repaired to court and made his submission. Akber received him with his usual kindness, and conferred on him the privilege of using the royal ornaments.

1600. Selim was soon after again despatched with a force  
1602. against the rāna of Oudipūr; but he protracted his  
1603. march on various pretences, and showed so little dis-  
1604. position to involve himself in a permanent contest of  
that nature, that Akber, desirous to avoid a rupture at all costs, sent him leave to return to his almost independent residence of Allahābād. Here he gave himself up more than ever to debauchery.

He had always maintained a peculiar dislike for his eldest son, Prince Khusrō, whose own levity and violence seem to have given him reason for his displeasure. Some circumstances in their disputes at this time so affected Khusrō's mother (the sister of Rāja Mān Sing) that she swallowed poison, and thus added a fresh sting to the already inflamed mind of her husband. Selim's irascibility now became so great that his attendants were afraid to approach him; and he was guilty of cruelties which had been so long disused that they excited horror among all who heard of them, and which were peculiarly repugnant to the humane nature of Akber.<sup>17</sup>

The emperor was much perplexed as to the course to pursue, and determined to try the effect of a personal interview with his son. He therefore set off for Allahābād, and had advanced one or two marches, when he heard of the alarming illness of his own mother, and returned just in time to receive her last breath.

On hearing of this journey, and the cause of its suspenses, Selim, perhaps animated by some sense of duty or natural affection, or perhaps conceiving that his interests would be best served by his presence at court, determined to repair to Agra, and to submit in good earnest to his father.

On reaching Agra he was kindly received, but was for a short time placed under restraint; and either to lessen the harshness of his confinement, or to prevent his indulging himself in his usual excesses, he was put under the care of a physician. Before long he was restored to freedom and to

<sup>17</sup> On the 22d of September, 1602, the emperor was seized with a violent illness, and died on the 15th of October. He was buried with great pomp in the city of Allahābād, and his body was preserved in a golden casket, which was placed in a vault under the city wall. The city of Allahābād was then a small town, and the emperor's body was buried in a vault under the city wall.

favour. Still the violence of his temper does not appear to have abated; and his jealousy of his son, Khusrou, led to such a disorderly scene at an elephant fight in Akber's presence, that he was in imminent danger of again <sup>His quarrels with his own son, Khusrou.</sup> incurring the public displeasure of the emperor. Khusrou took up the quarrel with as much vehemence as his father, and did all he could to exasperate Akber against him. It is even probable that Khusrou had, long ere this, entertained views of supplanting his father in the succession; and Selím, in his Memoirs, appears to have been convinced that Akber at one time had serious thoughts of such a supersession;<sup>18</sup> but the real favourite with Akber, as well as with Selím himself, was Khurram,<sup>19</sup> the third and youngest son of the latter; and their preference of that prince was among the principal causes of the discontent of his elder brother.

Akber had, some years before, lost his second son, Morád: he now received accounts of the death of his third <sup>Death of Dániyál, Akber's third son.</sup> son, Dániyál, who fell a victim to intemperance in the thirtieth year of his age. His health having already received a severe shock from his excess, he was obliged to pledge his word to his father to leave off the use of wine, and was so surrounded by people of the emperor's that he was unable to gratify his propensity, which had become irresistible. His resource was to have liquor secretly conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling-piece; and having thus again free access to indulgence, he soon brought his life to a close. This calamity was felt by Akber in the degree that was to be expected from the strength of his attachments; and it is probable that his domestic afflictions, and the loss of his intimate friends, began to prey upon his spirits and undermine his health.

He appears to have been for some time ill,<sup>20</sup> when, in the middle of September 1605, his complaint came on <sup>Sickness of Akber.</sup> with additional violence, accompanied by total loss of appetite; and it became apparent, before long, that there were little hopes of his recovery. For the last ten days he was confined to his bed; and although he appears to have retained his faculties to the last, he was no longer capable of taking part in business. From this time all eyes were directed to <sup>Intrigues regarding the succession.</sup> the succession, and the court became an arena for the struggles of the contending parties. Selím was the acknowledged heir, and the only remaining son of the emperor; but

<sup>18</sup> Price's *Memoirs of Jehángir*, p. 33.

<sup>20</sup> Price's *Memoirs of Jehángir*, p. 70.

<sup>19</sup> Afterwards Sháh Jehán.

his rebellion had weakened his reputation, and he was now in a sort of disgrace, removed from his troops, and from all those over whom he was accustomed to exercise authority. On the other hand, Rāja Mán Sing was maternal uncle to Khusrou, who was, moreover, married to the daughter of Aziz, the Khán-i-Azim, the first of Akber's generals; and those great personages, foreseeing an increase to their own power in the succession of their young relation, took immediate measures for securing the palace which forms also the citadel of Agra, and made all dispositions for placing Khusrou on the throne. Selim was now justly alarmed for his personal safety, and forbore visiting the palace on pretence of illness. His son, Prince Khurram, though only a boy, disregarded both his father's injunctions and his own danger, and declared that he would never quit his grandfather while he continued to live. Akber was distressed by his son's absence, of which he surmised the cause. He repeatedly expressed his anxiety to see him, and again pronounced him the lawful successor to the kingdom, while he expressed his desire that Khusrou should be provided for by a grant of the province of Bengal. These declarations, together with the exertions of some of the most respectable nobles, who still adhered to Selim, had a great effect in drawing off the inferior chiefs who had attached themselves to the opposite party; and Aziz soon perceived that he was likely to be deserted if he persevered, and took the prudent course of opening a private negotiation with Selim. Mán Sing, whose influence depended on the loyalty of his followers to himself and not to the emperor, was not exposed to the same danger; but finding himself left alone, and having received flattering overtures from Selim, he also at length promised his support to the heir apparent, who now repaired to the palace, and was affectionately received by the dying monarch. The last moments of Akber are only recorded by his successor. He says that, at this critical interview, Akber desired him to bring all his courtiers into a chamber where he was lying: "for," said he, "I cannot bear that any misunderstanding should subsist between you and those who have, for so many years, shared in my toils and bore the consequences of my glory." When they were assembled he delivered a short address to them, and, after wistfully remarking that he could not desert them to forgive any offences of which they might have been guilty towards any of them, he expired, and then, as if at his foot, and burst into a passion.

of tears; but Akber pointed to his favourite scymitar, and made signs to his son to bind it on in his presence. He seems afterwards to have recovered from this exhaustion: he addressed himself to Selim and earnestly conjured him to look to the comfort of the ladies of his family, and not to forget or forsake his old friends and dependants. After this he permitted one of the chief mullahs, who was a personal friend of Selim's, to be brought to him, and in his presence he repeated the Mahometan confession of faith,\* and died in all the forms of a good Mussulman.<sup>21</sup>

Akber is described as a strongly built and handsome man, with an agreeable expression of countenance, and very <sup>his</sup> captivating manners.<sup>22</sup> He was endowed with great <sup>his</sup> character. personal strength and activity. In his youth he indulged in wine and good living, but early became sober and abstemious, refraining from animal food on particular days, making altogether nearly a fourth part of the year. He was always satisfied with very little sleep, and frequently spent whole nights in those philosophical discussions of which he was so fond. Although so constantly engaged in wars, and although he made greater improvements in civil government than any other king of India; yet, by his judicious distribution of his time, and by his talents for the despatch of business, he always enjoyed abundant leisure for study and amusement. He was fond of witnessing fights of animals, and all exercises of strength and skill; but his greatest pleasure was in hunting, especially in cases like the destruction of tigers, or the capture of herds of wild elephants, which gave a scope to his enjoyment of adventure and exertion. He sometimes also underwent fatigue for the mere pleasure of the exercise, as when he rode from Ajmir to Agra (220 miles) in two successive days, and in many similar journeys on horseback, besides walks on foot of thirty or forty miles in a day. His

\* [Mr. Blochmann shows (Ayin-i A. transl. i. p. 212) that the account of Akber's return to Muhammadanism is very doubtful.—Ed.]

<sup>21</sup> Akber was buried near Agra. His tomb is thus described by Bishop Heber. The central building "is a sort of solid pyramid, surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble surrounded by the most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the centre of which is a small altar tomb, also of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the mate-

rial, and to the graceful forms of the Arabic characters which form its chief ornament." (Bishop Heber's *Narrative*, vol. i. p. 587.) This immense pile served as quarters to an European regiment of dragoons for a year or two after the first conquest of that territory by the British.

<sup>22</sup> Price's *Memoirs of Jehangir*, p. 46. The following is the account given of him by the Portuguese Jesuits who went to visit him from Goa. He was about "fifty years old, white like an European, and of sagacious intellect. He received them with singular affability," etc. (Murray's *Discoveries in Asia*, vol. ii. p. 89.)

history is filled with instances of romantic courage, and he seems to have been stimulated by a sort of instinctive love of danger as often as by any rational motive. Yet he showed no fondness for war; he was always ready to take the field and to remain there, exerting all his talents and energy, while his presence was required; but when the fate of a war was once decided, he returned to the general government of his empire, and left it to his lieutenants to carry on the remaining military operations. These were, in some cases, very long protracted; but his conquests, when concluded, were complete; and no part of India, except that near the capital, can be said to have been thoroughly subdued until his time. He was not free from ambition; but as the countries he invaded had been formerly subject to Delhi, he would have incurred more blame than praise among his contemporaries if he had forbore from attempting to recover them.

## CHAPTER III.

### INTERNAL POLICY.

BUT it is to his internal policy that Akber owes his place in that highest order of princes, whose reigns have been a blessing to mankind; and that policy shows itself in different shapes, as it affects religion or civil government. Akber's tolerant spirit was displayed early in his reign, and appears to have been entirely independent of any doubts on the divine origin of the Mahometan faith. It led him, however, to listen, without prejudice, to the doctrines of other religions, and involved him in company with the bigoted members of his own; and must thus have contributed to shake his early belief, and to dispose him to question the infallible authority of the Koran. The political advantages of a new religion, which should take in all classes of his subjects, could not fail, moreover, to occur to him. In the first part of his reign, he was assiduous in visiting sacred places, and in attendance on holy men; even in the twenty-first year of his reign, he spoke seriously of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca; and it was not till the twenty-fourth year (A.D. 1570) that he made open profession of his latitudinarian opinions.

It is not impossible that some even of the holy persons whom he visited may have held the free notions common with particular sects of Mahometan ascetics ; but the blame of corrupting Akber's orthodoxy is thrown by all Mussulman writers <sup>Feizi</sup> on Feizi and his brother Abul Fazl. These eminent persons were the sons of a learned man named Mobarik, who was probably a native of Nagor, and who, at one time, taught a college or school of law and divinity at Agra. He was at first a Sunni, but turned Shia ; and afterwards took to reading the philosophical works of the ancients, and became a free-thinker, or, according to his enemies, an atheist. So great a persecution was raised against him on this account, that he was constrained to give up his school, and fly with his family from Agra. His sons conformed, in all respects, to the Mahometan religion ; though it is probable that they never were deeply imbued with attachment to the sect.

Feizi was the first Mussulman that applied himself to a diligent study of Hindú literature and science.<sup>1</sup> It does not appear whether his attention was directed to these <sup>His translations from the Sanscrit.</sup> researches by Akber, or whether he undertook them of his own accord. It was, however, by the aid and under the direction of the emperor that he conducted a systematic inquiry into every branch of the knowledge of the Bramins. Besides Sanscrit works in poetry<sup>2</sup> and philosophy, he made a version of the "Bija Ganita" and "Lilavati" of Bhascara Acharya, the best Hindú books on algebra and arithmetic.

He likewise superintended translations made from the Sanscrit by other learned men, including one, at least, of the Vedas, the two great historical and heroic poems the "Mahá Bháráta" and "Rámáyana," and the "History of Cashmir," the only specimen of that sort of composition in Sanscrit prose.<sup>3</sup> <sup>He superintends translations from that and other languages.</sup>

Akber's acquisitions of this nature were not confined to Sanscrit. He prevailed on a Christian priest, whom Abul Fazl calls Padre Farabatun, and describes as learned in science and history, to come from Goa, and undertake the education of a few

<sup>1</sup> [On this see Sir H. Elliot's note D. in Dowson's *Hist. of India*, vol. v. He shows that several Hindú books of medicine and astronomy had been translated from the Sanskrit during the early centuries of the Khalifate. Albiruni certainly knew Sanskrit.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> He translated the "Nala and Damayanti," an episode of the "Mahá Bháráta"

(see p. 171). Feizi was likewise author of a great deal of original poetry, and of other works, in Persia. He seems to have been more studious and less a man of the world than Abul Fazl.

<sup>3</sup> Muntakhab ut Tawárikh. [See Dowson's *Hist. of India*, vol. v. pp. 537, 539.—Ed.]

youths destined to be employed in translating the productions of Greek literature into Persian. Feizi himself was directed to make a correct version of the Evangelists.<sup>1</sup>

Feizi was first presented to Akber in the twelfth year of his reign, and introduced Abûl Fazl six years later, in A.D. 1574.

Those brothers soon became the intimate friends and inseparable companions of their sovereign. They not only were the confidants of all his new opinions in religion, and his advisers in his patronage of literature, both in foreign countries and his own, but were consulted and employed in the most important affairs of government. Feizi was sent on a special embassy to the kings of the Deccan previous to the invasion of that country; and Abûl Fazl lived to attain the highest military rank, and to hold the office of prime minister. Akber's distress at the loss of Abûl Fazl has been mentioned, and the account of his behaviour at the death of Feizi is the more to be relied on as it is given by an enemy. It was midnight when the news was brought to him that Feizi was dying; on which he hastened to his apartment, but found him already nearly insensible: he raised his head, and called out to him, with a familiar term of endearment, "Shêkhi! I have brought Ali the physician to you; why do not you speak?" Finding that he received no answer, he threw his turban on the ground and burst into the strongest expressions of sorrow. When he had recovered his composure, he went to Abûl Fazl, who had withdrawn from the scene of death, and remained for some time endeavouring to console him, before he returned to his palace.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The story of the conversion of the emperor is told by the author, who says that Feizi continued to live here in the dying moments, and that at last he was slain, dying while his face became black, and his eyes were closed. He was buried in the garden of the palace, and the emperor, who was then in the city, went to the tomb, and wept over it. Akber's death is also mentioned by the author, who says that he died in the city, and that he was buried in the garden of the palace. The author also mentions that the emperor was very fond of the city, and that he spent much of his time there. The author also mentions that the emperor was very fond of the city, and that he spent much of his time there. The author also mentions that the emperor was very fond of the city, and that he spent much of his time there.

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Along with Feizi and Abul Fazl, there were many other learned men of all religions about the court; and it was the delight of Akber to assemble them, and sit for whole nights assisting at their philosophical discussions. His regular meetings were on Friday; but he often sent for single Bramins or Mahometan Suffs on other occasions, and entered into long inquiries regarding the tenets of their different schools.<sup>6</sup> Some specimens of the discussions at those meetings (probably imaginary ones) are given in the "Dabistan," a learned Persian work on the various religions of Asia.

The fullest is a dialogue between a Bramin, a Mussulman, a worshipper of fire, a Jew, a Christian, and a philosopher.<sup>7</sup> The representative of each religion brings forth his arguments; which are successively condemned, some on account of the vicious character of their founders, and all for the absurdity of their doctrines, and the want of proof of their alleged miracles. The philosopher winds up the discourse by recommending a system which shall have no ground but reason and virtue. An account of a real debate of this kind is given in the "Akbernámeh." It was carried on before an assembly of the learned of all religions, between Padre Redif,\* a Christian priest, and a body of Mahometan mullahs: a decided advantage, both in temper and argument, is given to the Christian. It was concluded by Akber's reproof of the mullahs for their violence, and expressing his own opinion that God could only be adequately worshipped by following reason, and not yielding implicit faith to any alleged revelation.<sup>8</sup>

The religion of Akber himself may be inferred from what has

ends by strongly recommending him to the emperor. Though Abdul Kadir had quarrelled with Feizi and Abul Fazl on points of religion, this dispute does not seem to have led to his disgrace with Akber; for he mentions that he was employed by that monarch to make a catalogue of Feizi's library after his death, and that it consisted of 4,600 books, carefully corrected and well bound, on poetry and literature, moral and physical science, and theology. [These passages from Abdul Kadir are translated in Sir H. Elliot's *Historians*, vol. i. pp. 255—258. Dowson's *Hist. of India*, vol. v. pp. 544—549. —Ed.]

\* Akbernámeh. Muntakhab ut Tawárikh.

<sup>7</sup> Translated by Colonel Kennedy, *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. ii. p. 217, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Blochmann has shown that this should be "Padre Radalf," i.e. the Portu-

guese missionary Rodolpho Aquaviva.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> A circumstance is related regarding this meeting, of which the Christians and Mahometans give different accounts; and, what is rather unusual in controversies, each tells the story in the way least favourable to his own faith. The disputants having split on the divinity of their respective scriptures, the Christian, according to Abul Fazl, offered to walk into a flaming furnace, bearing the Bible, if the Mahometan would show a similar confidence in the protection of the Korán. To this, he says, the Mussulmans only answered by reproaches. The missionaries, on the other hand, say the proposal came from the Mussulmans, and was rejected by them, contrary to the wish of Akber. (Murray's *Asiatic Discoveries*, vol. ii. p. 91.) The probability is, that Akber may have taken this way of amusing himself with the extravagance of both parties. It



been said.\* It seems to have been pure deism; in addition to <sup>religious</sup> which some ceremonies were permitted in consideration <sup>system of</sup> of human infirmity. It maintained that we ought to reverence God according to the knowledge of him derived from our own reason, by which his unity and benevolence are sufficiently established; that we ought to serve him, and seek for our future happiness by subduing our bad passions, and practising such virtues as are beneficial to mankind; but that we should not adopt a creed, or practise a ritual, on the authority of *any* MAN, as all were liable to vice and error like ourselves. If it were absolutely necessary for men to have some visible object of adoration, by means of which they might raise their soul to the Divinity, Akber recommended that the sun, the planets, or fire, should be the symbols. He had no priests, no public worship, and no restrictions about food, except a recommendation of abstinence, as tending to exalt the mind. His only observances were salutations to the sun, prayers at midnight and daybreak, and meditations at noon on the sun. He professed to sanction this sort of devotion, from regard to the prejudices of the people, and not from his own belief in their efficacy. It is, indeed, related by Abûl Fazl, that, being once entreated to pray for rain, he refused, observing that God knew our wants and wishes better than we did ourselves, and did not require to be reminded, to exert his power for our benefit. But as Akber *permitted* all his ceremonies as well as permitted them, it may be doubted whether they had not gained some hold on his imagination. He seems to have been by nature devout, and, with all his scepticism, to have inclined even to superstitions that promised him a closer connexion with the Deity than was afforded by the religion which his reason approved.<sup>†</sup> To this feeling we may ascribe, among other instances, the awe and veneration with which he adored the images of Jesus Christ

deity, and that the emperor designed to transfer the throne to the deity himself. The emperor was vexed at the insupportable nature of such a charge, and sought to remove it by a great effort, to have it ascertained that he had no object in view, except to gratify his taste with the images of his ancestors, and to show that he was not a polytheist. He ordered Mr. Bernier to write a treatise on the subject, and to show that the emperor's intention was to transfer the throne to the deity himself. The emperor was vexed at the insupportable nature of such a charge, and sought to remove it by a great effort, to have it ascertained that he had no object in view, except to gratify his taste with the images of his ancestors, and to show that he was not a polytheist. He ordered Mr. Bernier to write a treatise on the subject, and to show that the emperor's intention was to transfer the throne to the deity himself.

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\* There is an interesting paper on this subject in Professor Wilson's *Character of Akber*, vol. i. chiefly based on Akber's *Munshik*, or *Tarikh-i-Akber*. See also a very full account in Mr. Richmond's translation of the *Adab-ul-Mulk*, vol. i. p. 167, 168, 169.

† He used to associate with Hindu pundits, and the most familiar feeling, and was initiated into all their knowledge and practices. — Ep.

and the Virgin, when they were shown to him by the missionaries.<sup>11</sup>

Notwithstanding the adulation of his courtiers, and some expressions in the formulæ of his own religion, Akber never seems to have entertained the least intention of laying claims to supernatural illumination. His fundamental doctrine was, that there were no prophets; his appeal on all occasions was to human reason: and his right to interfere at all with religion was grounded on his duty as civil magistrate.<sup>12</sup> He took the precaution, on promulgating his innovations, to obtain the legal opinions of the principal Mahometan lawyers, that the king was the head of the church, and had a right to govern it A.D. 1578, A.H. 957, in Rejeb. according to his own judgment,<sup>13</sup> and to decide all disputes among its members; and in his new confession of faith it was declared that "There was no God but God, and that Akber was *his calif*."

In the propagation of his opinions, Akber confined himself to persuasion, and made little progress except among the people about his court and a few learned men; but his measures were much stronger in abrogating the obligations of the Mussulman religion, which, till now, had been enforced by law. Prayers, fasts, alms, pilgrimages, and public worship were left optional: the prohibition of unclean animals, that of the moderate use of wine, and that of gaming with dice, were taken off; and circumcision was not permitted until the age of twelve, when the person to undergo it could judge of the propriety of the rite.<sup>14</sup>

Some of the other measures adopted seemed to go beyond indifference, and to show a wish to discountenance the Mahometan religion. The era of the Hijra and the Arabian months were changed for a solar year, dating from the vernal equinox nearest the king's accession, and divided into months named after those of ancient Persia. The study of the Arabic language was discouraged: Arabian names (as Mohammed, Akí, etc.), were disused.<sup>15</sup> The ordinary salutation of *Salám aleikum!* (Peace be unto you!) was changed into *Allahu Akbaru!* (God is most great!); to which the answer was,

His discouragement of the Mahometan peculiarities.

<sup>11</sup> Murray, vol. ii. p. 89.

<sup>12</sup> Some of his practices, as breathing on his disciples, etc., which have been mentioned as implying pretensions to miraculous powers, are the common forms used by spiritual instructors throughout India.

<sup>13</sup> *Muntakhab ut Tawárikh*.

<sup>14</sup> Colonel Kennedy adds that the mar-

riage of more than one wife was forbidden.

<sup>15</sup> ["The study of the language and literature of the Arabs was discountenanced, and that of its law and theology prohibited. A provision was subsequently made in favour of arithmetic, astronomy, natural history, and philosophy." (Wilson's *Essays*.)—ED.]



impost, which served to keep up animosity between people of the predominant faith and those under them. About the same time he abolished all taxes on pilgrims; observing that, "although the tax fell on a vain superstition, yet, as all modes of worship were designed for one great Being, it was wrong to throw an obstacle in the way of the devout, and to cut them off from their mode of intercourse with their Maker."<sup>20</sup>

Another humane edict, issued still earlier (A.D. 1561), though not limited to any one class, was, in practice, mainly beneficial to the Hindús: it was a prohibition against making slaves of persons taken in war. It appears that in the previous disturbances this abuse had been carried to such a height, that not only was it practised towards the wives and children of garrisons who stood a storm, but even peaceable inhabitants of a hostile country were seized and sold for slaves. All this was positively prohibited.

Although Akber's religious innovations were not all introduced at once, and although some of those found to be particularly obnoxious to censure were cancelled or confined <sup>Discontent among the Mussulmans.</sup> to the palace, yet they did not fail to excite great discontent among the stricter Mussulmans, and especially among the mullahs, whose disgust was increased by some changes affecting lands granted for religious purposes, which took place in the course of the general revenue reform. The complaints of these classes are zealously set forth by an author already often referred to,<sup>21</sup> who accuses Akber of systematic depression of the Mussulman religion, and even of persecution of such persons as distinguished themselves by adhering to it. It is not improbable that he showed some prejudice against those who were active in opposing him: and he certainly restricted his patronage to the more compliant; but in all instances of harsh language and conduct to individuals, brought forward by this writer, Akber seems to have been justified by particular acts of disrespect or factious conduct. The cases in question are not confined to mullahs. One of his principal courtiers was ordered out of the royal apartment for attacking his proceedings, and asking what he imagined orthodox princes of other countries would say of them? and another who applied the epithet "hellish" to the king's advisers, was told that such language deserved to be answered by a blow. The most considerable of these malcontents was Azíz (the Khán i A'zim), who was Akber's

<sup>20</sup> Chalmers' MS. translation of the "Akbernámeh."

<sup>21</sup> Abdul Kádir, the writer of the "Muntakhab ut Tawárikh."

foster-brother, and one of his best generals. This nobleman having been long absent in the government of Guzerât, his mother prevailed on Akber to invite him to come to court. Aziz excused himself; and it appeared that his real objection was to shaving his beard and performing the prostration. Akber, on this, wrote him a good-humoured remonstrance; but Aziz persevering, he sent him a positive order to come to the capital. Aziz, on this, threw up his government; and after writing an insolent and reproachful letter to Akber, in which he asked him if he had received a book "from heaven, or if he could work miracles like Mahomet, that he presumed to introduce a new religion, warned him that he was on his way to eternal perdition, and concluded with a prayer to God to bring him back into the path of salvation. After this explosion of zeal he embarked for Mevra without leave or notice. In a short time, however, he found his situation irksome in that country, and returned to India, where he made his submission, and was restored at once to his former place in the emperor's favour and confidence.

But although this sort of opposition was surmounted, Akber's religious religion was too spiritual and abstracted to be successful with the bulk of mankind. It seems never to have gone beyond a few philosophers and some interested priests and courtiers; and, on Akber's death, it expired of itself, and the Mussulman forms were quickly and almost silently restored by Jehangir. The solar year was retained for some time longer, on account of its intrinsic advantages. A liberal spirit of inquiry, however, survived the system to which it owed its rise; and if extrinsic causes had not interrupted its progress, it might have ripened into some great reform of the existing superstitions.

Akber cannot claim the merit of originality for his doctrines. The learned Hindûs had always maintained the real unity of God, and had respected, without believing, the mythological part of their creed. The Cabir Panthis, a Hindu sect which sprang up nearly a century before Akber, had come still nearer to his views; and from them he appears to have borrowed some of the arbitrary parts of his religious rules; still he excelled all his predecessors in his conception of the Divine nature; and the general freedom which he allowed to private judgment was a more salutary and more effectual in a powerful monarch than in

a recluse reformer, himself likely to be an object of persecution.<sup>23</sup>

Akber's revenue system,\* though so celebrated for the benefits it conferred on India, presented no new invention. It only carried the previous system into effect with greater precision and correctness; it was, in fact, only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shīr Shāh, whose short reign did not admit of his extending it to all parts of his kingdom.

The objects of it were—1. To obtain a correct measurement of the land. 2. To ascertain the amount of the produce of each bīgah<sup>24</sup> of land, and to fix the proportion of that amount that each ought to pay to the government. 3. To settle an equivalent for the proportion so fixed, in money.

1. For the first purpose Akber established an uniform standard to supersede the various measures formerly employed even by public officers. He also improved the instruments of mensuration, and he then deputed persons to make a complete measurement of all the lands capable of cultivation within the empire.

2. The assessment was not so simple as the measurement. The land was divided into three classes, according to its fertility; the amount of each sort of produce that a bīgah of each class would yield was ascertained: the average of the three was assumed as the produce of a bīgah, and one third of that produce formed the government demand.<sup>25</sup> But this assessment seems to have been only designed to fix a maximum; for every cultivator who thought the amount claimed too high, might insist on an actual measurement and division of the crop.

As lands of equal fertility might be differently circumstanced in other respects, the following classification was formed for

<sup>23</sup> In comparing Akber's attempt to found a system of pure deism with similar experiments by modern governments, we must remember the incurable defects of all the religions with which he was acquainted, and must distinguish between the merit of a man who takes the lead of his generation, and that of another who follows the crowd even in its errors and extravagances.

\* [For a general view of the revenue at different periods see Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi, and Revenue resources of the Mughal Empire* (1871).—Ed.]

<sup>24</sup> An Indian land measure, considerably more than half an acre.

<sup>25</sup> Thus, assuming the produce of a bīgah of wheat, in mans (a measure of something less than forty pounds),—

	mans. séra.
Class 1. would yield . . .	18
Class 2. — — . . .	12
Class 3. — — . . .	8 35

Aggregate . . . 38 35  
which, divided by 3, gives the average—  
12 mans 38½ séra; and that again divided  
by 3, gives the king's demand on each  
bīgah—4 mans 12½ séra.

If the produce of a bīgah of cotton be  
assumed,—

	mans. séra.
Class 1. will yield . . .	10
Class 2. — — . . .	7 20
Class 3. — — . . .	5

Aggregate . . . 22 20  
Average of the three classes . . . 7 20  
King's demand (one-third  
of the average) . . . 2 20

modifying that first mentioned: 1. Land which never required a fallow paid the full demand every harvest. 2. Land which required fallows only paid when under cultivation. 3. Land which had suffered from inundation, etc., or which had been three years out of cultivation, and required some expense to reclaim it, paid only two-fifths for the first year, but went on increasing till the fifth year, when it paid the full demand. 4. Land which had been more than five years out of cultivation enjoyed still more favourable terms for the first four years.

It is not explained in the "Ayni Akberi" how the comparative fertility of fields was ascertained. It is probable that the three classes were formed for each village, in consultation with the inhabitants, and the process would be greatly facilitated by another classification made by the villagers for their own use, which seems to have subsisted from time immemorial. By this distribution, all the land of every village is divided into a great many classes, according to its qualities: as black mould, red mould, gravelly, sandy, black mould mixed with stones, etc. Other circumstances are also considered, such as command of water, vicinity to the village, etc.; and great pains are taken, as to apportion the different descriptions among the cultivators as to give equal advantages to all.

3. The quantity of produce due to the government being settled, it was next to be commuted for a money payment. For this purpose, statements of prices current for the nineteen years preceding the survey were called for from every town and village; and the produce was turned into money according to the average of the rates shown in those statements. The commutation was occasionally reconsidered, with reference to the actual market prices; and every husbandman was allowed to pay in kind if he thought the money rate was fixed too high.

All these settlements were at first made annually; but this continual recurrence being found to be vexatious, the settlement was afterwards made for ten years, on an average of the payments of the preceding ten.

The production of the term mitigated another evil which was the starting point of the assessment varied with the rate of cultivation, and had the effect of a tribute in disposing the

landholder to cultivate a better description of produce, with the view of obtaining a greater profit, would have a higher tax imposed on the next settlement.

4. The taxes and the conditions were all carefully

recorded; the distribution of land, and increase or diminution of revenue, were all yearly entered into the village registers agreeably to them; and they still continue in use, even in parts of India which had not been conquered in Akber's time, and where their own merits have since introduced them.

At the same time when Akber made these improvements respecting the land tax, he abolished a vast number of vexatious taxes and fees to officers.

He also made a new revenue division of the country into portions, each yielding a *crór* (*i.e.* 10,000,000) of *dáms*, equal to 250,000 rupees, or £25,000; the collector of each of which was called the *crórí*.<sup>26</sup> This arrangement did not last, and the ancient Hindú division is again universally established.

The result of these measures was to reduce the amount of the public demand considerably, but to diminish the defalcation in realising it; so that the profit to the state remained nearly the same, while the pressure on individuals was much lessened. Abúl Fazl even asserts that the assessment was lighter than that of Shír Sháh, although *he* professed to take only one-fourth of the produce, while Akber took one-third.

Akber's instructions to his revenue officers have come down to us, and show his anxiety for the liberal administration of his system, and for the ease and comfort of his subjects. Some particulars of his mode of management also appear in those instructions. There is no farming of any branch of the revenue, and the collectors are enjoined, in their agreements and collections, to deal directly with individual cultivators, and not to depend implicitly on the headman and accountant of the village.<sup>27</sup>

On the whole, this great reform, much as it promoted the happiness of the existing generation, contained no principle of progressive improvement, and held out no hopes to the rural population by opening paths by which it might spread into other occupations, or rise by individual exertions within its own. No mode of administration, indeed, could effect these objects as long as the subdivision of land by inheritance checked all extensive improvement in husbandry, at the same time that it attached to the soil those members of each family who might have betaken themselves to commerce, or other pursuits, such as would have increased the value of raw produce, and raised the price of agricultural labour, by diminishing the competition for that species of employment.

<sup>26</sup> [On this, see Sir H. Elliot's *Suppl. Glossary*, p. 198.—Ed.]

<sup>27</sup> Gladwin's *A'yini Akberi*, vol. i. pp. 303—312.





The police of considerable towns was under an officer called the *cótwál*; in smaller places it was under the revenue officer; and in villages, of course, under the internal authorities.<sup>21</sup>

The tone of instructions to all these functionaries is just and benevolent, though by no means exempt from the vagueness and puerility that is natural to Asiatic writings of this sort.

Those to the *cótwál* keep up the prying and meddling character of the police under a despotism; they prohibit forestalling and regrating, etc.; and in the midst of some very sensible directions, there is an order that any one who drinks out of the cup of the common executioner shall lose his hand; a law worthy of Menn, and the more surprising as the spirit of all the rules for administering justice is liberal and humane. A letter of instructions to the governor of Guzerát, preserved in a separate history of that province, restricts his punishments to putting in irons, whipping, and death; enjoining him to be sparing in capital punishments, and, unless in cases of dangerous sedition, to inflict none until he has sent the proceedings to court and received the emperor's confirmation. Capital punishment is not to be accompanied with mutilation or other cruelty.<sup>22</sup>

Amidst the reforms of other departments, Akber did not forget his army. If it had cost a long and dangerous struggle to bring that body to submit to orders, it <sup>Reform and new model of the army.</sup> scarcely required a less exertion, at a later period, to introduce economy and efficiency into the management of it.

It had been usual to grant lands and assignments on the revenue, and leave the holder to realise them without check; while musters were irregular and deceptive, being often made up by servants and camp followers mounted for the day on borrowed horses.

Akber put a stop to the first of these abuses, by paying the troops in cash from the treasury whenever it was practicable; and establishing checks on *jágírs*, where such existed. The other was cured by rendering musters necessary before pay, by describing every man's features and person on the roll, and branding every horse with the king's mark that ever had been numbered in his service. Camels, oxen, carts, and all things necessary for the movement of troops, were also mustered and paid at fixed rates.

But even in its highest state of perfection the army was not very well organised. It was not divided into bodies, each of a

<sup>21</sup> [ "In all legal causes between Hindús, a Brahman was to judge." (Wilson's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 393.)—ED.]

<sup>22</sup> Bird's *History of Guzerát*, p. 391.



effective cavalry,<sup>35</sup> besides artillery and undisciplined infantry. It is not likely that Akber had as many. Abûl Fazl says the local militia of the provinces amounted to 4,400,000; but this is probably an exaggerated account of those bound by their tenure to give a limited service in certain cases: probably few could be called on for more than a day or two to beat the woods for a hunting party; and many, no doubt, belonged to hill rajas and tribes who never served at all.

Beside the fort of Attok, already mentioned, many military works were erected by Akber. The walls and citadels of Agra and Allahâbâd much surpass the rest: they are lofty curtains and towers of cut stone, with deep ditches, and ornamented, in the Indian way, with turrets, domes, and battlements; each of the gateways being a stately edifice that would make a suitable entrance to a royal palace. He also built and fortified the town of Fattchpûr Sîkrî, which was his principal residence, and which, though now deserted, is one of the most splendid specimens that remain of the former grandeur of India.<sup>36</sup>

The same methodical system was carried through all branches of Akber's service. The "Ayîni Akberî" (Regulations of Akber), by Abûl Fazl, from which the above account of the civil and military arrangements is mostly taken, contains a minute description of the establishment and regulations of every department, from the Mint and the Treasury down to the fruit, perfumery, and flower offices, the kitchen, and the kennel. The whole presents an astonishing picture of magnificence and good order; where unwieldy numbers are managed without disturbance, and economy is attended to in the midst of profusion.

The extent of these establishments appears from the work just mentioned, and the contemporary historians;<sup>37</sup> but the

<sup>35</sup> Bernier.

<sup>36</sup> Bishop Heber describes its commanding situation on a hill, the noble flight of steps which ascends to the portal tower, the extent and rich carving of the palace; above all, the mosque, with the majestic proportions and beautiful architecture of the quadrangle and cloisters, of which it forms one side. (Vol. i. p. 596.) The same judicious observer gives an account of the buildings within Agra. The principal are, "a beautiful mosque of white marble, carved with exquisite simplicity and elegance;" and the palace, built mostly of the same material, and containing some

noble rooms. The great hall is "a splendid edifice, supported by pillars and arches of white marble, more nobly simple than that of Delhi. The ornaments, carving, and mosaic of the smaller apartments are equal or superior to anything which is described as found in the Alhambra." (Vol. i. p. 587.) Among Akber's principal works must be mentioned the tomb of Humâ'yûn at Delhi, a great and solid edifice erected on a terrace raised above the surrounding country, and surmounted by a vast dome of white marble.

<sup>37</sup> Akber had never less than 5,000 elephants and 12,000 stable horses, besides

*effect* can be best judged of by the descriptions of the Europeans, who saw them in Akber's own time, or under the reign of his immediate successor, Jehángir.

His camp equipage consisted of tents and portable houses, in an enclosure formed by a high wall of canvas screens, and containing great halls for public receptions, apartments for feasting, galleries for exercise, and chambers for retirement; all framed of the most costly materials, and adapted to the most luxurious enjoyment.

The enclosure was 1,530 yards square. The tents and wall were of various colours and patterns within, but all red on the outside, and crowned with gilded globes and pinnacles, forming a sort of castle in the midst of the camp. The camp itself showed like a beautiful city of tents, of many colours, disposed in streets without the least disorder, covering a space of about five miles across, and affording a glorious spectacle when seen at once from a height.<sup>2</sup>

The greatest displays of his grandeur were at the annual feast of the vernal equinox, and the king's birthday. They lasted for several days, during which there was a general fair and many processions and other pompous shows. The king's usual place was in a rich tent, in the midst of awnings to keep off the sun. At least two acres were thus spread with silk and gold carpets and hangings, as rich as velvet, embroidered with gold, pearl, and precious stones could make them.<sup>3</sup> The nobility had similar pavilions, where they received visits from each other, and sometimes from the king; dresses, jewels, horses, and elephants were bestowed on the nobility; the king was weighed in golden scales against silver, gold, perfumes, and other substances in succession, which were distributed among the spectators. Almonds and other fruits, of gold and silver, were scattered by the king's own hand, and eagerly caught up by the courtiers, though of little intrinsic value. On the great day of each festival, the king was seated on his throne, in a marble palace, surrounded by nobles wearing high heron plumes and "sparkling with diamonds like the firmament."<sup>4</sup> Many hundred elephants passed before him in companies, all most richly adorned, and the leading elephant of each company with gold plates on its head and breast, set with rubies and emeralds.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Travels of Tavernier*, ch. 12, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels of Tavernier*, ch. 12, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Travels of Tavernier*, ch. 12, § 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Travels of Tavernier*, ch. 12, § 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Travels of Tavernier*, ch. 12, § 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Travels of Tavernier*, ch. 12, § 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Travels of Tavernier*, ch. 12, § 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Travels of Tavernier*, ch. 12, § 1.

Trains of caparisoned horses followed ; and, after them, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, and panthers, hunting leopards, hounds, and hawks ;<sup>42</sup> the whole concluding with an innumerable host of cavalry glittering with cloth of gold.

In the midst of all this splendour, Akber appeared with as much simplicity as dignity. He is thus described by two European eye-witnesses, with some parts of whose account I shall close his history.<sup>43</sup> After remarking that he had less show or state than other Asiatic princes, and that he stood or sat *below the throne* to administer justice,<sup>44</sup> they say, that "he is affable and majestic, merciful and severe" ; that he is skilful in mechanical arts, as "making guns, casting ordnance, etc. ; of sparing diet, sleeps but three hours a day, curiously industrious, affable to the vulgar, seeming to grace them and their presents with more respective ceremonies than the grantees ; loved and feared of his own, terrible to his enemies."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Bernier, vol. i. p. 42.

<sup>43</sup> Purchas, vol. v. p. 516.

<sup>44</sup> ["It was a custom of the Mogul emperors to sit daily once, for the purpose of hearing and redressing the complaints of the people, and often twice ; but this usage was discontinued by A'lamgir's successors, which tended greatly to lose them the respect of their subjects." (Scott's *Irâdat Khân*, p. 5. note.)—ED.]

<sup>45</sup> The principal authorities for this account of Akber's reign are, Ferishta, the *Akbernâmeh*, by Abûl Fazl, the *Muntakhab ut Tawârikh* ; Khâfi Khân, and the *Kholisat ut Tawârikh*. Abûl Fazl, in this reign, shows all his usual merits, and more than his usual defects. (See p. 441.) Every event that had a tendency to take from the goodness, wisdom, or power of Akber, is passed over or misstated ; and a uniform strain of panegyric and triumph is kept up, which disgusts the reader with the author, and almost with the hero. Amidst these unmeaning flourishes, the real merits of Akber disappear, and it is from other authors that we learn the motives of his actions, the difficulties he had to contend with, and the resources by which they were surmounted. The gross flattery of a book written by one so well acquainted with Akber's disposition, and submitted, it appears, to his own inspection, leaves an impression of the vanity of that prince, which is almost the only blot on his otherwise admirable character. The *Akbernâmeh* was brought down by Abûl Faza nearly to the time of his own death, in the forty-seventh year of the reign, and was continued for the remaining

period of upwards of three years, by a person named Enâyet Ullah, or Mahommed Sâliha. I could never have availed myself of this work without the aid of a manuscript translation of Lieutenant Chalmers of the Madras army, in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. The *Muntakhab ut Tawârikh* was finished in the end of the fortieth year of the reign. It is written by Abdul Kâdir of Badâûn, and is a history of the Mahometan kings of India. The facts are chiefly taken from the *Tabakât Akberi* down to the thirty-seventh year of Akber's reign, when that book ends. The whole of that reign, however, has many additions from the author's own knowledge, and takes its colour from his prejudices. Abdul Kâdir was a learned man employed by Akber to make translations from Sanscrit ; but, being a bigoted Mussulman, he quarrelled with Abûl Fazl and Feizi, and has filled his book with invectives against their irreligion and that of Akber (see page 534, note). He has also recorded many other grievances complained of at that time, and has disclosed those parts of the picture which were thrown into the shade by Abûl Fazl. The impression of Akber left by this almost hostile narrative is much more favourable than that made by his panegyrist. [This part of his history was published in 1865 in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.] Khâfi Khân and the author of the *Kholisat ut Tawârikh* are later compilers [the latter was a Hindû, named Sanjân Râi Munshî]. The *Tabakât Akberi*, written by Nizâm ud din Hervi, is a history of the Mahometan kings down to the thirty-seventh of

## BOOK X.

JEHÁNGÍR—SHÁH JEHÁN.

## CHAPTER I.

**JEFÁSONGÍR.**

SKIRM took possession of the government immediately on his father's death, and assumed the title of *Jeháng*: (Conqueror of the World).

He found the whole of his dominions on the north of the Nerbadda in a state of as great tranquillity as could be expected in so extensive an empire. The rebellion of Osmañ continued in Bengal, but was confined to part of that province. The contest with the rāna of Oudhpūr was a foreign war, and the success, though not complete, was on the side of the emperor. Affairs were a worse aspect in the Deccan, where the Nizām Shāhi government of Ahmednagar seemed to be recovering from the loss of its capital, and more likely to regain some of the territory it had been deprived of than to be completely subverted by the arms of the Moguls.

and judicious character than might have been expected of him. He confirmed most of his father's old officers in their stations; and issued edicts, remitting

Alken, and is said to be a work of great merit, though I have not seen a copy. I am inclined to say, however, that for want of the assistance of a competent man, even the best talent, however original, that Alken is unable to give the knowledge of Mayan Art to the *Monist* and scholar, for the same reasons apply to the study of the other two, if that has been of worth to the world of delinquents. It is only to be regretted that the excellent translation has not been accompanied by a list of the history, which, as it was, must be a valuable to the scholar and the student alike, the whole work, which

[illegible]

some vexatious duties which had survived Akber's reforms, forbidding the bales of merchants to be opened by persons in authority without their free consent, directing that no soldiers or servants of the state should quarter themselves on private houses, abolishing the punishments of cutting off ears and noses, and introducing other salutary regulations. Notwithstanding his own notorious habits, he strictly forbade the use of wine, and regulated that of opium; subjecting all offenders against his rules to severe punishment.

He restored the Mahometan confession of faith on his coin, together with most of the forms of that religion. He, however, kept up some of Akber's rules regarding abstinence from meat on particular days. He observed some of his superstitious devotions; he exacted the ceremony of prostration from all who approached him; and although, in his writings, he affects the devout style usual to all Mussulmans, he never acquired, and probably did not seriously pretend to, the character of a religious man. The general impression is, that though more superstitious, he was less devout, than Akber, and had little feeling of religion even when abstracted from all peculiar tenets. Among his earliest measures was one for affording easy access to complaints, on which he valued himself at least as highly as the efficacy of the invention deserved: a chain was hung from a part of the wall of the citadel, accessible, without difficulty, to all description of people; it communicated with a cluster of golden bells within the emperor's own apartment, and he was immediately apprised by the sound of the appearance of a suitor, and thus rendered independent of any officers inclined to keep back information.

The hatred which had so long subsisted between the new emperor and his eldest son was not likely to have been diminished by the events which preceded the accession. Khusrou had ever since remained in a state of sullenness and dejection: and it is by no means probable that Jehángír's treatment of him was such as would be likely to soothe his feelings. His behaviour does not appear to have given rise to any suspicion, until upwards of four months after the accession; when Jehángír was awaked, at midnight, with the intelligence that his son had fled, with a few attendants, and taken the road to Delhi. He immediately despatched a light force in pursuit of him, and followed himself, in the morning, with all the troops he could collect.

Flight of  
Prince  
Khusrou.

A.D. 1606,  
March;  
A.H. 1014,  
Zi Haj 8.



Khusrû was joined, soon after leaving Agra, by a body of irregulars, 300 horse, whom he met on their march to the capital. He proceeded by Delhi, subsisting his troops by plunder, and by the time he reached the Panjâb, had collected a body of upwards of 10,000 men. The city of Lâhôr was betrayed to him, and he was making an ineffectual attempt to reduce the citadel when he was disturbed by the approach of his father's advanced guard. When this was announced to him, he drew his force out of Lâhôr, and attacked the royal troops; but, although he had the advantage of engaging a detachment, he was unable to offer a successful opposition. He was totally defeated, and, having fled in the direction of Câbul, he was run aground in a boat as he was passing the Hydaspes, and was seized and brought in chains *quasor* before his father. The whole rebellion did not last above a month.

Khusrû's principal advisers, and many of his common followers, fell into the hands of the emperor, and afforded him an opportunity of displaying all the ferocity of his character. He *betarâs* ordered 700 of the prisoners to be impaled in a line *betarâs* leading from the gate of Lâhôr; and he *expatiates*, in his Memoirs, on the long duration of their frightful agonies.<sup>1</sup> To complete his barbarity, he made his son Khusrû be carried along the line on an elephant, while a mace-bearer called out to him, with mock solemnity, to receive the salutations of his servants.<sup>2</sup> The unhappy Khusrû passed three days, in tears and *grievous* groans, without tasting food;<sup>3</sup> and remained for long after a prey to the deepest melancholy.

Prince Parvîz, the emperor's second son, had been sent, under the guidance of Asaf Khân, against the râna of Oudipûr, very soon after the accession; he was recalled on the flight of Khusrû, but in that short interval he had effected an accommodation with the râna, and now joined his father's camp.

In the spring of the next year, Jehângîr went to Câbul; and, *when at that city*, he showed some favour to Khusrû, *ordering his chains to be taken off*, and allowing him to *walk in a garden within the upper citadel*. If he had any disposition to carry his forgiveness further, it was checked by a conspiracy, which was detected some time after, to release Khusrû, and to assassinate the emperor.

On his return to Agra, Jehângîr sent an army, under

<sup>1</sup> *Prin. Mem.* c. 2, p. 104. *General account of the rebel*

<sup>2</sup> *Kutub Khân.* *Jehângir's Memoirs*, K. Ed.

<sup>3</sup> *Mem. of Jehângir*, c. 2, p. 104. *The* *town.*

Mohábat Khán, against the rána of Oudipúr, with whom the war had been renewed ; and another, under the Kháni Khánán, to effect a settlement of the Deckan. Prince Parváz was afterwards made nominal commander of the latter force: he was too young to exercise any real authority.

A.D. 1607,  
A.H. 1016,  
Wars in Má-  
vár and in  
the Deckan.

The only event of importance in the following years was an insurrection at Patna by a man of the lowest order, who assumed the character of Khusrou, and, seizing on the city in consequence of the supineness of the local officers, drew together so many followers, that he engaged the governor of the province in the field, and some time elapsed before he was driven back into Patna, made prisoner, and put to death.

Insurrection  
of a pretend-  
ed Khusrou.  
A.D. 1607  
to 1610,  
A.H. 1017  
to 1019.

In the end of the year 1610, affairs in the Deckan assumed a serious aspect. After the taking of Ahmednagar, the conduct of the government of the new king fell into the hands of an Abyssinian named Malik Amber. This minister founded a new capital on the site of the present Aurangábád; and maintained, for a long series of years, the apparently sinking fortunes of the Nizám Sháhí government. His talents were not confined to war: he introduced a new revenue system into the Deckan, perhaps in imitation of Tódar Mal; and it has given his name an universal celebrity in the Deckan equal to that enjoyed in Hindostan by the other great financier.<sup>4</sup> Malik Amber profited by some dissensions which fell out between the Kháni Khánán and the other generals; and prosecuted his advantages with such success that he repeatedly defeated the Mogul troops, retook Ahmednagar, and compelled the Kháni Khánán himself to retire to Burhánípúr. In these circumstances, Jehángír recalled his general, and conferred the command on Khán Jehán.

Success of  
the war in  
the Deckan.

Malik  
Amber.

He recovers  
Ahmednagar.

It was in the sixth year of his reign that Jehángír contracted a marriage with the celebrated Núr Jehán, an event which influenced all the succeeding transactions of his life.

A.D. 1611,  
A.H. 1020,  
Marriage of  
the emperor  
with Núr  
Jehán.

The grandfather of this lady was a native of Teherán, in Persia, and held a high civil office under the government of that country. His son, Mírzá Ghiyás, was reduced to poverty, and determined to seek for a maintenance by emigrating, with his wife, and a family consisting of two sons and a daughter, to India. He was pursued by misfortune even in this attempt; and by the time the caravan with which he travelled

Her history.

<sup>4</sup> Grant Duff's *History of the Marattas*, vol. i. p. 95.

reached Candahár, he was reduced to circumstances of great distress. Immediately on his arrival in that city his wife was delivered of Núr-Jehán; and into so abject a condition had they fallen, that the parents were unable to provide for the conveyance of their infant, or to maintain the mother so as to admit of her giving it support. The future empress was therefore exposed on the road by which the caravan was next morning to proceed. She was observed by a principal merchant of the party, who felt compassion for her situation, and was struck with her beauty; he took her up, and resolved to educate her as his own.

As a woman in a situation to act as a nurse was not easy to be found in a caravan, it is a matter of no surprise that her own mother should have been the person employed in that capacity; and the merchant's attention being thus drawn to the distresses of the family, he relieved their immediate wants; and perceiving the father and his eldest son to be men much above their present condition, he employed them in matters connected with his business, and became much interested in their fate. By his means they were introduced to Akber; and, being placed in some subordinate employments, they soon rose by their own abilities.

In the meantime Nûr Jehân grew up, and began to excite admiration by her beauty and elegance. She often accompanied her mother, who had free access to the harem of Akber, and there attracted the notice of Jehángír, then Prince Selim. His behaviour gave so much uneasiness to her mother, as to induce her to speak of it to the princess whom she was visiting. Through her, the case was laid before Akber, who remonstrated with his son; and, at the same time, recommended that Nûr Jehân should be married, and removed from the prince's sight. She was bestowed on Shír Afghán Khán, a young Persian lately come into the service, and to him Akber gave a nâg in Bengal.

But these means were not sufficient to efface the impression made on Deling's mind, after he had been about a year on the throne, he took the opportunity of his foster-brother Kutub-din's going as viceroy of Bengal to charge him to procure for him the possession of the object of his passion.

It was probably expected that all opposition from the husband would be prevented by influence and promises; but Sir Alfred, and all his sons, of honour, and no sooner suspected the designs that were entertained, than he resigned his command.

and left off wearing arms, as a sign that he was no longer in the king's service.

The further progress of the affair does not appear : it must have been such as to alarm Shír Afgan ; for the viceroy having taken occasion to visit the part of the province where he resided, and having sent to invite his attendance, he went to pay his visit with a dagger concealed in his dress. An interview begun in such a spirit might be expected to close in blood. Shír Afgan, insulted by the proposals, and enraged at the threats of the viceroy, took his revenge with his dagger, and was himself immediately dispatched by the attendants.

The murder of the viceroy, which was ascribed to a treasonable conspiracy, gave a colour to all proceedings against the family of the assassin. Núr Jehán was seized, and sent as a prisoner to Delhi. Jehángír soon after offered her marriage, and applied all his address to soothe and conciliate her ; but Núr Jehán was a high-spirited as well as an artful woman, and it is not improbable that she was sincere in her rejection of all overtures from one whom she looked on as the murderer of her husband. Her repugnance was so strongly displayed as to disgust Jehángír. He at length placed her among the attendants on his mother, and appeared to have entirely dismissed her from his thoughts.

His passion, however, was afterwards revived ; and reflection having led his mistress to think more favourably of his offers, their marriage was celebrated with great pomp ; and Núr Jehán was raised to honours such as had never before been enjoyed by the consort of any king in India.<sup>6</sup> From this period her ascendancy knew no bounds : her father was made prime minister ; her brother was placed in a high station. The emperor took no step without consulting her ; and, on every affair in which she took an interest, her will was law. Though her sway produced bad consequences in the end, it was beneficial on the whole. Her father was a wise and upright minister ; and it must have been, in part at least, owing to her influence that so great an improvement took place in the conduct of Jehángír after the first few years of his reign. He was still capricious and tyrannical, but he was no longer guilty of such barbarous cruelties as before ; and although he still carried his excess in wine to the lowest stage of inebriety, yet it was at night, and in his private apartments.<sup>7</sup> In the

<sup>6</sup> Among other marks of sovereignty her name was put on the coin along with

the emperor's. [See *Marsden*, p. 635.]

<sup>7</sup> Marsden gives (p. 607) a "baccha-

occupations which kept him all day before the eyes of his subjects, he seems to have supported his character with sufficient dignity, and without any breaches of decorum. Nûr Jehân's capacity was not less remarkable than her grace and beauty : it was exerted in matters proper to her sex, as well as in state affairs. The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense was diminished by her good arrangement. She contrived improvements in the furniture of apartments : introduced female dresses more becoming than any in use before her time ; and it is a question in India whether it is to her or her mother that they owe the invention of attar of roses.\* One of the accomplishments by which she captivated Jehângîr is said to have been her facility in composing extempore verses.

It was not long after the time of this marriage that the disturbances in Bengal were put an end to by the defeat and death of Osmán. The satisfaction derived from this event was more than counterbalanced by the ill-success of the war in the Deekan. Jehângîr had determined to make up for the languor of his former operations by a combined attack from all the neighbouring provinces. Abulullah Khân, viceroy of Guzerât, was to invade Malik Amber's territory from that province at the same moment that the armies under Prince Parvîz and Khân Jehân Lodi, reinforced by Râja Mân Sing, were to advance from Khândesh and Berâr. But this well-concerted plan entirely failed in the execution. Abulullah Khân advanced prematurely from Guzerât, and Malik Amber did not lose a moment in profiting by his mistake. His mode of war was much the same as that of the modern Marattas. Owing to the neighbourhood of the European ports, his artillery was superior to that of the emperor, and afforded a rallying point on which he could always collect his army : but his active means of offence were his light cavalry. He intercepted the supplies, and harassed the march of the Moguls : he hovered round their army when halted : alarmed them with false attacks : and often made real incursions into different parts of the encampment, carrying off much booty, and keeping up continual disorder and trepidation. Abulullah

\* The story is told by the historians of the reign of Jehângîr, that the emperor, after the death of Nûr Jehân, was so much affected by the loss of her company, that he ordered a quantity of attar of roses to be sent him, which he rememered selling in the bazar of Agra during her reign; and that he took a quantity of perfume to be had, when he was in the same way, which he used to sell in the bazar.

Khán was so completely worn out by this sort of warfare, that he soon determined to retire. The consequences of a retreat before such an enemy were easy to be foreseen; all his evils multiplied upon him from the day that it commenced; his rear-guard was cut to pieces; and his march had nearly become a flight before he found refuge in the hills and jungles of Baglana, whence he proceeded without molestation into Guzerát. The other armies had by this time taken the field; but seeing Malik Amber, on his return, flushed with success over their colleague, they thought it prudent to avoid a similar calamity, and concentrated at Burhánpúr.

Jehángír's arms were attended with better fortune in his war with the rána of Oudipúr; and his success was the more welcome, as the fruit of the abilities of his favourite son. Mohábat Khán, when first sent on that service, had gained a victory over the rána, but was unable to do anything decisive from the strength of the country into which he, as usual, retreated. The same fortune attended Abdullah Khán, afterwards appointed to succeed Mohábat; but Prince Khurram (Sháh Jehán),\* who was now sent with an army of 20,000 men, evinced so much spirit in his attack on the Rájput troops, and so much perseverance in bearing up against the strength of the country and the unhealthiness of the climate, that the rána was at last induced to sue for peace; and his offer being readily accepted, he waited on Sháh Jehán in person, made offerings in token of submission, and sent his son to accompany the prince to Delhi. Sháh Jehán, on this occasion, did not forget the policy of Akber. The moment the rána's homage was paid, he raised him in his arms, seated him by his side, and treated him with every form of respect and attention. All the country conquered from him since the invasion of Akber was restored; and his son, after an honourable reception from Jehángír, was raised to a high rank among the military chiefs of the empire.

The merit of this campaign belonged exclusively to Sháh Jehán; for Azíz, who had been sent to assist him, had behaved to him with so much arrogance that Jehángír was soon obliged to remove him, and commit him for a time to confinement.

\* The name of this prince was Khurram, and he bore no other at the commencement of his father's reign; but as he received the title of Sháh Jehán long

before his own accession, it will prevent confusion to give him that name from the first.

A.D. 1612.  
A.H. 1021.

War with  
Máwár.

Victories and  
moderation of  
Sháh Jehán  
(Prince  
Khurram).

The rána  
submits on  
honourable  
terms.

A.D. 1614.  
A.H. 1023.

Influence of Shahdahan. This exploit raised Shāh Jehān's credit to the highest pitch; and as he had lately married the niece of Sir Jehān, he was supported by her powerful influence, and was generally looked on as the chosen successor to the empire.

During these events Rājā Mān Sing died in the Deekan. A Insurrection in Cabul rebellion of the Roshenfyas, which broke out in 1611, and in which the city of Cabul had been exposed to danger, was now terminated by the death of Abdiid, the grandson and spiritual successor of Bāyazid. Abdullāh Khān, viceroy of Guzerāt, having incurred the king's displeasure, by oppressions in the province, and by the indignity with which he treated the royal news-writer, was ordered to be seized and sent to the capital. He anticipated the order by setting off on foot, with his troops and attendants following at a great distance. He came to court barefooted and in chains, and threw himself at the king's feet; but was pardoned, and not long after restored to favour at the intercession of Shāh Jehān.

It was not long after the return of Shāh Jehān that Sir T. Roe arrived at the court, as ambassador from King James I. His accounts enable us to judge of the state of India under Jehāngir.

The serapots and the customs were full of gross abuses, the Insurrection in Cabul governor seizing on goods at arbitrary prices. Even Roe, though otherwise treated with hospitality and respect, had his baggage searched and some articles and carried off taken by the governor.<sup>6</sup> His journey from Surat, by Burhānpūr and Chitōr, to Ajmīr, lay through the Deekan, where war was raging, and the rānā's country, where it had just ceased; yet he met with no obstruction or alarm, except from mountaineers, who then, as now, rendered the roads unsafe in times of trouble.

The Deekan bore strong marks of devastation and neglect. Burhānpūr, which had before, as it has since, been a fine city, contained only three or four good houses amidst a collection of mud cottages; the court of Parviz, held in that town, had no pretensions to splendour.

<sup>6</sup> "A. D. 1611. The Governor of the Deekan was charged to seize the goods of Sir Thomas Roe, and to detain him in prison. The Governor, however, did not do so, but only detained him for a few days, and then sent him on his way. The Governor was, however, constrained by the Emperor to pay a large sum of money to the Governor of the Deekan, to maintain the peace of the country, and to prevent the Governor of the Deekan from seizing the goods of Sir Thomas Roe." (H. M. S. O. 1811, p. 100.)

In other places he was struck with the decay and desertion of some towns, contrasted with the prosperity of others. The former were, in some instances at least, deserted capitals;<sup>12</sup> and their decline affords no argument against the general prosperity.

The administration of the country had rapidly declined since Akber's time. The governments were farmed, and the governors exacters and tyrannical.

Though a judicious and sober writer, Roe is profuse in his praise of the magnificence of the court; and he speaks in high terms of the courtesy of the nobility, and of the order and elegance of the entertainments they gave to him. His reception, indeed, was in all respects most hospitable, though the very moderate scale of his presents and retinue was not likely to conciliate a welcome where state was so generally maintained. He was excused from all humiliating ceremonies, was allowed to take the highest place in the court on public occasions, and was continually admitted into familiar intercourse with the emperor himself.

The scenes he witnessed at his private interviews form a curious contrast to the grandeur with which the Mogul was surrounded. He sat on a low throne all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies; and had a great display of gold plate, vases, and goblets, set with jewels. The party was free from all restraint, scarcely one of them remaining sober except Sir Thomas and a few other grave personages, who were cautious in their indulgence. Jehángír himself never left off till he dropped asleep, when the lights were extinguished and the company withdrew. On these occasions he was overflowing with kindness, which increased with the effects of the wine: and once, after talking with great liberality of all religions, "he fell to weeping, and to various passions, which kept them to midnight."

But he did not retain these sociable feelings in the morning. On one occasion, when a courtier indiscreetly alluded in public to a debauch of the night before, Jehángír affected surprise, inquired what other persons had shared in this breach of the law, and ordered those named to be so severely bastinadoed that one of them died. He always observed great strictness in public, and never admitted a person into his presence who, from his

<sup>12</sup> Such were Mandú and Tódah, of both of which he speaks in the highest terms of admiration. Mandú, the former capital of Málwa, is still generally known; but

Tódah (the capital of a Rájput prince in the province of Ajmír) enjoys no such celebrity.



breath, or otherwise, gave any signs of having been drinking wine. His reserve, however, was of little use : like great men at present, he was surrounded by news-writers ; and his most secret proceedings, and even the most minute actions of his life, were known to every man in the capital within a few hours after they took place.

Notwithstanding the case above mentioned, and some other instances of inhumanity, Roe seems to consider Jehángir as neither wanting in good feelings nor good sense : although his claim to the latter quality is somewhat impaired by some weaknesses which Sir Thomas himself relates. In one case he seized on a convoy coming to the ambassador from Surat, and consisting of presents intended for himself and his court, together with the property of some merchants who took advantage of the escort : he rummaged the packages himself with childish curiosity ; and had recourse to the meanest apologies to appear and excuse Roe, who was much provoked at this disregard of common honesty.

Though Roe speaks highly in some respects of particular great men, he represents the class as unprincipled, and all open to corruption. The treaty he had to negotiate hung on for upwards of two years, until he bribed Asaf Khán with a valuable pearl ; after which all went on well and smoothly. Both Roe and other contemporary travellers represent the military spirit as already much declined, and speak of the Rájputs and Patás as the only brave soldiers to be found.<sup>1</sup>

The manual arts were in a high state, and were not confined to those peculiar to the country. One of Sir T. Roe's presents was a coach, and within a very short period several others were constructed, very superior in materials, and fully equal in workmanship. Sir Thomas also gave a picture to the Mogul, and was soon after presented with several copies, among which he had not difficulty in distinguishing the original.<sup>2</sup> There was a great influx of Europeans, and considerable encouragement to their religion. Jehángir had images of Christ and the Virgin at the head of his treasury ; and two of his nephews embraced Christianity, with his full approbation.<sup>3</sup>

The language of the court was Persian, but all classes spoke Hindustani ; and Hawkins, who only knew Turkish, found the courtiers, as well as the Khán Khánán, well versed in that tongue.

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins, *vol. i. p. 100.* "The Mogul's army," says he, "consisted of but few Europeans, and the rest were all natives, who were not to be trusted." *vol. ii. p. 100.* "The Mogul's army," says he, "consisted of but few Europeans, and the rest were all natives, who were not to be trusted."

No subject seems to have excited more interest, both in the ambassador and the court, than the fate of Prince Khusrou. All his bad qualities were forgotten in his misfortunes; he was supposed to be endowed with every virtue; the greatest joy prevailed when any sign appeared of his restoration to favour, and corresponding indignation when he fell into the power of his enemies. Even the king was supposed to be attached to him, though wrought on by the influence of Sháh Jehán and the arts of A'saf Khán and Núr Jehán.<sup>16</sup> Khusrou's exclusion was not the more popular for its being in favour of Sháh Jehán; who, according to Sir T. Roe, was "flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none." Roe himself represents him as a bigot and a tyrant; but as his conduct shows nothing but ability and correctness, it is probable that he owed his unpopularity to his cold and haughty manners; the ambassador himself remarking that he never saw so settled a countenance, or any man keep so constant a gravity—never smiling, nor by his looks showing any respect or distinction of persons, but entire pride and contempt for all. Yet the prince could not at that time have been older than twenty-five.

Sháh Jehán might have expected to find a formidable rival in Parváz, his elder brother, but that prince, though sometimes an object of jealousy to him, could offer no really formidable opposition to the superior abilities of Sháh Jehán supported by the influence of the empress.

A final blow was given to any hopes that Parváz may have entertained, by the elevation of his brother to the title of king,<sup>17</sup> on his undertaking a great expedition against the Deccan. He was invested with ample powers on this occasion; and Jehángír himself moved to Mandú, to be at hand to support him in case of need.

Roe accompanied the emperor on his march; and his account of the movement of the army forms a striking contrast to the good order and discipline he had hitherto admired. The court and camp, while halted, were as regular as ever, but the demand for carriage cattle created a general scramble and confusion. The Persian ambassador and Roe were left for some days at Ajmír, from the

Prince  
Khusrou.

Unpopu-  
larity of  
Sháh Jehán.

Prince Parváz.

Sháh Jehán  
declared heir-  
apparent.

Sent to settle  
the Deccan.

The emperor  
moves to  
Mandú.

A.D. 1616,  
October;  
A.M. 1025,  
Zí Káda.

Sir T. Roe's  
description  
of his march.

<sup>16</sup> Sir T. Roe once met Khusrou, while moving in loose custody, along with the army. He stopped under the shade of a tree during the heat, and sent for Sir Thomas, who was near. His person was comely, his countenance cheerful, and his

beard was grown down to his girdle. He knew nothing of what was passing, and had not heard either of the English or their ambassador.

<sup>17</sup> From this time some writers call him Sháh Khurram, and others Sháh Jehán.

want of conveyance for their baggage; and the tents of the soldiers and followers were set fire to, to compel them to proceed though ill provided. When actually in motion, the same want of arrangement was felt; sometimes there was a deficiency of water; and sometimes, in long and difficult marches through woods and mountains, the road was scattered with coaches, carts, and camels, unable to proceed to the stage.<sup>1</sup>

The state of affairs in the Deekan was very favourable to Sháh Jehán. The ascendancy of a private person, like Malik Amber, led to jealousy among his confederates, and even his own officers. In consequence of these dissensions, he had suffered a defeat, which produced still further discouragement among the allies; so that when Sháh Jehán entered the Deekan, he found little difficulty in detaching the king of Bijápur from the confederacy; and Amber, seeing himself entirely deserted, was likewise compelled to make submission on the part of his nominal sovereign, Nizám Sháh, and to restore the fort of Ahmednagar and all the other territory which he had reconquered from the Moguls.

After this glorious termination of the war, Sháh Jehán returned to Maudú, and joined his father, within a twelvemonth of the time when they had marched from Ajmír.

Jehángír took this occasion to visit the province of Guzerát; he remained there for near a year, and added the viceroyalty of that province to the governments previously held by Sháh Jehán.

He quitted Guzerát in September 1618; and the next two years are marked by no events, except an insurrection in the Panjáb; the capture of the fort of Kangra or Nagareót, under the mountains; and a journey of the emperor to Cashmir.

While in that valley, he received intelligence of a renewal of the war in the Deekan. It seems to have been begun without provocation, by Malik Amber, who probably was tempted by some negligence on the other side; for he had little difficulty in taking possession of the open country, and driving the Mogul commanders into Burhanpur. From this time, the most earnest preparations for war were made. Sháh Jehán was again ordered to

<sup>1</sup> The march of the Mogul army into the Deekan, in 1627, was attended with many hardships, and an insurrection broke out at Burhanpur, which was not suppressed till the year 1629.

march with a powerful army, and great treasures were collected to supply him after he reached the frontier. From some rising distrust in his mind, he refused to march, unless his brother, Prince Khusróu, were made over to his custody, and allowed to go with him to the Deckan. Being gratified in this respect, he entered on the service with his usual ability. Before he reached Málwa, a detachment of Malik Amber's had crossed the Nerbadda, and burned the suburbs of Mandú; but they were driven back as the prince advanced, and he, in turn, crossed the Nerbadda, and began offensive operations. Malik Amber had recourse to his usual mode of war—cut off supplies and detachments, hung upon the line of march, and attempted, by long and rapid marches, to surprise the camp. He found Sháh Jehán always on his guard, was at last compelled to risk the fate of the campaign in a general action, and was defeated with considerable loss.

His success  
in the field.

But although Sháh Jehán had a clear superiority in the field, he still found a serious obstruction in the exhausted state of the country. It was therefore with great satisfaction that he received overtures from Amber, offering a further cession, and agreeing to pay a sum of money.

He comes  
to terms  
with Malik  
Amber.

Not long after this success, Jehángír was seized with a violent attack of asthma, a complaint from which he suffered severely during the rest of his life. He was for some time in such imminent danger, as to lead to expectations of an immediate vacancy of the throne.

Dangerous  
illness of the  
emperor.

Parvíz hastened to court, but was sent back to his government with a reprimand; and though Sháh Jehán had not time to take such a step before he heard of his father's recovery, yet the sudden death of Prince Khusróu, which happened at this juncture, was so opportune, that it brought the strongest suspicions of violence against the rival to whose custody he had been entrusted. We ought not, however, too readily to believe that a life not sullied by any other crime could be stained by one of so deep a dye.

Measures of  
Parvíz and  
Sháh Jehán.

A. D. 1621.  
about Sept.;  
A. H. 1030.

Suspicious  
death of  
Khusróu.

This event, which seemed to complete the security of Sháh Jehán's succession, was, in reality, the cause of a series of dangers and disasters that nearly ended in his ruin. Up to this period, his own influence had been strengthened by the all-powerful support of Núr Jehán; but about the time of his departure for the Deckan, that princess had affianced her daughter by Shír Afgan to Prince Shehriyár,

Alienation  
of the em-  
press from  
Sháh Jehán.

the youngest son of Jehángir,<sup>19</sup> a connexion of itself sufficient to undermine her exclusive attachment to the party of her more distant relative. But her views were further changed by a consideration of the impossibility of her gaining an ascendancy, such as she now possessed, over an active and intelligent prince like Sháh Jehán. During her father's lifetime she had been kept within bounds of moderation by his prudent counsels; after his death, which happened about this time, she exercised her dominion over the emperor without the least control; her brother, A'saf Khán (to whose daughter Sháh Jehán was married) being a mere instrument of her will. Unwilling to relinquish such unlimited power, she determined by all means to oppose the succession of Sháh Jehán; and, warned by the death of Khusróu, and the danger of Jehángir, she saw that she had not a moment to lose in cutting off the resources which might at any time enable the prince to overcome her opposition.

An opportunity was not long wanting of pursuing this design. Candahár having been taken by the Persians, it was pointed out as an enterprise worthy of the conqueror of the Deekán, to recover that ancient possession. Sháh Jehán at first gave in to the project, and advanced as far as Mandú, on his way to the north; but perceiving, before long, that the object was to remove him from the country where his influence was established, and engage him in a remote and difficult command, he put off his further march, on pretext of the season and the state of his troops, and began to stipulate for some securities to be given to him before he should venture to move out of India.

These demands were represented to Jehángir as arising from a project of independence; and Sháh Jehán was directed, in reply, to send the greater part of his army to the capital, in order that it might accompany Shehriyár, to whom the recovery of Candahár was to be committed. Orders were also sent direct to the principal officers, to leave Sháh Jehán's camp and repair to that of Shehriyár. This drew a remonstrance from Sháh Jehán, who now desired to be allowed to wait on his father, while the other as peremptorily ordered him to return to the Deekán. The págers which Sháh Jehán held in Hindostán, were transferred to Shehriyár during these discussions; and Sháh Jehán, who had not been consulted in the

<sup>19</sup> Kh. d. Kh. n.

arrangement, was desired to select an equivalent in the Deckan and Guzerát. As things drew towards a crisis, Núr Jehán, distrusting both the military talents of her brother and his zeal in her present cause, cast her eyes on Mohábat Khán, the most rising general of the time, but hitherto the particular enemy of A'saf Khán. He was accordingly summoned to court from his government of Cábul, and was treated with every mark of favour and confidence.

Mohábat Khán called to court by the empress.

Jehángir, who had been again in Cashmír, returned on the commencement of these discussions, and fixed his court at Láhór, to be at hand in case his presence should be required.

A.D. 1622, about Oct. ; A.H. 1031.

In the meantime messages passed between Sháh Jehán and the emperor, but with so little effect in producing a reconciliation, that Jehángir put several persons to death on suspicion of a plot with his son ; and Sháh Jehán, finding that his fate was sealed, marched from Mandú with his army towards Agra. Jehángir, on this, marched from Láhór, and, passing through the capital, arrived within twenty miles of the rebel army, lying at Belóchpúr, forty miles south of Delhi. Sháh Jehán retired into the neighbouring hills of Mewát, and disposed his troops so as to shut the passes against a force which the emperor detached in quest of him. A partial and indecisive action took place, and is said to have been followed by negotiations. The result was, that Sháh Jehán determined to retire, and set out on his march for Mandú.

Increased distrust between the emperor and Sháh Jehán.

Rebellion of Sháh Jehán.

Advance of the emperor. A.D. 1622, February ; A.H. 1031.

Retreat of Sháh Jehán.

It does not appear what induced him to adopt this step : it was attended with all the consequences usual with attempts to recede in civil wars. Jehángir advanced in person to Ajmír, and sent on a strong force, under Prince Parváz and Mohábat Khán, to follow up the retiring rebels. Rustam Khán, whom Sháh Jehán had left to defend the hills on the Chambal, deserted to the enemy ; the province of Guzerát expelled his governor, and he was himself compelled, by the advance of the imperial army, to cross the Nerbadda and retire to Burhánpúr. Nor was he long permitted to remain there in tranquillity ; for Mohábat Khán, having blinded him by some delusive negotiations, crossed the Nerbadda, and was joined by the Kháni Khánán, who till this time had been attached to Sháh Jehán. The rains were at their height when Sháh Jehán commenced his retreat into Télingána, and a great part of his forces had deserted him

Its consequences.

Sháh Jehán retreats into Télingána.

before he directed his course to Masulipatam, with the intent of making his way to Bengal. He accomplished this long and arduous march by the early part of the succeeding year, and met with no opposition in Bengal until he reached Rájmahal, where the governor of the province engaged him, and was defeated in a pitched battle. By this victory, Sháh Jehán obtained possession of Bengal, and was enabled to seize on Behár, and to send on a detachment under Bhím Sing, the brother of the rája of Oudipúr, to endeavour to secure the fort of Allahábád.

In the meantime Prince Parváz and Mohábat Khán, after chasing Sháh Jehán from the Deekan, had retreated for the rainy season at Burhánpúr. On hearing of his arrival and rapid progress in Bengal, they put themselves in motion in the direction of Allahábád. Sháh Jehán crossed the Ganges to meet them; but the people of the country, who were not inclined to enter on opposition to the emperor, refused to bring in supplies to his camp, or to assist in keeping up his communications by means of the boats on the Ganges. The discouragement and privations which were the consequence of this state of things, led to the desertion of the new levies which Sháh Jehán had raised in Bengal; and when, at last, he came to an action with his opponents, he was easily overpowered, his army dispersed, and himself constrained once more to seek for refuge in the Deekan. Affairs in that quarter were favourable to his views.

During his first flight to the Deekan the king of Bijápúr and Malik Amber had both remained steady to their engagement with Jehángír; and the king of Golconda had shown no disposition to assist him during his retreat through Telingána. Since that time the Moguls had taken part on the side of the king of Bijápúr, in a dispute between him and Malik Amber; and the latter chief retaliated by invading the Mogul dominions, and carrying his ravages to the neighbourhood of Burhánpúr.

He was therefore prepared to receive Sháh Jehán with open arms, and wrote to press him to undertake the siege of Burhánpúr. Sháh Jehán complied, and commenced his operations. The place made an obstinate defence; and, in the end, the return of Parváz and Mohábat to the Northakda obliged him to raise the siege and attend to his own safety. His adherents now deserted him in greater numbers than before; and, being dispirited by ill-health as well as adverse fortune, he

wrote to beg his father's forgiveness, and to express his readiness to submit to his commands. Jehángír directed him to give up the forts of Róhtás in Behár, and Asírghar in the Deckan, both of which were still in his possession, and to send two of his sons, Dárá Shukóh and Aurangzíb, to court, as hostages for his good behaviour. These demands were complied with; but we are prevented from judging of the treatment designed for Sháh Jehán by an event which, for a time, threw the whole empire into confusion.

After the first retreat of Sháh Jehán to the Deckan, Jehángír returned from Ajmír to Delhi; and, believing all serious danger to his government to be at an end, he went on his usual expedition to Cashmír, and repeated it in the following year. On the third year he was induced, by a new revolt of the Rosheniyas, to change his destination for Cábul; and although he soon heard of the suppression of the rebellion, and received the head of Ahmed, the son of Ahdád, who was the leader of it, he made no change in his determination.

But he was not destined to accomplish this journey in tranquillity; for no sooner was Sháh Jehán reduced to submission, than the domineering spirit of Núr Jehán proceeded to raise up new enemies. Mohábat Khán was the son of Ghór Bég, a native of Cábul.<sup>30</sup> He had attained the rank of a commander of 500 under Akber, and was raised to the highest dignities and employments by Jehángír. He had long enjoyed a high place in the opinion of the people,<sup>31</sup> and might now be considered as the most eminent of all the emperor's subjects. This circumstance alone might have been sufficient to excite the jealousy of Núr Jehán. It is probable, however, that she also distrusted Mohábat for his old enmity to her brother, and his recent connexion with Parváz.

Whatever might be the motive, he was now summoned to court, to answer charges of oppression and embezzlement during the time of his occupation of Bengal. He at first made excuses for not attending, and was supported by Parváz; but, finding that his appearance was insisted on, he set out on his journey, accompanied by a body of 5,000 Rájputs, whom he had contrived to attach to his service.

Before his arrival, he betrothed his daughter to a young

<sup>30</sup> Memoirs of Jehángír, p. 30.

<sup>31</sup> Sir T. Roe, in A.D. 1616, says of him, that he is a noble and generous man, well-

beloved by all men, and the king's only favourite, but cares not for the prince (Sháh Jehán).

Offers his  
submission  
to the em-  
peror.  
A.D. 1622,  
A.M. 1094.

The emperor  
marches  
against the  
Rosheniyas  
in Cábul.

Persecution  
of Mohábat  
Khán by the  
empress.

His history.

He is sum-  
moned to  
court.



nobleman, named Berkhordár, without first asking the emperor's leave, as was usual with persons of his high rank. <sup>never took leave, as was usual with persons of his high rank</sup> Jehángir was enraged at this apparent defiance: he <sup>sent for</sup> for Berkhordár, and, in one of those fits of brutality which still broke out, he ordered him to be stripped naked and beaten with thorns in his own presence; and then seized on the dowry he had received from Mohábat, and sequestered all his other property.

When Mohábat himself approached the camp, he was informed that he would not be admitted to the emperor's presence; and perceiving that his ruin was predetermined, he resolved not to wait till he should be separated from his troops, but to strike a blow, the very audacity of which should go far to insure success.

Jehángir was at this time encamped on the Hydaspes; and <sup>Mohábat, being in the emperor's presence, A.D. 1626, March 1, A.D. 1626, Jehángir.</sup> was preparing to cross it, by a bridge of boats, on his way to Cabul. He sent the army across the river in the first instance, intending to follow at his leisure, when the crowd and confusion should be over. The whole of the troops had passed, and the emperor remained with his personal guards and attendants, when Mohábat, getting his men under arms a little before daybreak, sent a detachment of 2,000 men to seize the bridge, and moved himself, with all speed, to the spot where the emperor was encamped. The place was quickly surrounded by his troops: while he himself, at the head of a chosen body of 200 men, pushed straight for the emperor's tent. The attendants were overthrown and dispersed before they were aware of the nature of the attack: and Jehángir, who was not quite recovered from the effects of his last night's debauch, was awakened by the rush of armed men around his bed: he started up, seized his sword, and, after staring wildly round, he perceived what had befallen him, and exclaimed, "Ah! Mohábat Khán! traitor! what is this?" Mohábat Khán replied by prostrating himself on the ground, and lamenting that the persecution of his enemies had forced him to have recourse to violence to obtain access to his master. Jehángir at first could scarcely restrain his indignation; but observing, amidst all Mohábat's humility, that he was not disposed to be trifled with, he gradually accommodated himself to his circumstances, and endeavoured to console his captor. Mohábat now suggested to him that, as it was near his usual time of mounting, it was desirable that he should show himself in public to remove alarm, and check

the misrepresentations of the ill-disposed. Jehángír assented, and endeavoured to withdraw, on pretence of dressing, to his female apartments, where he hoped to have an opportunity of consulting with Núr Jehán: being prevented from executing this design, he prepared himself where he was, and at first mounted a horse of his own in the midst of the Rájputs, who received him with respectful obeisances; but Mohábat, reflecting that he would be in safer custody, as well as more conspicuous, on an elephant whose driver could be depended on, urged him to adopt that mode of conveyance, and placed him on one of those animals with two armed Rájputs by his side. At this moment, the chief elephant-driver, attempting to force his way through the Rájputs, and to seat the emperor on an elephant of his own, was despatched on a sign from Mohábat. One of Jehángír's personal attendants who reached the elephant, not without a wound, was allowed to mount with his master; and the same permission was given to the servant who was intrusted with the bottle and goblet, so essential to Jehángír's existence.

These examples of the consequences of resistance had their full effect on the emperor, and he proceeded very tractably to the tents of Mohábat Khán.

Meanwhile Núr Jehán, though dismayed at this unexpected calamity, did not lose her presence of mind. When she found all access cut off to the emperor, she immediately put on a disguise, and set out for the bridge in a litter of the most ordinary description. As the guards were ordered to let every one pass, but permit no one to return, she crossed the river without obstruction, and was soon safe in the midst of the royal camp. She immediately sent for her brother and the principal chiefs, and bitterly reproached them with their cowardice and neglect, in allowing their sovereign to be made a prisoner before their eyes. She did not confine herself to invectives, but made immediate preparations to rescue her husband by force; and although Jehángír, probably in real apprehension of what might happen to himself in the confusion, sent a messenger with his signet to entreat that no attack might be made, she treated the message as a trick of Mohábat's, and only suspended her proceedings until she could ascertain the real position of the enemy's camp, and the part of it inhabited by the emperor. During the night, a nobleman named Fedái Khán made an attempt to carry off Jehángír, by swimming the river at the head of a small body of horse; his approach was

discovered, and it was with difficulty he effected his escape, after losing several of his companions killed and drowned in the river.

Next morning the whole army moved down to the attack <sup>she attacks</sup>. It was headed by Nūr Jehán herself, who appeared <sup>Mohabat's</sup> <sup>camp.</sup> the howdah of a high elephant, with a bow and revolvers of arrows. The bridge had been burnt by the Rájputs, and the army began to cross by a ford which they had discovered lower down the river. It was a narrow shoal between deep water, and full of dangerous pools, so that the passage was not effected without the utmost disorder: many were obliged to swim, and all landed with their powder wetted, weighed down with their drenched clothes and armour, and obliged to engage hand-to-hand before they could make good their footing on the beach. Nūr Jehán was among the foremost, on her elephant, with her brother and some of the principal chiefs around her: she with difficulty effected a landing, but found it impossible to make any impression on the enemy. The Rájputs had the advantage of the ground: they poured down showers of balls, arrows, and rockets on the troops in the ford: and, rushing down on those who were landing, drove them back into the water, sword in hand.

A scene of universal tumult and confusion ensued: the ford was choked with horses and elephants: some fell, and were trampled under foot: others sank in the pools, and were unable to regain the shoal: and numbers plunged into the river, and ran the chance of making good their passage, or being swept away by the stream. The most furious assault was directed at Nūr Jehán: her elephant was surrounded by a crowd of Rájputs: her guards were overpowered and cut down at its feet: balls and arrows fell thick round her howdah: and one of the latter wounded the infant daughter of Shihriyár, who was <sup>she</sup> seated in her lap. At length her driver was killed: <sup>she</sup> and her elephant, having received a cut on the proboscis, dashed into the river, and soon sunk in deep water, and was carried down by the stream: after several plunges, it swam out and reached the shore, when Nūr Jehán was surrounded by her women, who came shrieking and lamenting, and found her howdah stained with blood, and herself busy in extracting the arrow, and binding up the wound of the infant. Todar Mal could make another attempt, during the confusion of the battle, to enter the enemy's camp at an unsuspected point, and had penetrated so far that his balls and arrows fell within the tent where Jehángir was seated: but the general

repulse forced him also to retire. He effected his retreat, wounded and with the loss of many of his men ; and immediately retired to the neighbouring fort of Róhtás, of which he was the governor.

Núr Jehán now saw that there was no hope of rescuing her husband by force ; and she determined to join him in his captivity, and trust to fortune and her own arts for effecting his deliverance. She joins the emperor in his confinement.

Mohábat Khán, after his success at the Hydaspes, advanced to Attok, where A'saf Khán had retired. His authority was now so well established that it was recognised by most of the army ; and A'saf Khán, and such leaders as attempted to hold out, were obliged in the end to give themselves up as prisoners. But the security and even the extent of Mohábat's power was far from being so great as it appeared. Insecurity of Mohábat's power. His haughty and violent behaviour to those who had been opposed to him took deep root in their breasts ; the ascendancy of the Rájputs was offensive to the other troops ; and, as the provinces were still faithful to the emperor, and two of his sons at large, Mohábat was obliged to use great management in his treatment of his prisoner, and to effect his objects by persuasion rather than by force or fear. Jehángir, Artifices of the emperor. tutored by Núr Jehán, took full advantage of the circumstances in which he was placed ; he affected to enter into Mohábat's views with his usual facility ; expressed himself pleased to be delivered from the thraldom in which he had been kept by A'saf Khán ; and even carried his duplicity so far as to warn Mohábat that he must not think Núr Jehán was as well disposed to him as he was himself, and to put him on his guard against little plots that were occasionally formed for thwarting his measures. Mohábat was completely blinded by these artifices, and, thinking himself sure of the emperor, he gave less heed to the designs of others.

During these proceedings the army advanced to Cábul ; the neighbourhood of the Afgháns made it necessary to increase the king's guard, and Núr Jehán seized the opportunity of getting persons in her interest to offer their services in such a way as to avoid suspicion. Jehángir was allowed, at this time, to go out to shoot on an elephant, always surrounded by Rájputs, and with one in particular, who stuck to him like his shadow, and never for a moment let him out of his sight. On one of these occasions an affray took place between the Rájputs with the emperor and some of the Ahdís, a Quarrel between the Rájputs and the king's troops.

select body of single horsemen, whose duty it was to attend on his Majesty. The largest part of the escort being composed of Rájputs, the Ahlis were overpowered, and several of them killed; and on their complaining to Mohábat, he said he would be happy to punish the offence if they could bring it home to any individuals. The Ahlis, incensed at this evasion, fell with their whole force on a body of Rájputs, killed many, and drove others into the hills, where they were made slaves by the Harehs. Mohábat himself was exposed to so much danger in the disturbance that he was forced to take refuge in the king's tent. Next day the ringleaders were punished; but a portion of the army was left in open enmity with the Rájputs, whose numbers were also diminished; and the Afgháns of the neighbourhood showed every disposition to take part with the emperor. Núr Jehán could therefore pursue her scheme with less obstruction and less fear of detection. She employed agents to enlist fit men in scattered points at a distance, whence some were to straggle into camp as if in quest of service, while the others were to remain at their posts, and await her further orders. She next made Jehángir summon a muster of the troops of all the jágirólars; and when she was summoned to produce her contingent, she affected to be indignant at being put on a level with an ordinary subject, and said she would take care that her muster should not turn out to her discredit. Accordingly, she dressed out her old troops so as to make the smallness of their number conspicuous, entertained new levies as if to complete her contingent, and at the same time directed her recruits in the country to repair by two, three, and four to the army. All this could not be done without some alarm to Mohábat Khán; but he was no longer able to crush opposition by force, and he suffered himself to be persuaded by Jehángir to avoid personal risk, by pretending to accompany him to the muster of Núr Jehán's contingent. Jehángir advanced alone to the review; and he had no sooner got to the centre of the line, than the troops closed in on him, cut off the Rájput horse by whom he was guarded, and being speedily joined by their confederates, rendered it impossible to make any attempt to seize his person. Mohábat Khán perceived that his power was irretrievably lost; and he hastily withdrew to a distance with his troops, and entered on a negotiation to procure his pardon and assurance of safety.

Jehángir was now restored to liberty, and Núr Jehán to

power. She had relinquished none of her designs during the period of her adversity ; and as she was obliged to make terms with Mohábat, to procure the release of her brother, who was his prisoner, she determined to connect the pardon of one enemy with the destruction of another ; and made it a condition of the emperor's reconciliation with Mohábat, that he should immediately have the use of his services against Sháh Jehán. That prince, after his own submission and the misfortune of his father, had come from the Deckan to Ajmír with only 1,000 men, in the hopes that his army might increase as he advanced ; but Rája Kishen Sing, his principal adherent, dying at that place, instead of an accession, he suffered the loss of half his numbers, and was obliged, as the only means of securing his personal safety, to fly across the desert to Sind. He was then in the lowest state of depression, and would have retired to Persia if he had not been prevented by ill-health. From this time his fortunes began to brighten : he heard of the death of Parvîz at Burhánpûr, and learned also that Mohábat, instead of pursuing him, was now himself pursued by an army of the emperor, with whom he had again come to a rupture.

Encouraged by these circumstances, he set off, through Guzerát, for the Deckan, where he was soon joined by Mohábat with such part of his force as still remained.<sup>22</sup>

Jehángír, soon after his deliverance, marched back from Cábul to Láhór. Some time was spent in restoring every branch of the government to its old footing ; and when all had been satisfactorily arranged, the emperor set off on his annual visit to Cashmír.

Some time after his arrival in that valley, Shehriyár was seized with so violent an illness that he was obliged to leave Cashmír for the warmer climate of Láhór. Not long after his departure, Jehángír was himself taken ill with a severe return of his asthma, and it soon became evident that his life was in great danger. An attempt was made to remove him to Láhór ; his complaint was increased by the motion and passage of the mountains ; and before he had got over a third of his journey,

<sup>22</sup> Gladwin's *Jehángír*. Khúfí Khán makes an intermediate reconciliation between Mohábat and Jehángír, and another visit of Mohábat to court, followed by a fresh revolt ; but these rapid changes

appear inexplicable ; and it is not easy to believe that if Mohábat had been in Núr Jehán's hands, having no longer her brother for a hostage, he would again have been allowed to retire in safety.

he had a severe attack, and died soon after reaching his 62d birthday—the sixtieth year of his age.

Several of the great men of the time of Akbar died shortly before Jehāngir : Aziz died before the usurpation of Mohi-ud-din, Malik Amber during its continuance, and Mirzá Khán (the Khán-i Khánán) shortly after it was suppressed.

Among the occurrences of Jehángir's reign may be mentioned an edict against the use of tobacco, which was then a novelty. It would be curious, as marking the epoch of the introduction of a practice now universal in Asia, if the name of *tambac*, by which it is known in most eastern countries, were not of itself sufficient to show its American origin.

## CHAPTER II.

SILAH JEBÂN, TH. 1657.

The influence of Nûr Jehân expired with her husband, and the fruit of all her long intrigues was lost in a moment. Her favourite, Shehriyâr, was absent, and Asaf Khân, who was all along determined to support Sûrah Jehân, immediately sent off a messenger to summon him from the Deekan. In the meantime, to sanction his own measures by

[illegible]

where  $\mathbf{M}$  is the mass matrix,  $\mathbf{F}$  is the vector of nodal forces,  $\mathbf{U}$  is the vector of nodal displacements,  $\mathbf{K}$  is the stiffness matrix,  $\mathbf{F}_0$  is the vector of nodal forces due to the initial stresses, and  $\mathbf{F}_1$  is the vector of nodal forces due to the initial strains. The initial stresses and strains are determined by the initial conditions of the problem. The initial stresses are determined by the initial conditions of the problem, and the initial strains are determined by the initial conditions of the problem.

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the appearance of legal authority, he released Prince Dáwar, the son of Khusrou, from prison, and proclaimed him king.<sup>1</sup> Núr Jehán, endeavouring to support the cause of Shehriyár, was placed under a temporary restraint by her brother; and from that time, although she survived for many years, her name is never again mentioned in history.<sup>2</sup> Imprisons the empress.

A'saf Khán then continued his march to Láhór. Shehriyár, who was already in that city, seized the royal treasure, bought over the troops, and, forming a coalition with two sons of his uncle, the late Prince Dániyál, marched out to oppose A'saf Khán. The battle ended in his defeat; he fled into the citadel, was given up by his adherents, and he was afterwards put to death, with the sons of Dániyál, by orders from Sháh Jehán.<sup>3</sup> Defeats Shehriyár, who is put to death.

The new emperor lost no time in obeying the summons of A'saf Khán. He left the Deccan, accompanied by Mohábat; and on his arrival at Agra caused his accession to be proclaimed, and took formal possession of the throne.<sup>4</sup> Sháh Jehán arrives from the Deccan, and is proclaimed at Agra. A.D. 1626, Jan. 20; A.H. 1027, Jamádí I, A'khir 7.

The highest honours were conferred on A'saf Khán and Mohábat, and great promotions and distributions of money were made to the friends and adherents of the emperor. Among his first acts were, to abolish the ceremony of prostration, to restore the Mahometan lunar year in ordinary correspondence, and to make some other slight changes favourable to the Mussulman religion.

When firmly established in his government, Sháh Jehán seems to have indemnified himself for his late fatigues and privations, by giving a loose to his passion for magnificent buildings and expensive entertainments. He erected palaces in his principal cities; and, on the first anniversary of his accession, he had a suite of tents prepared in Cashmír, which, if we are to believe his historian,<sup>5</sup> it took two months to pitch. He introduced new forms of lavish expenditure on that occasion; for besides the usual ceremony of being weighed against precious substances, he had vessels filled with jewels waved round his

<sup>1</sup> Kháfi Khán.

<sup>2</sup> She died in A.D. 1646, A.H. 1055. She was treated with respect, and allowed a stipend of 250,000*l.* a-year. She wore no colour but white after Jehángir's death, abstained from all entertainments, and appeared to devote her life to the memory of her husband: she was buried in a tomb she had herself erected, close to

that of Jehángir at Láhór. (*Kháfi Khán.*)

<sup>3</sup> Kháfi Khán.

<sup>4</sup> Dáwar Shukóh (also called Boláki), who had been set up for king by A'saf Khán, found means to escape to Persia, where he was afterwards seen by the Holstein ambassadors in 1633. (*Olearius, Ambassadors' Travels*, p. 190.)

<sup>5</sup> Kháfi Khán.



head, or poured over his person (according to the superstition that such offerings would avert misfortunes); and all the wealth so devoted was immediately scattered among the bystanders, to be given away in presents. The whole expense of the festival, including gifts of money, jewels, rich dresses and arms, elephants and horses, amounted, by the account of the same historian, to £1,000,000 sterling.

He was disturbed in these enjoyments by an irruption of the <sup>Uzbeks</sup> in Cabul; they ravaged the country and besieged the capital, but retired on the approach of a light force, followed up by an army under Mohábat Khán. To this invasion succeeded the revolt of Narsing Desi, the murderer of Abul Fazl. He opposed a long resistance in Bundéland, before he was brought to submit.<sup>4</sup>

Mohábat had only reached Sirhind on his way to Cabul, when the intelligence of the retreat of the Uzbeks was received. He was immediately recalled to the capital, and directed to prepare for a march into the Deekan.

Khán Jehán Lodi was an Afghán of low birth, but with all the <sup>pride and unruliness of his nation in India.</sup> He had <sup>held great military charges in the reign of Jehángir,</sup> and commanded in the Deekan under Parviz at the time of that prince's death. Being left with undivided authority, he thought it for his advantage, perhaps for that of the state, to make peace with the son of Malik Amber, now at the head of the Nizam Sháhi government. He gave up what still remained to the Mogul of Sháh Jehán's conquests, and entered into a close intimacy with his late enemies.

When Sháh Jehán set out to assume the throne, he refused to join him, marched into Málwa, laid siege to Mandú, and seemed to be aiming at independence. He returned to obedience when Sháh Jehán's accession was secure; and it was thought prudent, at first, to confirm him in his government, and afterwards to be content with removing him to that of Málwa, while the Deekan was given to Mohábat Khán.

Having co-operated in the reduction of Rájá Narsing Desi, he was invited to court, and treated with great attention; but before he had been long there, he received intimations from some of his friends that the emperor harboured designs against him, and was only waiting an opportunity to find him off his guard. These suggestions, whether true or false, made an impression on his jealous nature. He refused to attend on the

king, assembled his troops round the palace he inhabited, and stood prepared to defend himself against any attempt that might be made on him. Negotiations then took place, and were so successful that all differences appeared to be removed, when some new circumstance excited Khán Jehán's distrust, and decided him to run all risks rather than remain within the power of men on whose faith he could not rely. One night, soon after dark, he assembled all his troops, placed his women in the centre on elephants, and marched openly out of Agra with his kettle-drums beating; at the head of 2,000 veteran Afgháns, and accompanied by twelve of his own sons. He was pursued within two hours by a strong body of the royal troops, who overtook him at the river Chambal. He had scarcely time to send his family across the river, when he was obliged to cover their retreat by engaging the very superior force that was in pursuit of him. The severest part of the action was between the Afgháns and a body of Rájputs, who dismounted and charged with pikes, according to their national custom. Rája Pirti Sing Ráhtór and Khán Jehán were engaged hand-to-hand, and separated with mutual wounds. After a long resistance, Khán Jehán plunged into the stream, and effected his passage with the loss of a few men drowned, besides those he had lost in the action. The royal troops did not, at first, venture to follow him; and when they had been joined by reinforcements, and were emboldened to renew the pursuit, Khán Jehán had got so much the start of them, that he was able to make his way through Bundélcand into the wild and woody country of Góndwána, from whence he soon opened a communication with his old ally, the king of Ahmednagar.

The affair now assumed so serious an aspect that Sháh Jehán thought it necessary to take the field in person, and moved into the Deckan at the head of a great armament.

He halted, himself, at Burhánpúr, and sent on three detachments, or rather armies,<sup>7</sup> into the hostile territory.

The three Deckan monarchies had, at this time, recovered their ancient limits, and (except the fort of Ahmednagar, which still held out in disregard of Khán Jehán's cession) the Moguls were reduced to the eastern half of Khándésh and an adjoining portion of Berár. The greatest of the Deckan kingdoms was that of Ahmednagar, which was

<sup>His flight from Agra.</sup>

<sup>His proceedings in the Deckan. The emperor marches against him. A.D. 1629, October; A.H. 1039, Rabí ul awwal.</sup>

<sup>State of the Deckan.</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The native historian estimates them at 50,000 men each.

contiguous to the Mogul territory. Mortezi Nizâm Shâh, (the king set up by Malik Amber) was well inclined to act for himself on the death of that minister; but he would, perhaps, have remained a pageant, if the sons of Malik Amber had possessed talents equal to their father's. The fact was far otherwise; and Mortezi soon displaced and imprisoned Fath Khân, the eldest of them, and afterwards conducted the administration himself. He did so with so little ability that his kingdom became a scene of faction, affording every advantage to his foreign enemies.\*

Brâhîm Adil Shâh of Bijâpûr, who died about the same time with Amber, and left his country in a much more prosperous condition to his son, Mohammed Adil Shâh; and Abulâlah Kutb Shâh of Golkônda, who was probably aggrandizing himself at the expense of his Hindû neighbours in Telingâna; took no part in the quarrels of the Mahometan kings.

By the time Shâh Jehân reached Burhânpur, Khân Jehân had moved from Gôndwân into the country under Aumônagar. The Mogul armies, in consequence, marched into that territory, and were assisted by a simultaneous movement from Kacch<sup>†</sup> on the side of Guzerât. Khân Jehân, after some unavailing harassing attempts, by himself and his allies, to make head against this disproportioned force, retired to the southward, and eluded the Mogul detachments by moving from place to place. At length Azam Khân, the most active of Shâh Jehân's principal officers, by a succession of forced marches, succeeded in surprising him, took his baggage, and forced him to seek shelter by retiring among the hills and woods, where the whole of the enemy's force could not be brought to bear on him. He then kept retreating—sometimes checking his pursuers by defending favourable positions, and sometimes escaping from them by long and unexpected marches. In this manner he reached Bijâpûr. He expected to persuade the king to take his part; but he found Mohammed Adil Shâh entirely unpropitiously disposed to enter on such a contest, and was obliged to retire once more to the territories of the king of Aumônagar. Mortezi Nizâm Shâh and himself soon afterwards died, leaving this interval, and two of the greatest of the Mogul Hindû conquests under him had gone over to the Christian religion. He had still sufficient confidence to try the effect of a new alliance. He assembled his army at Boulatabad, a strong post on strong ground among the neighbouring hills; but his new allies did not compensate for the superior

\* See art. 12. Khân Khân.

numbers of his enemies; he was defeated, and obliged to seek protection in his forts and in desultory warfare. Khán Jehán flies from the Deccan. Meanwhile Khán Jehán, overwhelmed by the defeat of his allies, the destruction of their country, and the additional calamities of famine and pestilence with which it was now visited, determined to quit the scene, and to take refuge (as was supposed) with the Afgháns near Pesháwer, where all the north-eastern tribes were at that time up in arms. If such was his intention, he was unable to accomplish it: after passing the Nerbadda near the frontier of Guzerát, he crossed all Málwa towards Bundélcand, where he hoped to be able to revive the spirit of insurrection; but the rája of that country turned against him, and cut off his rear-guard, under his long-tried and attached friend Deryá Khán; and, being overtaken by the Moguls, he sent off his wounded, and made a stand with the remains of his force, now reduced to 400 Afgháns. His resistance, though long and desperate, was vain: his party was destroyed or dispersed, and he was obliged to fly with a few devoted adherents. He endeavoured to force his way into the hill-fort of Cálínjer, was repulsed with the loss of his son, and was at last overtaken at a pool where he had stopped Is cut off in Bundélcand. from exhaustion: and after defending himself with his usual gallantry, and receiving many wounds, was struck through with a pike by a Rájput, and his head was sent as a most acceptable present to the Mogul emperor.<sup>9</sup> A.D. 1630, A.H. 1040.

The war with Nizám Sháh was not concluded by the removal of its original cause. At this time a destructive famine desolated the Deccan. It began from a failure of the periodical rains in A.D. 1629, and was raised to a frightful pitch by a recurrence of the same misfortune in 1630. Thousands of people emigrated, and many perished before they reached more favoured provinces; vast numbers died at home; whole districts were depopulated, and some had not recovered at the end of forty years.<sup>10</sup> The famine was accompanied by a total failure of forage, and by the death of all the cattle; and the miseries of the people were completed by a pestilence such as is usually the consequence of the other calamities. In the midst of these horrors, Azam Khán carried on his operations against Mortezá Nizám Sháh; and that prince, ascribing all his disasters to the misconduct of his

Continuance of the war with Ahmed-nagar.

Famine and pestilence in the Deccan.

<sup>9</sup> Grant Duff. Kháfi Khán

<sup>10</sup> Kháfi Khán

minister, removed him from his office, and conferred it on Fath Khán, son of Malik Amber, whom he released from prison for the purpose.

The prospect of the ruin of the Nizám Sháh, which now seemed at hand, alarmed Mohammed Adil Sháh, who, though pleased at first with the humiliation of his hereditary enemy, was not sensible of the danger certain to result to himself from the entire subversion of the neighbouring monarchy. He therefore brought a seasonable relief to the weaker party, by declaring war with the Moguls. But his assistance came too late to preserve Mortezá Nizám Sháh from the consequences of his own imprudence. Fath Khán, more mindful of former injuries than recent favours, and ambitious of recovering the authority once possessed by his father, applied all the power which had been confided to him to the destruction of the donor; and, aided by the weakness and unpopularity of Mortezá himself, was soon strong enough to put that prince and his chief adherents to death, and to take the government into his own hands. At the same time, he sent to offer submission and a large contribution to the Moguls, and placed an infant on the throne, with an open profession that he was to hold his dignity in subordination to Sháh Jehán.

His terms were immediately accepted, and Sháh Jehán turned his whole force against Bijápúr. Fath Khán, however, evaded the fulfilment of his promises, was again attacked by the Moguls, and once more joined his cause with that of Adil Sháh. He was afterwards reconciled to the Moguls; and various similar changes took place in the progress of the war, from his perfidious and shifting policy.

During one of those vicissitudes, the king of Bijápúr was borne down by the superior force of his enemies, and was constrained to take refuge in his capital, where he was besieged by a great army under the command of Asaf Khán. In this desperate situation, he must have shared the fate of his former rival, if he had not found resources in his own ability and address. While he used every exertion to defend his town, and to harass the assailants, he amused Asaf Khán, and delayed his operations by a variety of well-contrived artifices; sometimes he entered on negotiations himself, and held out hopes of his immediately yielding to Sháh Jehán's demands, without the risk of further hostilities; at other times, he

engaged A'saf Khán in intrigues with chieftains who pretended to make bargains for their defection; and sometimes led him into disasters by feigned offers from individuals to desert their posts when attacked, or to admit his troops by night into parts of the fortifications intrusted to their charge. During all this time, disease and famine were playing their parts in the camp of A'saf Khán; and he at last found himself under the necessity of raising the siege, and revenged himself by cruelly ravaging the unexhausted parts of the kingdom.<sup>11</sup> Failure of the siege.

It was about the time of this failure, that Sháh Jehán returned to his capital, leaving Mohábat Khán in the supreme government of the Deckan.<sup>12</sup> The operations carried on under that general led, at length, to Fath Khán's being shut up in the fort of Doulatábád, where he defended himself, with occasional assistance from the king of Bījápúr; and the fate of the Nizám Sháhí monarchy seemed to rest on the result of the struggle. It was decided by a general action, in which the combined force of the Deckanis was defeated in an attempt to raise the siege; and Fath Khán soon after surrendered and entered into the Mogul service, while the king whom he had set up was sent off a prisoner to Gwáliór.<sup>13</sup> The emperor returns to Delhi. A.D. 1633, March 1. A.M. 1041, Ramesván. A.D. 1633, February; A.M. 1043.

The king of Bījápúr, being now left alone, made overtures of negotiation, which were not favourably received; he then continued to defend himself, and all the efforts of Mohábat Khán were ineffectual to subdue him. An important point of the war was the siege of Perinda, on his failure in which Mohábat Khán was obliged to fall back on Burhánpúr, and desist from aggressive operations.<sup>14</sup> He had before been put under the nominal command of the emperor's second son, Shujá, who was a boy; and he was now recalled to court, and the Deckan was divided into two commands, under Kháni Dourán and Kháni Zemán. Ill-success of the operations in the Deckan. A.D. 1634.

These officers were less successful than their predecessors. Mohammed A'dil Sháh continued to hold out; and the Nizám Sháhí monarchy, which seemed to have come to an end on the surrender of Fath Khán, was revived by a chief whose family were afterwards to act an important part as the founders of the

<sup>11</sup> Grant Duff. Kháfi Khán.

<sup>12</sup> Kháfi Khán.

<sup>13</sup> Grant Duff.

<sup>14</sup> Grant Duff. There is a considerable difference between his dates and those of Kháfi Khán at this period.

Maratta nation. This was Sháhji Boshá, who had risen to considerable rank in the time of Mulik Amber, and had distinguished himself as a partisan during the late wars. After the fall of Daulatábád, he drew off to the rugged country in the west of the Deekán; and, some time after, was so strong as to set up a new pretender to the throne of Ahmednagar, and, in time, to get possession of all the districts of that kingdom from the sea to the capital.<sup>1</sup>

The Deekán, therefore, was as far as ever from being subdued; and Sháh Jehán perceived the necessity of returning in person to that country, to make another effort to reduce it.

He marched from Agra towards the end of 1635,<sup>2</sup> and, on arriving in the Deekán, he adopted his former plan of breaking his army into divisions; and sent them, in the first instance, to recover the kingdom of Ahmednagar. When they had driven Sháhji from the open country, and reduced many of his principal forts, Sháh Jehán turned his whole force on Bijápúr, took several strong places, and constrained Mohammed Adil Sháh once more to shut himself up in his capital. The talents which had delivered him during the former siege did not desert him on this occasion. He laid waste the country for twenty miles round Bijápúr, destroying every particle of food or forage; filled up the wells, drained off the reservoirs, and rendered it impossible for any army to support itself during an attack on the city.

The Moguls were therefore reduced to the plunder of the territories, and met with frequent losses from the spirit and activity of his detachments. Both parties, ere long, were wearied with this sort of warfare; and, Adil Sháh making the first overture, peace was concluded, on terms much more favourable than he could have expected. He consented to an annual payment of 200,000, as a price to Sháh Jehán; but he was to receive, in return, a share of the Nizam Sháhí dominions, which much extended his territory on the north and east.

Sháhí held out for some time longer; at length he also submitted, gave up his pretended king, and entered into the service of the king of Bijápúr, with the consent of Sháh Jehán.

At an early period of this campaign, Sháh Jehán had ordered

Sháhí Boshá  
attempts to  
restore the  
kingdom of Ahe-  
mednagar.

The emperor  
reluctant to  
enter the Deekán,  
A.D. 1635,  
November.  
A.D. 1635,  
January.  
arrived.

He peace  
on their  
attendants.  
Bijápúr.

peace  
Bijápúr.  
A.D. 1636.

the king of Golcónda, and had forced him to desist from reciting the name of the king of Persia in the public prayers, and to agree to pay a regular tribute.<sup>17</sup>

The emperor exacts a tribute from Golcónda.

These transactions being concluded, Sháh Jehán returned to his capital, and the kingdom of Ahmednagar was at length extinguished for ever.

Returns to Delhi.  
A.D. 1627,  
A.H. 1044.

While Sháh Jehán's attention was principally engaged with the Deckan, some events of less moment were taking place in other quarters. The Portuguese fort of Huglí, not far from Calcutta, was taken, after a siege, by the governor of Bengal (1631). There were revolts of the Bundélas, in the first of which the son of Narsing Deó was killed. One portion of the troops on the eastern frontier completed the settlement of Little Tibet (1634 and 1636); another was defeated, and almost destroyed, in an attempt to conquer Sirínagar (1634); and a third, which invaded the petty state of Cúch Behár from Bengal, was compelled, by the unhealthiness of the climate, to relinquish the country after they were in possession (1637).

Local disturbances and successes in Hindostan.

The most important occurrence of these times was the acquisition of Candahár, the governor of which, Alí Merdán Khán, found himself exposed to so much danger from the tyranny of his sovereign, the king of Persia, that he gave up the place to Sháh Jehán, and himself took refuge at Delhi. He was received with great honour, and was afterwards, at different times, made governor of Cashmír and Cábul, and employed on various wars and other duties. He excited universal admiration at the court by the skill and judgment of his public works, of which the canal which bears his name at Delhi still affords a proof, and by the taste and elegance he displayed on all occasions of show and festivity.

Recovery of Candahár.  
Alí Merdán Khán.

A.D. 1637,  
A.H. 1047.

His military talents were first tried in an invasion of Balkh and Badakhshán. Those provinces had remained in the hands of the Uzbeks since they were lost by Mírzá Soleimán, and were now held by Nazar Mohammed, the younger brother of Imám Kuli, sovereign of all the territory beyond the Oxus, from the Caspian Sea to Mount Imaus.

Invasion of Balkh.

The revolt of Nazar Mohammed's son, Abdul Azíz, encouraged by his powerful uncle, tempted Sháh Jehán, who had enjoyed several years of repose, to assert the dormant rights of his family. Alí Merdán penetrated the range of Hindú

A.D. 1644,  
A.H. 1054.

<sup>17</sup> Grant Duff. Kháfi Khán.



Cash, and ravaged Badakhshân : but the advance of the winter, and the fear of being cut off from the southern countries, compelled him to retreat without having gained any solid advantage. Next year the enterprise was attempted by Râja Jagat Sing,<sup>1</sup> whose chief strength lay in a body of 14,000 Râjpûts, raised in his own country, but paid by the emperor.

The spirit of the Râjpûts never shone more brilliantly than in this unusual duty : they stormed mountain-passes, made forced marches over snow, constructed roads by their own labour (the râja himself taking an example like the rest), and bore up against the tempests of that frozen region as firmly as against the fierce and repeated attacks of the Uzbeks.

But, with all these exertions, the enterprise now appeared so arduous that Shâh Jehân himself resolved to move to Câbul, and to send on his son, Prince Morâd, under the guidance of Ali

Merhân Khân, with a large army, into Balkh.<sup>2</sup> This expedition was completely successful : Morâd was joined by some of Nazar Mohammed's sons, and afterwards received the submission of that chief : but just

as he had taken possession of the capital, a new rupture took place (with some suspicion of bad faith on the part of the Moguls). Nazar Mohammed, now

divested of his defensible places, was obliged to fly to Persia : and

his dominions were annexed, by proclamation, to those of Shâh Jehân. But this conquest was not long left undisturbed : Abdul Aziz collected a force beyond the

Oxus, and sent numerous bands of plunderers to lay waste the newly-conquered territory. Shâh Jehân had, by this time, returned to Delhi ; and Morâd, tired of

the service, and impatient of the control of Ali Merhân, had left his province without leave, and was sent away from court in

disgrace. The charge of restoring order was therefore imposed on Prince Aurangzib, while the king himself

again repaired to Câbul to support him. Aurangzib at first obtained a great victory over the Uzbeks : its

effects, however, were by no means decisive ; for Abdul Aziz crossed the Oxus in person, and so harassed the Moguls, that

Aurangzib, after some partial successes, was obliged to seek protection from the walls of Balkh itself.

About this time Nazar Mohammed, having failed to obtain

CH. 104.  
A.D. 1657.  
Shâh Jehân  
moves to  
Câbul.  
Balkh  
reduced by  
Prince Morâd  
and Ali Merhân  
the Moguls.

CH. 105.  
JAN. 1658.  
JAN. 1658.  
Aurangzib  
overcomes  
the Uzbeks  
the Oxus.

Aurangzib  
CH. 106.  
A.D. 1658.  
Aurangzib  
CH. 107.

<sup>1</sup> The original name of Râja Jagat Sing is Jagat Singh and Jagat Singh.

aid in Persia, threw himself on the clemency of Sháh Jehán; and the latter prince, perceiving how little his prospects were advanced by such an expenditure of blood and treasure, came to the prudent resolution of withdrawing from the contest; and that he might do so with the less humiliation, he transferred his rights to Nazar Mohammed, then a suppliant at his court. Aurangzib was accordingly directed to make over the places that remained in his possession; and he began his retreat from Balkh, under continual attacks from the Uzbeks of Abdul Azíz's party. When he reached the passes of Hindú Cush, the persecution was taken up, for the sake of plunder, by the mountaineers of the Hazáreh tribes, and, to complete his misfortunes, the winter set in with violence; and though the prince himself reached Cábul with a light detachment, yet the main body of his army was intercepted by the snow, and suffered so much in this helpless condition, from the unremitting assaults of the Hazáreh, that they were glad to escape in separate bodies, with the loss of all their baggage and almost all their horses.<sup>20</sup>

*Sháh Jehán  
abandons his  
conquest.*

*Disastrous  
retreat of  
Aurangzib.*

*About the  
end of  
A.D. 1647,  
A.H. 1057.*

The tranquillity purchased by the relinquishment of Balkh was first disturbed by an attack on Candahár by the Persians. During the weak and tyrannical reign of Sháh Saffi, and the minority of his son, Sháh Abbás II., the Moguls had been allowed to enjoy the fruits of Alf Merdán's desertion unmolested; but as Abbás advanced towards manhood, his ministers induced him to assert the dignity of his monarchy, by restoring it to its ancient limits. He assembled a large army, and marched against Candahár. He showed much judgment in beginning the siege in winter, when the communication between India and Cábul was cut off by the snow, while his own operations went on unobstructed in the mild climate of Candahár. The consequence was, that although Aurangzib and the vazír Saád Ullah Khán were ordered off in all haste from the Panjáb, and although they made their way with great exertions through the mountains, they arrived too late to save Candahár, which had been taken after a siege of two months and a half. The exhausted condition of the army after their winter march compelled Aurangzib and Saád Ullah to halt and refit at Cábul; while the king of Persia withdrew to Herát, leaving a strong garrison in Candahár.<sup>21</sup>

*Candahár  
retaken by  
the Persians.*

*A.D. 1648,  
A.H. 1058.*

The Indian army came before that city in May 1649. They

<sup>20</sup> Kháfí Khán.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

immediately opened their batteries, and the contest was actively conducted on both sides, with springing of mines, assaults by the besiegers, and sallies by the garrison. These operations were not interrupted by the appearance of an army sent by Shâh Abûs to raise the siege. Aurangzib was contented with sending a detachment to oppose the attack, and remained, himself, in his lines before the city. The force he had employed was sufficient to repel the Persians, but it could not prevent their destroying the forage and cutting off the supplies of the besiegers; and as the governor defended his town with as much skill as obstinacy, Aurangzib was at length constrained to raise the siege, and commence his retreat to Câbul, above four months after he had opened his batteries.<sup>20</sup> Shâh Jehân, who had followed Aurangzib to Câbul, marched from that city before the prince's return, and was not overtaken by him until he had reached Lâhôr.

The next year passed in inaction, to which the king's usual visit to Cashmîr forms no exception. The time he spent in that delicious retirement was devoted to feasts and dances, to gardens, excursions by land and water, and other pleasures congenial to the climate and scenery.

In the year next succeeding, Aurangzib and the vazir, Saïd Ullâh, were again despatched to Candahâr, with a numerous and well-equipped army, and ample provisions of tools and workmen to conduct all the operations of a siege.

These great preparations were as unavailing as before; and Aurangzib, after exhausting every resource supplied by the skill and courage of Saïd Ullâh, and the bravery of the Râjpûts, was necessarily compelled to return to Câbul, and was sent to be victorious of the Dekkan.

Shâh Jehân was not discouraged by his repeated failures, and next year prepared for a still greater effort than had yet been put forth.

His eldest son, Dîrâ Sorkh, though treated as superior in station to the rest, was kept at court, and looked with jealousy on every opportunity of distinction afforded by his father.

"He is not fit," cried Dîrâ, "to be employed, of whom he seems to me so unworthy." His sister, Anisâ, was also very busy. Urged by these

<sup>20</sup> The Persians, however, did not quit the country without a great slaughter. They were defeated by Aurangzib's army, and a large number of them were killed. The remainder fled to Persia.

feelings, he entreated Sháh Jehán to allow him to try his skill and fortune at the siege of Candahár, and was put at the head of an army much exceeding that formerly employed. It assembled at Láhór in the winter of 1652, and commenced its march in the spring of the next year, Sháh Jehán himself following, as usual, to Cábul.

A.D. 1653,  
A.H. 1063.

Dará opened his trenches, as Aurangzib had done before him, on a day and hour fixed by the astrologers, and ordered by the emperor before the army set out on its march.

Siege of  
Candahár.

He began the siege on a scale proportioned to his armament. He mounted a battery of ten guns on a high and solid mound of earth, raised for the purpose of enabling him to command the town; and he pushed his operations with his characteristic impetuosity, increased, in this instance, by rivalry with his brother. He assembled his chiefs, and besought them to support his honour, declaring his intention never to quit the place till it was taken; he urged on the mines, directed the approaches, and, the besieged having brought their guns to bear on his own tent, he maintained his position until their fire could be silenced by that of his artillery. But, after the failure of several attempts to storm, and the disappointment of near prospects of success, his mind appears to have given way to the dread of defeat and humiliation: he entreated his officers not to reduce him to a level with the twice-beaten Aurangzib; and he had recourse to magicians and other impostors, who promised to put him in possession of the place by supernatural means. Such expedients portended an unfavourable issue; and accordingly, after a last desperate assault, which commenced before daybreak, and in which his troops had at one time gained the summit of the rampart, he was compelled to renounce all hope, and to raise the siege, after having lost the flower of his army in the prosecution of it. He was harassed on his retreat both by the Persians and Afgháns; and it was not without additional losses that he made his way to Cábul, whence he pursued his march to Láhór.

A.D. 1653,  
September;  
A.H. 1063,  
Shawwál 9.

Failure and  
retreat of  
Dará Shukoh.  
A.D. 1653,  
November;  
A.H. 1064,  
Moharram.

Thus terminated the last attempt of the Móguls to recover Candahár, of which they had held but a precarious possession from the first conquest of it by Báber.

It was followed by nearly two years of undisturbed tranquillity. During that time Sháh Jehán, having completed a revenue survey of his possessions in the Deckan, which is said to have occupied him for nearly twenty years,<sup>21</sup>

End of  
A.D. 1655  
to 1655;  
A.H. 1064  
and 1065.

<sup>21</sup> Grant Duff's *History of the Marattas*, vol. i. p. 126.

gave orders for the adoption of the system of assessment and collection introduced by Tódar Mal.<sup>a</sup>

The same period is marked by the death of the vazir, Saïd Khan, the Ullah Khán, the most able and upright minister that Aurangzeb ever appeared in India. He makes a conspicuous figure in all the transactions of Sháh Jehán, and is constantly referred to as a model in the correspondence of Aurangzib during the long reign of that monarch. Kháfí Khán says that his descendants, in his time, were still distinguished for their virtues and intelligence, near a century after the death of their ancestor; and contrasts the respectability of their conduct with the effeminacy and frivolity of the other nobles of that era.

The next year was destined to put an end to this state of repose, and to light up a conflagration which was never the war in the Deccan, effectually suppressed, and was not extinguished until it had consumed the empire.

Since the last pacification, Abdullah Kutb Sháh had paid his tribute regularly, and had shown a desire to secure the favour of Sháh Jehán, who, but for a particular concurrence of circumstances, would probable never have wished to molest him.

The prime minister of Abdullah was a person named Mir Jumla. He had formerly been a diamond merchant, and had been known and respected throughout the Deccan for his wealth and abilities long before he attained his present high station. His son, Mohammed Amin, a dissolute and violent young man, had drawn on himself the resentment of Abdullah Kutb Sháh, and had involved his father in a dispute with the court. Mir Jumla was absent, in command of an army in the eastern part of the kingdom of Golconda; and, finding himself unable to obtain such concessions as he desired from his own sovereign, determined to throw himself on the protection of the Mogul. He applied to Aurangzib, to whom, as well as to the emperor, he was already known. Such an opportunity of interference afforded an irresistible temptation to a man of Aurangzib's intriguing disposition, and he strongly recommended the case of Mir Jumla to his father's favour. Sháh Jehán, influenced by this advice, despatched a haughty mandate to Abdullah Sháh to redress the complaints of his minister; but Abdullah was further irritated by this encroachment on his independence, and committed Amin to prison, while he sequestered the property of Mir Jumla. Sháh Jehán, now provoked in his turn, sent orders to his son to carry his demands into

effect by force of arms ; and Aurangzib, who had been waiting impatiently for this result, entered with alacrity on the duty, and executed it in a manner entirely suitable to his wily nature.

Without any further manifestation of hostility, he sent out a chosen force, under pretence of escorting his son, Sultán Mohammed, to Bengal, for the purpose of celebrating his nuptials with the daughter of his own brother, Prince Shujá, who was viceroy of that province. The road from Aurangábád, to Bengal made a circuit by Masulipatam, so as to avoid the forests of Góndwána, and thus naturally brought the prince within a short distance of Heiderábád, the capital of Golcónda. Abdullah Sháh was preparing an entertainment for his reception, when he suddenly advanced as an enemy, and took the king so completely by surprise that he had only time to fly to the hill-fort of Golcónda, six or eight miles from the city ; while Heiderábád fell into the hands of the Moguls, and was plundered and half burned before the troops could be brought into order. Aurangzib had, before this, found a pretence for assembling an army on the nearest point of his province ; and being joined by fresh troops from Málwa, he had ample means of sending on reinforcements to Golcónda. Mír Jumla also in time drew near and was ready to turn his master's arms against himself. Abdullah Sháh, on his first flight to the hill-fort, had released Mohammed Amín, and given up the sequestered property ; and he did all in his power to negotiate a reasonable accommodation, while at the same time he spared no effort to procure aid from Bījápúr. No aid came, and the Moguls were inexorable ; and, after several attempts to raise the siege by force, he was at last under the necessity of accepting the severe terms imposed on him : to agree to give his daughter in marriage to Sultán Mohammed, with a dowry in territory and money ; to pay a crore of rupees (£1,000,000 sterling) as the first instalment of a yearly tribute ; and promised to make up the arrears of past payments within two years.

Sháh Jehán would have been content with easier terms, and did, in fact, make a great remission in the pecuniary part of those agreed on ; but the rest were executed, and the Mogul prince returned to Aurangábád. Mír Jumla remained in the Mogul service, became the chosen counsellor of Aurangzib, and was afterwards one of the most useful instruments of his ambitious designs.

Aurangzib had scarcely reaped the fruits of his success in

Treach-  
ous attack  
on Heider-  
ábád by  
Aurangzib.  
A.D. 1656,  
January;  
A.H. 1066,  
Rabi' ul  
awwal.

Submission  
of the king  
of Golcónda.

A.D. 1656,  
May;  
A.H. 1066.



aggrandizement, and even of safety, turned his exertions towards the seat of the monarchy, and for a long time withdrew his attention from the affairs of the Deckan.

Sháh Jehán had four sons, all of an age to render them impatient of a subordinate station. Dárá Shukóh was in his forty-second year, Shujá was forty, and Aurangzib thirty-eight. Even Morád, the youngest, had long been employed in great commands.<sup>1</sup> Dárá Shukóh was a frank and high-spirited prince, dignified in his manners, generous in his expense, liberal in his opinions, open in his enmities; but impetuous, impatient of opposition, and despising the ordinary rules of prudence as signs of weakness and artifice. His overbearing temper made him many enemies, while his habitual indiscretion lessened the number as well as the confidence of his adherents. Shujá was not destitute of abilities, but given up to wine and pleasure. Aurangzib was a perfect contrast to Dárá Shukóh. He was a man of a mild temper and a cold heart; cautious, artful, designing; a perfect master of dissimulation; acute and sagacious, though not extended in his views, and ever on the watch to gain friends and to propitiate enemies. To these less brilliant qualities he joined great courage and skill in military exercises, a handsome though not athletic form, affable and gracious manners, and lively agreeable conversation. He was so great a dissembler in other matters, that he has been supposed a hypocrite in religion. But, although religion was a great instrument of his policy, he was, beyond doubt, a sincere and bigoted Mussulman. He had been brought up by men of known sanctity, and had himself shown an early turn for devotion: he at one time professed an intention of renouncing the world, and taking the habit of a fakír; and throughout his whole life he evinced a real attachment to his faith, in many things indifferent to his interest, and in some most seriously opposed to it. His zeal was shown in prayers and reading the Korán, in pious discourses, in abstemiousness (which he affected to carry so far as to subsist on the earnings of his manual labour), in humility of deportment, patience under provocation, and resignation in misfortunes; but, above all, in constant and earnest endeavours to promote his own faith and to discourage idolatry and infidelity. But neither religion nor morality stood for a moment in his way when they interfered with his ambition; and, though full of

<sup>1</sup> Gladwin's *History of Jehángir*.



scruples at other times, he would stick at no crime that was requisite for the gratification of that passion.

His political use of religion arose from a correct view of the feelings of the time. Akber's innovations had shocked most Mahometans, who, besides the usual dislike of the vulgar to toleration, felt that a direct attack was made on their own faith. Jehángir's restoration of the old ritual was too cold to give full satisfaction; and though Sháh Jehán was a more zealous Mussulman, Dárá openly professed the tenets of Akber, and had written a book to reconcile the Hindú and Mahometan doctrines.<sup>1</sup> No topic, therefore, could be selected more likely to make that prince unpopular than his infidelity, and in no light could the really religious Aurangzib be so favourably opposed to him as in that of the champion of Islám. In this character he had also an advantage over Shujá, who was looked on with aversion by the orthodox Mahometans, from his attachment to the Persian sect of the Shíás.

Morád was brave and generous, but dull in intellect, and vulgar even in his pursuits. He was abundantly presumptuous and self-willed; but his object never was more exalted than the indulgence of his humours, and the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.<sup>2</sup>

Sháh Jehán had, by the same mother as his sons,<sup>3</sup> two daughters. To the eldest, Páisháh Bégam, he was devotedly attached. She was endowed with beauty and talents, and was a great support to the interest of Dárá Shukoh. Roshárá,<sup>4</sup> the second daughter, had fewer personal attractions, and less influence; but her talent for intrigue, and her knowledge of the secrets of the harem, enabled her to be of the greatest assistance to her favourite brother, Aurangzib.

It was from this princess that Aurangzib obtained the intelli-

<sup>1</sup> See the history of this book, and the English version, printed for the first time by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1801, yet there is no mention of its Persian title, and most likely by mistake, the work is ascribed to a Hindoo historian, Rámánand, son of Dárá Akbar. It was then, as we shall see, the first time that the name of Dárá Shukoh was mentioned in the history of the reign of Sháh Jehán. See also the account of the Akbarian sect, in the next chapter, and between the first and second parts of Wáris-i-Rúz, in the section on the Wars of Religion.

<sup>2</sup> The character of the prince is taken from his own confession by the historian Khán Khánán, in a letter to Aurangzib, printed in The History of

given by that monarch to Sháh Jehán's nephew of his four sons. Dárá, he said, had talents for command, and the charge of governing the royal throne was intrusted to him, although, had any person been nominated, whether he was equal to the great and good to the last, Sháh Jehán was more prudent and more generous and a servant of Aurangzib, and would not have undertaken the burden of public affairs, but he did not do so, and he was very fond of any one whom he could trust." *Letter from Aurangzib to his son, Dárá Shukoh, dated 1659.*

<sup>3</sup> See also the *History of Jehangir*

<sup>4</sup> See the letter of Sháh Jehán to Aurangzib.

gence on which he now acted. Though Sháh Jehán had only attained his sixty-seventh year, the habits of indolence and pleasure in which he had indulged seem to have latterly diminished his attention to business, and allowed a greater share of influence to Dárá Shukóh, on whom, as heir-apparent, he devolved such of his duties as he did not himself perform. Things were in this state when the emperor was seized with a sudden disorder in his kidneys, together with a suppression of urine, which entirely incapacitated him from business, and soon brought him to the brink of the grave.<sup>5</sup> During this crisis Dárá stopped all correspondence, and detained all travellers likely to spread the news of the king's danger throughout the provinces. He could not, however, long elude the vigilance of his brothers. Aurangzib, in particular, was minutely informed of all his proceedings during the whole of the struggle which followed.

Dárá admini-  
sters the  
government  
under the  
emperor.

A.D. 1657,  
October;  
A.H. 1067,  
24 Haj 7.

The first to act on the emergency was Prince Shujá, the viceroy of Bengal. He assembled the troops of his province, and immediately marched into Behár, on his way to the capital.

Rebellion of  
Shujá.

Prince Morád, viceroy of Guzerát, soon followed his example : he seized on all the money in the district treasuries, and laid siege to Surat, where there was a governor independent of his authority, and where he thought there was a considerable sum in deposit.

and of  
Morád.

Aurangzib conducted himself with more caution. He did not assume the royal title, as Shujá and Morád had done ; and although he instantly moved to his northern frontier, and urged on the preparation of his army, he made no open declaration till orders came from Dárá, in the emperor's name, to direct Mír Jumla and the other military commanders to quit his standard. Mír Jumla, after he joined the Moguls, had been summoned to the capital, and had for a time been entrusted with the highest offices in the state. He had afterwards been sent back to the Deckan ; but his family was still at Agra, and the fear of the consequences to them made him hesitate to oppose an order of the emperor. But his embarrassment was removed by a stratagem suggested by Aurangzib.

Cautious  
measures of  
Aurangzib.

His collu-  
sion with  
Mír Jumla.

According to a concerted plan, he sent for Mír Jumla to his court ; and when that commander, after some affected delays

<sup>5</sup> Kháfi Khán.

and alarms, presented himself, he ordered him to be ~~made~~ prisoner in the fort of Doulatábád; while his principal officers, secretly influenced by their commander, continued to serve with <sup>He marches</sup> Aurangzib. Even when he had thrown off the <sup>to join</sup> mask, <sup>Morád,</sup> he still proceeded with his usual policy. He left Dárá and Shujá to weaken each other for his profit, and applied all his art to gain Morád, whom he might hope to render an instrument in his own hands. He wrote to him with the most vehement professions of attachment, congratulating him on his accession to the crown, and declaring his own intention of renouncing the world, and indulging his love of devotion in retirement at Mecca. He nevertheless offered his zealous services against the irreligious Dárá, and advised that, as their father was still alive, they should present themselves before him, when, if received with favour, they should secure him from undue influence, while they interceded for the pardon of their erring brother; meanwhile they should unite their forces, and proceed to engage the infidel Jeswant Sing, who, it was understood, had been sent against them.\* It seems incredible that Morád should have been deceived by so improbable a profession, but the coarseness of the artifice was disguised by the masterly execution; and the assiduous flatteries of Aurangzib found a willing audience in his brother, naturally unsuspicious, and dazzled by the prospect of assistance so necessary to the support of his feeble cause.

Before this period Dárá had taken measures to resist the threatened attacks of his rivals. He sent <sup>Defensive</sup> <sup>measures</sup> <sup>of Dára,</sup> Raja Jeswant Sing into Málwa to watch Morád and Aurangzib, and to act against them, with his whole army, or by dividing it, as circumstances might suggest. At the same time he himself advanced to Agra, and despatched an army, under the command of his own son, Soleimán Shukhán, assisted by Raja Jai Sing, to oppose the approach of Shujá. By this time Sháh Jehán was sufficiently recovered to resume the general control of the government; but his confidence in Dárá was only increased by the misconduct of the other princes. He wrote to Shujá commanding him in positive terms to return to his government. Shujá pretended to consider these orders as dictated by Dárá Shukhán, and probably still looked on the emperor's recovery as doubtful. He continued to move on until he met Soleimán Shukhán in the

neighbourhood of Benáres. A battle then took place, and Shujá, though his army was not dispersed, was defeated, and compelled to return into Bengal.

Meanwhile Aurangzib quitted Burhanpúr<sup>7</sup> and marched into Málwa. He there formed a junction with Morád; and the combined armies marched to attack Rája Jeswant Sing, who was encamped near Ujein. The rája drew up his army on the bank of the river Sipra, which at that season was nearly dry, but still presented a formidable obstruction from the rocky nature of its bed.

A.D. 1688,  
end of  
March;  
A.H. 1098,  
Jamád-ul  
A'khir 28.

A.D. 1688,  
April;  
A.H. 1098,  
Rajab.

The battle was bravely contested by the Rájputts, who were ill-supported by the rest of the troops. It was chiefly decided by the gallantry of Morád. Jeswant Sing retired in disorder to his own country, and the rest of the army dispersed.<sup>8</sup> On rewarding his chiefs after this battle, Aurangzib sent them all to return their thanks to Morád, as if he alone were the fountain of all honour. On the first junction he had taken an oath to adhere to that prince, and renewed all his promises with every appearance of warmth and sincerity; and throughout the whole campaign, although his abilities gave him the real control of all operations, he continued his professions of devotion and humility—always acknowledging Morád as his superior, and treating him on all occasions with the utmost respect and attention.<sup>9</sup> After this victory the princes advanced by slow marches to the Chambal, near Gwáliór.<sup>10</sup> Some dispositions made by Dará Shukóh for the defence of that river were rendered ineffectual by the manœuvres of Aurangzib, and the army crossed without opposition.

Aurangzib  
and Morád  
defeat the  
imperial  
army under  
Jeswant  
Sing at Ujein.

A.D. 1688,  
May;  
A.H. 1098,  
from Rajab  
27, to Shá-  
bán 25.

Before Jeswant Sing's defeat, Sháh Jehán, unable to bear the heat of the season, had set out on his way to Delhi. The news of that misfortune recalled him, much against his will, to Agra. He found that during his absence Dará had thrown Amín, the son of Mír Jumla, into confinement; but, as he disapproved of the proceeding, it was immediately countermanded by the prince himself. Sháh Jehán at this time, notwithstanding his feeble health, had ordered his tents to be prepared, and intended to take the field in person. His hope was, that he should be able to bring about an adjustment by his presence and authority, and to avoid a war which could

Sháh Jehan's  
anxiety for  
an accom-  
modation.

<sup>7</sup> Kháfi K'lan.

<sup>8</sup> Kháfi Khán. Bernier. Bernier, who soon after joined the emperor's army,

accuses Kásim Khán, who commanded along with Jeswant Sing, of disaffection.

<sup>9</sup> Kháfi Khán. Bernier. <sup>10</sup> Kháfi Khán.

not but bring many dangers and calamities on himself and all the parties engaged. He was dissuaded from this resolution by his brother-in-law, Sháyista Khán. If it had been pursued, it would have had no effect on the princes, whatever it might on the armies; for all were now too far engaged to recede, or to trust their future safety to anything so precarious as the life of Sháh Jehán. Dárá likewise looked with an ill eye on an accommodation that must have removed him from almost unlimited power, and restored the administration to its ordinary train.

under the immediate control of the emperor. Urged on by this consideration, and confident in his superior numbers, he refused even to wait for Soleimán, then on his march from Benáres with the most efficient part of the army. Contrary to the earnest injunctions of Sháh Jehán, he marched out at the head of an army which seemed irresistible from its numbers and equipment, but was rendered weak, in reality, by the arrogance of the commander, the disaffection of the chiefs, and the absence of the flower of the fighting men.<sup>11</sup>

On the 6th of Ramazán, A.H. 1068, the two armies approached each other at Samaghat, one march from Agra: they drew up face to face on the next day, but did not join battle until the succeeding morning.

The action began by a charge of a body of Dárá's cavalry, under Rustam Khán. It was unable to penetrate a row of guns chained together in front of Aurangzib's line. A second and more powerful charge, headed by Dárá himself, was equally unsuccessful; but his attack was renewed, and kept up without intermission on the centre, where Aurangzib was stationed. In the meantime Morád was attacked by 3,000 Uzbeks, who poured in flights of arrows on him, with such rapidity that it was with difficulty he could bear up against them. His elephant gave way before the storm, and would have run off the field, if Morád had not ordered its feet to be chained—thus cutting off the power of retreat for himself. This sharp contest with the Uzbeks was succeeded by a much more formidable attack. A large body of Rájpúts rushed on the prince with an impetuosity that nothing could resist. Rám Sing, their rájá, in a saffron robe, and with a chaplet of pearls

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Khán's army consisted of 17,000 horse with 100 elephants and 12,000 bowmen, though probably diminished by more

than 10,000. He reckons Aurangzib's and Morád's army at 30,000 or 35,000 horse. He thinks it may have been 160,000 horse, 2,000 foot, and 40 pieces of artillery. He reckons Aurangzib's and Morád's army at 30,000 or 35,000 horse.

on his head, ran up to Morád's elephant, and hurled his pike at the prince, while he shouted to the driver to make the elephant kneel down. Morád received the pike on his shield, and nearly at the same moment laid the rája dead with an arrow.<sup>12</sup> His death only exasperated the Rájputs, who fought with desperate fury, and fell in heaps round the prince's elephant. At this time Aurangzib was about to move to his brother's assistance, but he had soon full employment where he was; for Dárá, having at length broken through the line of guns, charged his centre at full speed, and carried all before him, by the united force of velocity and numbers.

Aurangzib alone remained unshaken: he presented his elephant wherever there was the greatest danger, and called aloud to his troops that "God was with them, and that they had no other refuge or retreat."<sup>13</sup> In the height of this contest Rája Rúp Sing leaped from his horse, and running up to Aurangzib's elephant, began to cut away the girths with his sword. Aurangzib was struck with his audacity, and even in that moment of alarm called out to his men to spare him; but before his voice could be heard the rája had fallen, almost cut to pieces. At this critical juncture Morád, having at length repelled the Rájputs, was able to turn his attention to the centre; and Dárá, who found his right thereby exposed, was obliged to abate the vigour of his front attack. His numbers, however, might in the end have prevailed; but as he was pressing forward on his elephant, conspicuous to all his troops, whom he was encouraging by his voice, and by waving his hand to them to advance, a rocket from the enemy struck the elephant, and rendered it so ungovernable that Dárá had no choice but to throw himself from its back, and to mount a horse with all expedition. His disappearance struck a sudden alarm among the distant troops; and an attendant being carried off by a shot at his side, while fastening on his quiver after he mounted, those immediately round him were also thrown into confusion: the panic spread, and its effects were soon felt throughout the whole army. The death of an Asiatic leader is often the loss of the battle: in a civil war it is the annihilation of the cause. Success seemed now useless, and every man's thoughts were turned to safety. Even the part of the line which was not engaged began to waver, while the princes pressed forward amidst the disorder of

<sup>12</sup> Kháfi Khán. Bernier. Colonel Tod (vol. ii. p. 481) ascribes this attack to Rája Chitar Sal of Bundi, who was a distinguished commander in the reign of

Sháh Jehán, and was likewise killed in this battle.

<sup>13</sup> Bernier has preserved his words in the original Hindostani.

the centre, and compelled the troops opposed to them, and even Dārā himself, to take to flight.

The victory was no sooner decided than Aurangzib threw himself on his knees, and returned his thanks to Divine Providence for the mercy it had vouchsafed to him. His next care was to salute his brother, and congratulate him on the acquisition of a kingdom. He found Morād's howdah bristled with arrows, and himself wounded in several places; and, after expressing the greatest joy at *his* victory, he began to wipe the blood from his face, and to show the most affectionate attention to his sufferings.<sup>10</sup> While this was passing on the field, the unfortunate Dārā pursued his flight towards the city; but <sup>from Agra, three days</sup> arrived in the evening with 2,000 horse, many of them wounded—all he now had of the great force with which he had so lately marched out.

He was ashamed to present himself before his father, to the disregard of whose opinion he owed his ruin; and after securing some valuables at his own palace, he continued his flight towards Delhi, accompanied by his wife and two of his children. He had already reached the third regular stage from Agra, before he was overtaken by 5,000 horse, sent by Shāh Jehān to his assistance.<sup>11</sup>

Aurangzib marched to Agra three days after the battle. He encamped before the walls, and took immediate possession of the city. Some more days elapsed before he interfered with the interior of the royal residence. He employed the interval in humble messages to his father, pleading the necessity of his case, and protesting his inviolable respect and duty. It is probable,

Aurangzib enters Agra, Jan. 1658, Durrani, c. 1658, Humayun, 10, Shāh Jehān's address to the cause of Dārā.

<sup>10</sup> Morād's howdah was preserved with curiosity to the time of Ferozkhan, when it was seized by Khaf Khan, who says it was struck off by a stone which a person threw at him.

<sup>11</sup> In the account of the battle there is a great number of instances of treachery, and this is repeated in the general history of Khaf Khan, who describes the success of Aurangzib, and writes under a separate account that such was the treachery of the Durrani, that he was obliged to retreat, and his army was dispersed. But his account is contradicted by the account of the Durrani, who says that he was overtaken by 5,000 horse, sent by Shāh Jehān to his assistance.

instance is ascribed to the treachery of a traitor in the moment of victory, while Khaf Khan says he was obliged to get down on his prostration, that he left his dappah, and mounted his horse with bare feet and without arms. Herber afterwards relates a piece of Shah Jehan's letter to Aurangzib, which is interpreted in the latter, with reference to the success of Shah Jehan, but the story is very different, and is not confirmed by Khaf Khan. It is necessary therefore to look away from the accounts which favour Aurangzib, to the account which favours Dārā, and to the character of Dārā, his mother was a personal enemy of that prince, and it is probable that Khaf Khan has a personal interest in and both are to be

indeed, that he was sincerely desirous of conciliating his father, and would have preferred carrying on the government in his name; but he found it impossible to gain his confidence, or to shake his attachment to Dárá; and at length sent his own son, Mohammed Sultán, to take complete possession of the citadel, and to prevent all communications between the emperor Barnasta 17. and every one beyond its walls. Sháh Jehán was is confined in his palace. still treated with the highest respect: but, although he lived for seven years longer, his reign ends at this period. It seems unaccountable that so able a prince should have thus been dethroned without any of his old servants attempting to stir in his favour: the truth is, that his habits of indulgence had impaired his energy; and as he had long ceased to head his armies, the troops turned their eyes to the princes who led them in the field, and who had the immediate distribution of their honours and rewards. To this must be added the peculiar abilities of Aurangzib, who was more successful in defeating conspiracies and managing factions than in any other branch of government, though he was good in all.

Having now no further use for Morád, Aurangzib dismissed him from his pretended sovereignty, without even the ceremony of a quarrel or a complaint. He kept up the Aurangzib imprisons Morád, and openly assumes the government. delusion of that simple prince by submissive behaviour and constant presents and attentions, till they had marched from Agra in pursuit of Dárá; when he one day invited Morád to supper, and so far waived his own scruples as to allow the free use of the goblet, of which Morád so fully availed himself that he was soon in a state of helpless intoxication. On this he was stripped of his arms without resistance, was cast into chains, and sent off on an elephant to Selíngghar, part of the citadel of Delhi; while three other elephants were despatched, under similar escorts, in different directions, to mislead people as to his place of confinement. He was afterwards removed to Gwáliór, the great state-prison of those days. Aurangzib then continued his march to Delhi, where he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor.<sup>16</sup> He did not put his name on the coin, and was not crowned until the first anniversary of his accession, a circumstance which has introduced A.D. 1658, Aug. 20; A.H. 1066, Zi Cádash. some confusion into the dates of his reign.

The reign of Sháh Jehán, thus harshly closed, was perhaps

Aurangzib had been successful, and was greatest of emperors.  
cried up as the Mussulman hero and the " Kháfi Khán.





in remote provinces, and of the fertile and productive countries in which they stood.<sup>19</sup>

Those who look on India in its present state may be inclined to suspect the native writers of exaggerating its former prosperity ; but the deserted cities, ruined palaces, and choked-up aqueducts which we still see, with the great reservoirs and embankments in the midst of jungles, and the decayed causeways, wells, and caravanserais of the royal roads, concur with the evidence of contemporary travellers in convincing us that those historians had good grounds for their commendation.

The whole continent of India, however, was far from being in a uniform state : vast tracts were still covered with forests, and the mountainous ranges often harboured wild and predatory inhabitants. Even in the best-cleared parts, there were sometimes revolts of subject rajas, as in Bundélcand, during the present reign ; but in that case the disturbance was confined to a district of less extent than the Tyrol, while populous provinces, as large as France or England, were scarcely aware of its existence.

But, after all allowances, the state of the people must have been worse than in an indifferently-governed country in *modern* Europe. On the one side, there are the absence of slavery and polygamy, less personal oppression by the great, and less fear of scarcity and consequent disease ; while on the other there is nothing to oppose but lighter taxation, and freedom from a meddling and complicated system of law and regulation. A fairer object of comparison would be the Roman Empire, under such a prince as Severus : we should there find the same general tranquillity and good government, with similar examples of disturbance and oppression ; the same enjoyment of physical happiness, with the same absence of that spirit which would tend to increase the present felicity, and which might afford some security for its duration beyond the life of the reigning monarch. The institutions, traditions, and opinions which remained from better times must, even in this case, have given a superiority to the European empire.

Sháh Jehán was the most magnificent prince that ever appeared in India. His retinue, his state establishments, his largesses, and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond the excess they had attained to under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be

<sup>19</sup> Mandesloe, for Guzerát : Graaf and Bruton (in Murray's *Asiatic Discoveries*), for

Bengal, Behár, and Orissa ; and Tavernier, for most parts of the empire.

palliated by the fact, that they neither occasioned any increase to his exactions, nor any embarrassment to his finances. The most striking instance of his pomp and prodigality was the construction of the famous peacock throne. It took its name from a peacock with its tail spread (represented in its natural colours in sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and other appropriate jewels), which formed the chief ornament of a mass of diamonds and precious stones that dazzled every beholder. Tavernier, a jeweller by profession, reports, without apparent distrust, the common belief that it cost 160,500,000 livres, nearly six millions and a half sterling.

But his greatest splendour was shown in his buildings. He founded a new city at Delhi, built on a regular plan, and far surpassing the old one in magnificence: three wide streets (one of great length, ornamented by a canal and rows of trees, and composed of houses rising over a line of shops under arcades) led to a spacious esplanade, in the centre of which, and on the Jumna, stood the fortified palace, the spacious courts, marble halls, and golden domes of which have so often been the subject of enthusiastic description. The great mosque of the same city is a work of extraordinary elegance and grandeur.

But of all the structures erected by Sháh Jehán, there is none that bears any comparison with the Táj Mahal at Agrá. The Táj Mahal is a mausoleum of white marble decorated with mosaics, which, for the richness of the material, the chasteness of the design, and the effect, at once brilliant and solemn, is not surpassed by any other edifice, either in Europe or Asia.<sup>19</sup>

The Mahal is a corruption of Mantra, which, the name of Shah Jahan's queen, whose sepulchre it bears. It stands on a marble terrace over the fountain, is flanked at a moderate distance by two minarets, and is surrounded by extensive gardens. The building itself is the temple of white marble with a dome of gold and intricate carvings. In the center of the mausoleum is a tall, slender, ornate minaret, a symbol of the emperor's power and a monument to his legacy.

[illegible]

All these vast undertakings were managed with so much economy that, after defraying the expenses of his great <sup>His economy.</sup> expeditions to Candahár, his wars in Balkh, and other heavy charges, and maintaining a regular army of 200,000 horse, Sháh Jehán left a treasure, which some reckon at near six and some at twenty-four millions sterling, in coin, beside his vast accumulations in wrought gold and silver, and in jewels.<sup>20</sup>

Notwithstanding the unamiable character given of him in his youth, the personal conduct of Sháh Jehán seems to <sup>His personal</sup> have been blameless when on the throne. <sup>character.</sup> His treatment of his people was beneficent and paternal, and his liberal sentiments towards those around him cannot be better shown than by the confidence which (unlike most Eastern princes) he so generously reposed in his sons.

Sháh Jehán had reigned thirty years; he was sixty-seven years old when he was deposed, and seventy-four when he died.

## BOOK XI.

### AURANGZÍB (OR ÁLAMGÍR<sup>1</sup>).

#### CHAPTER I.

FROM 1658 TO 1662.

THOUGH Aurangzíb's main object was the pursuit of Dárá, he did not fail to attend to the motions of Soleimán, who <sup>Soleimán de-</sup> was marching to his father's aid at the time of the <sup>serted by Jei</sup> fatal battle. He was a young man of twenty-five, and <sup>Sing and</sup> was assisted in his command by Rája Jei Sing, and accom- <sup>Dilír Khán.</sup>

probability, to be the workmanship of Italians. It is singular that artists of that nation should receive lessons of taste from the Indians.

<sup>20</sup> Bernier says under 6,000,000*l.* (vol. i. p. 305). Kháfi Khán says 24,000,000*l.*, and he is not likely to exaggerate, for he makes Sháh Jehán's revenue 23,000,000*l.* (only 1,000,000*l.* more than that now collected in the British portion of India); while it is generally reckoned to have been

32,000,000*l.*, and is admitted by Bernier, when depreciating it, to be greater than that of Persia and Turkey put together, (vol. i. p. 303).

<sup>1</sup> Aurangzíb, on his accession, took the title of Álamgir, by which he is designated in Indian history and in all regular documents. Europeans, however, as well as some of his own countrymen, still call him Aurangzíb (properly pronounced Ourangzib.)



the force that threatened him, left Láhór with 3,000 or 4,000 horse, and took the road of Multán on his way to Sind.

*Dará flies from Láhór.*

On this Aurangzib, who had already crossed the Satlaj, altered his course for Multán. Before he reached that city, he heard that Dára had proceeded on his flight, and at the same time received intelligence of the advance of his brother Shujá from Bengal. He therefore gave up his march to the westward, and returned without delay to Delhi.

*Aurangzib returns to Delhi.*

*A.D. 1688, from Sept. 30 to Nov. 21; A.H. 1098, from Moharram 12 to Rabi ul Awwal 4.*

Meanwhile, Shujá had advanced to Benáres, with 25,000 horse and a numerous train of artillery; and Aurangzib, after some stay at Delhi, set out to arrest his progress. They met at Cajwa, halfway between Allahábád and Etáya. Shujá was advantageously posted; and though both drew up their armies, neither was anxious to begin the attack. On the third or fourth day, Aurangzib was forming his line before daybreak, according to his usual practice, when he was surprised by a prodigious uproar that suddenly arose in his rear. This was occasioned by Rája Jeswant Sing, who, though not serving in his camp, had treacherously attacked his baggage.

*Marches against Shujá, who is advancing from Bengal A.D. 1688, Jan. 3; A.H. 1098, Rabi Second 17.*

*Treacherous attack on his baggage by Jeswant Sing.*

The rája had submitted when Dára's case became hopeless: he had not been received with the confidence or distinction he expected, and had entered on a correspondence with Shujá, promising to fall upon the baggage at a particular hour, when the prince's army was also to attack in front. Had the co-operation been complete, it must have been entirely successful; for, although Shujá was not at his post in time, it had nearly occasioned the dispersion of his rival's army. The tumult created by the unexpected onset, combined with the darkness and the ignorance of the cause, spread the greatest confusion among the troops who were forming; some left the field, others flew to protect their baggage, and a few went over to the enemy. In the midst of this perturbation, Aurangzib dismounted and seated himself on a portable throne, from which he issued his directions with a serene and cheerful countenance, sent a party to repel the attack, and took measures for checking the disorder which had already spread so far. In the meantime, Jeswant found that he was not supported; and, expecting to have the whole army turned upon him, was glad to recall his troops from

plunder, and to retire to a place out of reach, where he could await in safety the event of the approaching contest.

By this time the sun had risen, and Shujá was seen advancing to the attack. The battle began by a cannonade, soon followed by a close action: Aurangzib's right was forced back, and his centre, where he was himself, was hard pressed. He was often in imminent danger; and his elephant was charged by another of greater strength, and would have been borne to the ground if the opposite driver had not been shot by one of the king's guards. But he still continued to press upon the enemy's centre, until they at length gave way and fled from the field, leaving 114 pieces of cannon and many elephants to the victor.

Aurangzib sent his son, Prince Mohammed Sultán, in pursuit of Shujá from the field of battle; and some days after despatched a regular army to support the prince, under the command of Mir Jumla, who, having been released from his mock imprisonment, had joined the army a day or two before the engagement, and acted as second in command on that occasion. Having made these dispositions, he returned to Agra.

That city, the most vulnerable point of his possessions, had just been exposed to considerable alarm and danger. Jeswant Sing, as soon as he perceived the victory to incline to his enemies, commenced his retreat towards his own country, and unexpectedly presented himself at Agra before the result of the battle was accurately known. He had it in his power to have made an effort for delivering and restoring Sháh Jehán, and it is probable the popular feeling was already strongly inclined in that direction; for Sháyista Khán, who was governor, had given himself up to despair, and was on the point of swallowing poison.<sup>2</sup> He was relieved by the departure of Jeswant, who, considering how much he might lose by pushing things to extremities, pursued his march, and was soon safe among the hills and sands of Dáulpúr.

Aurangzib, on reaching Agra, despatched a force of 10,000 men in pursuit of him; and about the same time he received a report from Prince Mohammed Sultán that the fort of Allahábad had been given up by Shujá's governor; and that Shujá himself had retired to Bengal.

These successes were more than counterbalanced by the

intelligence he received of the proceedings of Dárá Shukóh. By the last accounts, that prince had deposited his baggage at Bakkar on the Indus; and, being forced by the desertion of his men and the death of his carriage-cattle to relinquish his design on Sind, he had no means of escaping the detachment in pursuit of him, but by endeavouring to cross the desert to Cach. It now appeared that he had made little stay in that district, that he had entered Guzerát, and had been joined by the governor, Sháh Nawáz Khán<sup>3</sup> (one of whose daughters was married to Morád, and another to Aurangzīb himself), and by his powerful assistance had occupied the whole province, including Surat and Baróch. He had opened a negotiation with the kings of the Deckan, but had turned his immediate attention to a march to Hindostan, and a junction with Jeswant Sing. Amidst the surprise occasioned by this rapid change of circumstances, Aurangzīb did not fail to perceive the increased importance of the Rájput prince, whose territories extended from Guzerát to Ajmír; and as he never allowed his passions to interfere with his interests, he forgot the perfidy and outrage with which he had just been treated, and set all his usual arts to work to win over his rebellious dependant. He wrote a complimentary letter with his own hand, conceding the rank and titles, his previous refusal of which was the ground of Jeswant's discontent; and at the same time he called in the aid of Jei Sing, to convince his brother rája of the confidence that might be placed in the king's good-will, and of the ruin that awaited all who joined the hopeless cause of his rival. These arguments and concessions had their weight with Jeswant; and although Dárá had marched from Ahmedábád, and was arrived within fifty miles of Jódipúr, he sent to apprise him that he felt himself unable to contend alone with the power of Aurangzīb, and could not undertake to join him unless some other of the great Rájput princes could be prevailed on to embark in the same cause. After repeated attempts to bring back Jeswant to his former views and promises, Dárá was obliged to renounce all hopes of his assistance, and to move with his own forces into the adjoining province of Ajmír. He had assembled an army of 20,000 men in little more than a month after his arrival in Guzerát, and had left that province with a considerable increase of numbers, and with the addition of thirty or forty guns. With

Dárá Shukóh appears in Guzerát, and is no longer in that province.

He sets out to join Jeswant Sing.

Jeswant Sing is won over by Aurangzīb.

A.D. 1659,  
Feb. 14;  
A.H. 1069,  
Jamádí 1<sup>st</sup>  
Awwal 1.

Abandons Dárá.

<sup>3</sup> [The brother of Sháyista Khán.—ED.]



this force he took up and fortified a commanding position on the hills near Ajmir.

Aurangzib, who marched from Agra as soon as he heard of the proceedings in Guzerât, was now at Jeipûr, and soon arrived in front of Dîrâ's position. After cannonading for three days with loss to his own army, he ordered a general assault. It was obstinately resisted for many hours, till the death of Shâh Nawâz (who fell just as a party of Aurangzib's troops had mounted the rampart) so disheartened Dîrâ, that he fled with precipitation, and his troops dispersed in all directions. Even the body of horse that adhered to his person gradually straggled and fell off, and some even plundered the treasure which he was endeavouring to save from the wreck of his resources.

He reached the neighbourhood of Ahmedâbâd, after eight days' incessant and nights of almost incessant marching, rendered <sup>his march to</sup> Guzerât nearly intolerable by the heat and dust of a scorching season. To this were latterly added the merciless attacks of the Cûlis in the hills, who hung upon his devoted band, and stripped or massacred every man who fell into the rear. It was in the midst of these calamities that Dîrâ was met by the celebrated traveller Bernier, who was on his way to Delhi. Bernier, unconscious of what had just been passing. As Dîrâ's wife was wounded, and he had no physician, he obliged Bernier to turn back with him, and they remained together for three days. On the fourth they were within a march of Ahmedâbâd, where they counted on a secure refuge and on some repose after all their sufferings. They slept that night in a caravanserai, which afforded them protection from the attacks of the Cûlis, but was so confined that Bernier was only separated by a canvas screen from the princesses of Dîrâ's family. About daybreak, when they were preparing for what they thought the last of a year of their distressing marches, news was brought to Dîrâ that the gates of Ahmedâbâd were shut against him, and that if he had any regard for his own safety, he would instantly remove from the neighbourhood. These tidings were first made known to Bernier by the cries and lamentations of the women, and soon after Dîrâ came forth, half-dead with consternation. The bystanders received him with a blank silence, and Bernier could not refrain from tears when he saw him addressing himself to each of them, down to the meanest soldier, conscious that he was deserted by all the world, and distracted with the thoughts of what would become of himself

and his family. Bernier saw him depart with the most melancholy forebodings. He was accompanied by four or five horsemen and two elephants; with these he made his way to Cach, and was there joined by about fifty horse and two hundred matchlockmen, who had accompanied one of his faithful adherents from Guzerát. The chief of Cach, who had been hearty in his cause when he first entered Guzerát, now received him coldly. He pursued his march towards Candahár, and reached the small territory of Jún, or Juín, on the eastern frontier of Sind. The chief of the place, who seems to have been an Afghán, was under great obligations to Dárá, and received him with every demonstration of attachment, while his only thought was how to betray him to his enemies. Dárá's wife (the daughter of his uncle Parvís) died at this place of her fatigues and sufferings; and the prince, with a disregard of circumstances that looks like infatuation, sent a portion of his small escort, with two of his most confidential servants, to attend her remains to Láhór. When the period of mourning permitted, he set out on prosecution of his journey to the Indus. The chief of Jún accompanied him for one march, and then returned on some pretext, leaving his brother and a body of troops, as if to attend the prince to the frontier. No sooner was he gone than his brother fell suddenly on Dárá, made him and his son Sepehr Shukóh prisoners, and sent to all the king's officers to announce his capture.

He flies to-  
wards Sind.

He is be-  
trayed by  
the chief of  
Jún, and de-  
livered up to  
Aurangzib.

The news reached Aurangzib while he was celebrating the first anniversary of his accession. He concealed the intelligence until it was confirmed beyond doubt, when he ordered public rejoicings, and directed the feast of the accession to be prolonged. It had scarcely expired when his prisoners arrived at the capital. Dárá, by special orders, was brought in loaded with chains, on a sorry elephant, without housings, and was thus conducted up the most populous streets of the city. The sight awakened a general feeling of compassion and indignation; and Bernier thought an insurrection so probable, that he went into the street armed, and prepared for any exigency that might arise; but the sympathy of the people was only shown in tears and groans. Dárá was exposed through all the principal places, and then led off to a prison in Old Delhi. The inhabitants were less patient on the next day, when the chief of Jún was recognised on his way to court. A mob imre-

It began  
A.D. 1659,  
June 6;  
A.H. 1069,  
Ramasán 24.

He is  
brought  
to Delhi.  
A.D. 1659,  
July 26;  
A.H. 1069,  
Zí Cádah  
15.

Sympathy of  
the people.



at some distance from Rájmahal. An important event to both parties had taken place before this pause. Prince Sultán had long been discontented with playing the part of a pageant under the authority of Mír Jumla; and his impatience became so ungovernable, that, although he was the eldest son and recognised heir of Aurangzīb, he entered into a correspondence with Shujá, and finally deserted to his camp. Shujá received him with honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage; but, either from disappointed expectations or natural levity of temper, Sultán became as much dissatisfied in his new situation as he had been before; and after taking an active part in the hostilities which recommenced after the rainy season, he again deserted his party, and returned to Mír Jumla's camp.

Prince Sultán goes over to Shujá. A.D. 1686, June; A.H. 1096, Ramezán. Returns to his allegiance. A.D. 1686, Jan. 27; A.H. 1076, Jamádí's Sefat 6;

Aurangzīb, who had at one time determined on a journey to Bengal, had given it up before this news reached him. He showed himself little affected by his son's behaviour; he ordered him to be committed to prison, and kept him in confinement for many years.

and is imprisoned by his father.

From this time Shujá's affairs went progressively to decay. After a series of unsuccessful struggles, he was compelled to retreat to Dacca; and, Mír Jumla continuing to press him with vigour, he quitted his army, fled with a few attendants, and took refuge with the rája of Aracáu. His subsequent story is uncertain. It would appear that the rája took some unfair steps to prevent his leaving Aracáu, and that Shujá entered into a plot with the Mussulmans of the country, to overturn the rája's government: this much is certain, that Shujá and all his family were cut off, and, though there were many rumours regarding them, were never heard of more.

Shujá flies to Aracáu. A.D. 1690, April or May; A.H. 1070, Shábán or Ramezán.

Uncertainty regarding his fate.

His ignorance of Shujá's fate left Aurangzīb in some uneasiness for a time, but that and all his other grounds of anxiety were removed before the end of the next year. He had attempted by means of threats, and afterwards by force, to compel the rája of Sirinagar to give up Soleimán Shukóh. The rája (whether from avarice, or policy, or sense of honour) withstood all his demands, until he had recourse to Jei Sing, his zealous agent in all negotiations with Hindús. By that chief's persuasion, the rája was, at length, induced to make over Soleimán to the imperial officers, and by them he was conveyed to Delhi.<sup>5</sup>

Soleimán given up by the rája of Sirinagar. A.D. 1681, Jan. 3; A.H. 1071, Jamádí'l Awwal 11.

<sup>5</sup> Kháfí Khán.

He was paraded through the city on an elephant, and then brought before the emperor. The chains were taken off his legs, but his hands were still secured in gilded fetters. His appearance affected many of the courtiers to tears. Even Aurangzib put on an appearance of compassion; and when he entreated that, rather than have his strength and reason undermined by drugs<sup>6</sup> (as was thought to be often the fate of captive princes), he might be put to death at once, the emperor addressed him in the mildest accents, and assured him of safety and good treatment.<sup>7</sup> It was not believed that he kept his word for Soleimán, his brother Sepehr Shukóh, and the young son of Morád, all died in Gwáliór within a short space;<sup>8</sup> while the emperor's own son, Sultán, who was confined in the same fort, lived several years, and was partially restored to freedom.

The atrocious murder of Morád, which took place a few months after Soleimán's imprisonment, justifies the worst suspicions. That unfortunate prince had endeavoured to escape, by means of a rope let down from the battlements; but the wailing of a Hindú concubine, of whom he was taking leave, drew the attention of the guard, and led to the discovery of his design. Aurangzib felt that his own security was incomplete while his brother lived; and, as he had not even the shadow of an offence to allege against him, he instigated the son of a man, who had been arbitrarily put to death by the prince while viceroy of Guzerát, to complain of him as a murderer; when, after the ceremony of a trial, and a legal sentence, the unhappy Morád was executed in his prison.<sup>9</sup>

Some time before this period, Aurangzib sent a force against the ríja of Bikanír, who had deserted him in the Deccan, and still held out against him. He was reduced to submission by this expedition.

When the quiet of Bengal had been restored by the successes of Mír Jumla, it seems to have been an object with Aurangzib to find employment for that powerful minister. To that end he engaged him in the conquest of Assám, a rich country lying along the river Brahmaputra, and shut in on both sides by woody mountains. Mír Jumla marched from Dacca up the river, conquered the petty principality of Chóh Behár, overran the plain of Assám, and took

<sup>6</sup> The other parts of the story of Mír Jumla are given by Bernier, who was present at the interview. See *Mémoires de Bernier*, vol. i. p. 101. See also *Journal de Bernier*, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> Bernier. <sup>8</sup> Kháf. Khán. Bernier.

possession of Ghérgong, the capital. He announced his success with great exultation to the emperor, and boasted of his intention of pursuing his conquests, and opening the way to China. Soon after this the rainy season set in; the whole plain was flooded; the cavalry could not march, nor even forage; the natives assembled on all sides, cut off supplies and stragglers, and distressed the camp; and as the rains subsided, a pestilential disorder broke out among the troops; so that when the season opened, Mír Jumla, although he had received reinforcements, was obliged to renounce his magnificent projects, and even required the exertion of his known talents to obtain such contributions and cessions from the rája as might save his honour from the appearance of a defeat. When he had accomplished this object he withdrew his army; but died before he reached Dacca, worn out with the fatigues and sufferings which, though at a very advanced age, he had encountered equally with the humblest soldier.<sup>10</sup> The emperor immediately raised his son, Mohammed Amín, to the high rank and honours which had been possessed by the deceased.

A.D. 1692,  
March 13;  
A.H. 1072,  
Shában 2.

A.D. 1692,  
Jan. 6;  
A.H. 1072,  
Jumáda's  
Sini 6.  
Death of  
Mír Jumla.  
A.D. 1692,  
March 21;  
A.H. 1072,  
Rámasan 2.

The death of this powerful subject seemed to relieve Aurangzib from every ground for jealousy or apprehension: but he had recently received a severe warning of the precarious terms on which he still held his life and empire. Soon after the fifth anniversary of his accession he was seized with a violent illness, which at first threatened immediate death, and afterwards left him in a state of extreme bodily weakness, and almost entirely deprived of the use of speech. This unexpected calamity shook his newly-established government to its foundations. Reports were current that Rája Jeswant was in full march to release Sháh Jehán, and that Mohábat Khán was coming from Cábul with the same intention. The partisans of the deposed monarch began to intrigue at the capital; while two parties were formed among the emperor's own adherents—one anxious to secure the succession to his second son, Moazzim, and the other to raise his third son, Akber,<sup>11</sup> to the throne. These dangers were averted by the constancy and force of mind of Aurangzib himself. On the fifth day of his illness, though scarcely rescued from the jaws of death, he caused

Dangerous  
illness of  
Aurangzib.

Intrigues  
and agitation.

Firmness  
and self-pos-  
session of  
Aurangzib.

<sup>10</sup> Kháfi Kháu. Bernier.

<sup>11</sup> [Or rather Azam.—Ed.]

himself to be raised up, and received the homage of his principal courtiers: and on a subsequent day, when his having a fainting-fit had led to a general report that he was dead, he summoned two or three of the greatest nobles to his bedside, and although not yet recovered from the paralysis which had affected his tongue, he wrote an order, in their presence, to his sister Roushurâra, to send his great seal, which had been entrusted to her, and placed it near himself, that no use might be made of it without his special orders. The respect and admiration inspired by his conduct on these occasions had as much effect in suppressing distulances as the prospect they afforded of his recovery.<sup>12</sup>

As soon as he was able to travel, he set off for Cashmir, where he hoped to regain his strength sooner than at any other place in the plains.<sup>13</sup>

While Aurangzib was seeking repose in the north, a severe war was opening in the Deekan, with which his troops were soon to be fully employed.

The Maratta race, it will be remembered, inhabits the country lying between the range of mountains which stretch along the south of the Nerbudda, parallel to the Vindhya chain, and a line drawn from Gou, on the southeast, through Bihar to Chânda, on the Wardha. That river is the boundary on the east, as the sea is on the west.

The great feature of the country is the range of Saurâ, more commonly called the Ghâts, which runs along the western part of it, thirty or forty miles from the sea; and, though only from 3000 to 5000 feet high, is made very remarkable by its own peculiarities, and by the difference between the tracts which it divides. On the west it rises abruptly, nearly from the level of the sea, and on that side presents an almost insurmountable barrier; but on the east, it supports a table-land 1500 or 2000 feet high, extending eastward, with a gradual slope, far beyond the Maratta limits, to the Bay of Bengal.

The strip of land between the Ghâts and the sea is called the Chhota Ghâts, or general, very rugged. Towards the west are small fertile plains, producing rice; the rest is almost impervious to the rains, and forests, cut by numerous torrents, which discharge, when the sun melts the snow, into muddy creeks, among thickets of mangrove. The summits of the ridge itself are bare rocks; the

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<sup>13</sup> The Maratta race, it will be remembered, inhabits the country lying between the range of mountains which stretch along the south of the Nerbudda, parallel to the Vindhya chain, and a line drawn from Gou, on the southeast, through Bihar to Chânda, on the Wardha. That river is the boundary on the east, as the sea is on the west.

sides are thickly covered with tall trees mixed with underwood. The forest spreads over the contiguous part of the table-land to the east, a tract broken by deep winding valleys and ravines, forming fit haunts for the wild beasts with which the range is peopled. Fifteen or twenty miles from the ridge, the valleys become wide and fertile, and by degrees are lost in open plains, which stretch away to the eastward, covered with cultivation, but bare of trees, and rarely crossed by ranges of moderate hills. The great chain of the Gháts receives the whole fury of the south-west monsoon, the force of which is thus broken before it reaches the plains. For several months the high points are wrapped in clouds, and beaten by rains and tempests. The moisture soon runs off from the upper tracts, but renders the Cóncan damp and insalubrious throughout the year.

The greatest of the inferior branches of hills which run east from the Gháts is that called the range of Chándór, from one of the forts constructed on its summits. It separates the low basin of the Tapti from that of the Godáverí, on the table-land. The basin of the Tapti is composed of Khándésh and Berár, fertile plains, only separated from Guzerát by the forest tract of Baglána, and differing in many respects from the high country, which is more peculiarly that of the Marattas.

The whole of the Gháts and neighbouring mountains often terminate towards the top in a wall of smooth rock, the highest points of which, as well as detached portions on insulated hills, form natural fortresses, where the only labour required is to get access to the level space, which generally lies on the summit. Various princes, at different times, have profited by these positions. They have cut flights of steps or winding roads up the rocks, fortified the entrance with a succession of gateways, and erected towers to command the approaches; and thus studded the whole of the region about the Gháts and their branches with forts, which, but for frequent experience, would be deemed impregnable.

Though the Marattas had never appeared in history as a nation, they had as strongly-marked a character as if Account of the nation. they had always formed a united commonwealth. Though more like to the lower orders in Hindostan than to their southern neighbours in Cánara and Télingána, they could never for a moment be confounded with either.

They are small sturdy men, well made, though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy, and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rájputs, they have



none of their indolence or their want of worldly wisdom. A Rājput warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the result of any contest he is engaged in. A Maratta thinks of nothing *but* the result, and cares little for the means, if he can attain his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person; but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life, or even his interest, for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations; there is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rājput, and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Maratta.

The Rājput is the most worthy antagonist of the Maratta the most formidable enemy; for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them, or supply their place, by stratagem, activity, and perseverance. All this applies chiefly to the soldiery, to whom more bad qualities might fairly be ascribed. The more husbandmen are sober, frugal, and industrious, and, though they have a dash of the national cunning, are neither turbulent nor mischievous.

The chiefs, in those days, were men of families who had for generations filled the old Hindū offices of heads of villages or functionaries of districts; and had often been employed as partisans under the governments of Ahmednagar and Bijapur. They were all Sūdras, of the same cast with their people, though some tried to raise their consequence by claiming an infusion of Rājput blood.

The early Mahometan writers do not seem to have been aware of the existence of the Marattas. We can perceive, by the surnames of some chiefs whom they mention, that they must have belonged to that race; but the word Maratta first occurs in Ferozshāh, in the transactions of the year A.D. 1485, and is not then applied in a general sense. It has been mentioned that, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the king of Bijapur adopted the Maratta language, instead of Persian, for his financial papers; and as he was substituting natives of the Deccan for foreigners in his armies, he enlisted a considerable number of Marattas among them. They were at first chiefly employed in the lowest military capacity, that of garrisoning forts; but, by degrees their aptitude for service as light cavalry was discovered, and they began to obtain military rank under the

governments of Bījápúr and Ahmednagar; while individuals were also engaged in the service of the Kutb Sháh kings of Golcōnda. Still they are very little mentioned by the Mussulman writers, until the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the time of Malik Amber they emerge into notice, and thenceforward occupy a conspicuous part in the history of the Deckan.<sup>16</sup>

Among the officers of Malik Amber was a person named Málojí, of a respectable though not a considerable <sup>Rise of</sup> family, the surname of which was Bósła. He served <sup>the Bósła</sup> family. with a few men mounted on his own horses, and was especially dependent on the protection of Jádu Ráo.

If any Maratta had a claim to Rájput descent, it was the family of Jádu. The name is that of one of the Rájput tribes: it was borne at the first Mahometan invasion by the rája of Deógiri, the greatest prince in the Deckan; and it is not improbable that the protector of Málojí (who was désmukh of a district not far from Deógiri) may have been descended from that stock. Whatever was his origin, Lúkjí Jádu Ráo had attained to a command of 10,000 men under Malik Amber, and was a person of such consequence, that his desertion to Sháh Jehán turned the fate of a war against his former master.

It was long before this defection that Málojí Bósła attended a great Hindú festival at the house of Jádu, accompanied by his son Sháhjí, a boy of five years old. During the merriment natural to such an occasion, Jádu Ráo took young Sháhjí and his own daughter, a girl of three years old, on his knees, and said, laughing, that "they were a fine couple, and ought to be man and wife." To his surprise, Málojí instantly started up, and called on the company to witness that the daughter of Jádu was affianced to his son. It did not require the pride of birth to raise Jádu's indignation at the advantage taken of him, and the consequence was a rupture between him and his dependent. But Málojí was by this time on the road to fortune: he acquired a considerable sum of money, increased his party, and, being an active partisan, rose at last to a command of 5,000 horse in the service of Ahmednagar, and to the possession of a large jágír, of which the chief place was Púna. He had still kept up his son's claim to the daughter of Jádu Ráo, which, in his present prosperity, was no longer looked on as so unreasonable; and Jádu Ráo at last consenting, his daughter

<sup>16</sup> Grant Duff, vol. i. pp. 73—96.

was regularly married to Sháhjî. One of the fruits of this union was Sivaji, the founder of the Maratta empire.<sup>1</sup>

Sháhjî has already been mentioned as a great actor in the last six months' events of the kingdom of Ahmednagar.<sup>2</sup> He then entered the service of Bijápûr, and was continued in his jagir, which had fallen to that state in the partition of the Ahmednagar territory. He was afterwards employed on conquests to the southward, and obtained a much more considerable jagir in the Mysore country, including the towns of Sir and Baggalôr.

As all Maratta chiefs were wholly illiterate, their affairs were secretly managed by Bramins, who formed a numerous class of men of business, even under the Mahometans. A person of that cast, therefore, whose name was Dadaji Cindru, was left in charge of the jagir at Pûna, and to him was committed the care of the chief's second son, Sivaji, the elder accompanying his father to the Mysore. The education of a young Maratta consisted in horsemanship, hunting, and military exercises; and as Pûna is situated at the junction of the hilly country with the plains, Sivaji's principal associates were the soldiery belonging to his father's horse, or the plundering highlanders of the neighbouring Ghâts. From such companions he imbibed an early love of adventure, which was increased by his fondness for listening to the ballads of his country. By the time he was sixteen he began to be beyond the control of Dadaji, by whom he had been admitted to a share in the management of the jagir; and though he was generally popular for his conciliating and easy manners, he was already suspected of sharing in several extensive gang-robberies committed in the Ghâts. These practices and his hunting excursions made him familiar with every path and defile throughout the Ghâts, and he was before well acquainted with their wild inhabitants. Those in the parts of the range north of Pûna were Bheels and Chols, and those to the south Râmdols; but immediately to the west of Pûna were Marattas, who had long braved the dangers and hardships of that uncultivated region, and who were called Mîrwâlis, from the appellation of the valleys where they resided.

It was from among these last that Sivaji chose his earliest adherents; and as he was remarkably quick of observation, he soon perceived a way of employing them to his own objects, to which he had been long agitated with

<sup>1</sup> See page 592. May 1660, &c.

<sup>2</sup> See page 582.

<sup>3</sup> See page 213.

The hill-forts belonging to Bījápūr were generally much neglected: being remote and unhealthy, they were sometimes occupied by a single Mahometan officer, <sup>He surprises a hill-fort.</sup> with a small garrison of ill-paid local troops; at other times they were left in charge of the nearest désmukh, or other revenue officer. Among those in the last predicament was Tórna, a strong fort twenty miles south-west of Púna. Of this place Sivají contrived to get possession,<sup>20</sup> and succeeded, <sup>A.D. 1642.</sup> by a proper application of arguments and money, in convincing the court of Bījápūr that it was better in his hands than in those of the désmukh. But on his afterwards fortifying a neighbouring hill, the attention of the government was seriously drawn to him, and remonstrances were addressed to Sháhjí on his son's proceedings. Sháhjí made the best excuse he could, and wrote in strong terms to Dádají and Sivají to forbid their attempting any further encroachments. The Bramin used all his endeavours to persuade his young chief to attend to these injunctions; but he did not long survive the receipt of them, and Sivají, when freed from his control, pursued his enterprises with more audacity than before. He withheld the revenue of the jágir, which was due to Sháhjí; and as there were two forts within it (Chákan and Súpa), held by officers immediately under his father, he gained over the first and <sup>He usurps his father's jágir.</sup> surprised the second; and being now master within his own jágir, he proceeded to more extensive undertakings. He bribed the Mahometan governor to surrender Condána, or <sup>Obtains possession of several forts.</sup> Singhar, a strong hill-fort near Púna: and, by taking advantage of a dispute between two Bramin brothers, friends of his own, who were contesting the command of the still stronger hill-fort of Purandar, he introduced a body of Máwálís <sup>A.D. 1647.</sup> into the place, and treacherously took possession of it for himself.<sup>21</sup>

As all these acquisitions were made without bloodshed, and without disturbing the neighbouring districts, they called forth no exertion on the part of the king of Bījápūr, who was at this time occupied with conquests to the southward, and with the magnificent buildings which he was erecting at his capital.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 131.

<sup>21</sup> Grant Duff.

<sup>22</sup> "Thus did Sivají obtain possession of the tract between Chacun and the Neera: and the manner in which he established himself, watching and crouching like the wily tiger of his own mountain

valleys, until he had stolen into a situation from whence he could at once spring on his prey, accounts both for the difficulty found in tracing his early rise, and the astonishing rapidity with which he extended his power, when his progress had attracted notice, and longer conceal-

But the time was come when Sivaji's own views required that he should throw off the mask.<sup>7</sup> The signal of open rebellion was the plunder of a convoy of royal treasure in the Cōcan; and before the court recovered its surprise at this outrage, it heard that five of the principal hill-forts in the Ghāts had fallen into the hands of Sivaji. Almost immediately after this, a Brahma officer of his surprised and made prisoner the Mahometan governor of the northern Cōcan; and he not only took possession of Kālīān, where he resided, but occupied the whole of his province, and compelled him to give orders for the surrender of all his forts. Sivaji was transported with this success. He received the governor with respect, and dismissed him with honour. His first care in his conquest was to restore Hindū endowments, and revive old institutions. He had been brought up in a strong Hindū feeling, which perhaps was, at first, as much national as religious; and out of this sprang up a rooted hatred to the Musselmans, and an increasing attachment to his own superstitions. This inclination fell so well in with his policy, that he began to affect peculiar piety, and to lay claim to prophetic dreams, and other manifestations of the favour of the gods.

The court of Bijāpūr, when at length awakened to Sivaji's designs, was still misled by the belief that he was merely stigmatized by his father. They therefore dissimulated their displeasure until they had an opportunity of making Shāhji prisoner. His seizure was effected under pretence of a friendly entertainment, by a chief of the family of Gōrpara, on whom Sivaji afterwards most amply revenge'd his treachery.<sup>8</sup> Shāhji's assurances that he was innocent of his son's transgressions received little credit from the court of Bijāpūr; and, after being allowed a reasonable time to put a stop to the insurrection, he was thrown into a dungeon, and told that the entrance would be built up after a certain period, unless Sivaji should make his submission in the interval. Shāhji was severely alarmed by this threat; but he felt that only one way to submission was not the way to gain safety from so treacherous an enemy. He held out as before, and he overtook the Samudra, whose territories he had not yet subdued from him.<sup>9</sup> The emperor received his

<sup>7</sup> Sivaji's rebellion was first discovered by the capture of a treasure-convoy in the Cōcan, and by the fall of five hill-forts in the Ghāts. The signal of open rebellion was the capture of the Mahometan governor of the northern Cōcan.

<sup>8</sup> Shāhji was captured by a chief of the family of Gōrpara.

<sup>9</sup> Sivaji's territories were not yet subdued from him.

application favourably, took him into his service, and appointed him to the rank of a commander of 5,000. It was probably owing to his powerful interposition that Sháhjī was released from his dungeon, although he remained for four years a prisoner at large in Bījápūr. Tranquillity prevailed during this interval, Sivajī being restrained by fears for his father, and the government of Bījápūr by the apprehension that Sivajī might call in the Moguls.

At the end of that time the disorders in Carnáta rendered Sháhjī's presence necessary to the interests of the government. His own jágír had been overrun, and his eldest son killed; while all the surrounding country was in arms, and threatened the speedy expulsion of the Bījápūr authorities.

No sooner was his father released, and the attention of the Bījápūr government turned to the affairs of Carnáta, than Sivajī began with fresh activity to renew his plans of aggrandisement. The whole of the hilly country south of Púna, from the Gháts inclusive to the Upper Kishna, was in the hands of a Hindú rája, whom Sivajī could never prevail on to join in his rebellion. He now procured his assassination, and profited by the consternation which ensued to seize on his territory. After this atrocity he surprised some hill-forts and built others, and went on extending his authority, until Prince Aurangzib was sent down to the Deckan in 1655. Sivajī at first addressed the prince as a servant of the Mogul government, and obtained a confirmation of his possessions from the imperial authority. But when he found Aurangzib engaged in war with the king of Golcónda, and fancied he saw the prospect of long troubles, he determined to profit by the confusion at the expense of all the combatants, and for the first time invaded the Mogul territories. He surprised the town of Junér, and carried off a large booty; and afterwards attempted the same operation at Ahmednagar, where he met with only partial success. The rapid conquests of Aurangzib disappointed all his hopes; and, during the prince's operations against Bījápūr, he endeavoured, by every sort of excuse and promise, to obtain forgiveness for his rash attack. When the sickness of Sháh Jehán called off Aurangzib to Delhi, Sivajī continued his devotion, and offered his zealous services, provided attention were paid to some claims he pretended to possess within the Mogul territory. The prince readily granted him forgiveness, on his engaging to send a body of horse to the army, but endeavoured

A.D. 1649  
to 1651.

Sháhjī  
released.

Renewal  
of Sivajī's  
encroach-  
ments.

Plunders  
the Mogul  
provinces.

Obtains for-  
giveness  
from Au-  
rangzib.

A.D. 1658.

to reserve the question of his claims for future inquiry : and Sivaji, who was as artful as himself, in like manner suspected the despatch of his horse, and confined his services to promises and professions.

He now renewed his attacks on Bijápúr (where the king had been succeeded by his son, a minor); and the regency, at length aware of the danger of neglecting his advances to power, despatched a large army against him. The commander was Afzal Khán, who to the usual arrogance of a Mahometan noble joined an especial contempt for his present enemy. But that enemy knew well how to turn his presumption to account; he affected to be awed by the reputation of Afzal Khán, and to give up all hopes of resisting his arms. He sent humble offers of submission to the khán, who deputed a Bramin high in his confidence to complete the negotiation. This man Sivaji won over, and by his assistance Afzal Khán was easily persuaded that Sivaji was in a state of great alarm, and was only prevented surrendering by his apprehension of the consequences. During these negotiations Afzal advanced through intricate and woody valleys to the neighbourhood of the hill-fort of Partálghar, where Sivaji was residing; and the Maratta consented to receive his assurances of forgiveness at a personal interview, if the khán would concede so much to his fears as to come unattended for the purpose of meeting him. Afzal Khán on this quitted his army, and went forward with an escort, which he was afterwards persuaded to leave behind, and advance with a single attendant. He was dressed in a turban, muslin robe, and carried a straight sword, more for state than an expectation of being required to use it. During this time Sivaji was seen slowly descending from the fort; he advanced with a timid and hesitating air, unaccompanied by one attendant, and to all appearance entirely unarmed; but under his cotton tunic was a suit of chain-armor, and, besides a concealed dagger, he was armed with sharp hooks of steel, which are fastened on the fingers, but he concealed in the closed hand, and are known by the descriptive name of "tiger's claws." The khán, looking with contempt on the diminutive figure, was engaged, according to perform the usual ceremonies of meeting a tributary at the moment of the audience, Sivaji struck his claws at the feet of his adversary, and, before he could recover from the confusion, instantly slung and dispatched him with his dagger. He then immediately drew his troops from all quarters, and sent parties into the woods round Afzal's army; and, as

signal from the fort, they rushed at once on the Mussulmans, who were reposing in insolent security, and slaughtered and dispersed them almost without resistance.<sup>25</sup> As soon A.D. 1680, October. as the victory was secure, Sivají issued orders to spare the fugitives: vast numbers fell into the hands of the conqueror, after wandering in the woods until subdued by hunger. They were all treated with humanity; many of them who were Marattas entered into Sivají's service, and a chief of that nation, who refused to forfeit his allegiance, was dismissed with presents. During his whole career, Sivají, though he inflicted death and torture to force confessions of concealed treasure, was never personally guilty of any *useless* cruelty.

This victory gave a fresh impulse to Sivají's progress. He overran all the country near the Gháts, and took possession of all the hill-forts; and was going on to complete the Another army sent from Bijá. púr. reduction of the Cóncan, when he was recalled by the march from Bijápúr of an army much more formidable than the first. He threw part of his troops into forts, and employed the rest to cut off the enemy's supplies;<sup>26</sup> but A.D. 1680, May. he allowed himself to be shut up in the almost inaccessible fort of Panála, and would have been compelled to surrender, after a siege of four months, if he had not contrived, with his usual mixture of boldness and dexterity, to quit the place, during a dark night, after he had amused the besiegers with the prospect of a capitulation. His escape was ascribed at Bijápúr to treachery in their general, Sídí Jóhar, an Abyssinian, whose indignation was excited by this calumny, and added to the elements of discord already abundant at Bijápúr.

The king now took the field in person, and brought such a force along with him as Sivají was unable to resist. The king of Bijápúr takes the field. A.D. 1681, January. Recovers most of Sivají's conquests. His operations, during the whole of this invasion, were desultory and ill-directed; and before the end of a year he found himself stripped of almost all his conquests. The king of Bijápúr's affairs now obliged him to turn his attention to Carnáta, where his presence was further required by the revolt of Sídí Jóhar. He was employed in that country for two whole years, during which Sivají A.D. 1682. recovered and increased his territories.

At the end of that time a peace was mediated by Sháhjí; and Sivají remained in possession of a territory including Sivají makes a very favourable upwards of 250 miles of the country on the sea (being

<sup>25</sup> Grant Duff.<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*



peace. Ex-  
territory the part of the Concan between Goa and Kasar-  
while above the Ghâts its length was more than 120  
miles, from the north of Pûna to the south of Mirich, or the  
Kishna. Its breadth, from east to west, was, at the widest  
part, 100 miles. In this small territory the lawless  
and predatory habits of his soldiers enabled him to maintain  
an army of 7,000 horse and 50,000 foot."

## CHAPTER II.

FROM 1662 TO 1681.

It was about this period that Aurangzib was attacked by the  
violent sickness which exposed his life to so much danger. He  
had previously appointed his maternal uncle, Shâyista Khân, to  
the viceroyalty of the Deekan, and that officer was now residing  
at Aurangâbâd.

It does not appear what led to an open rupture between  
Sivaji and the Moguls; but soon after the peace with  
Bijâpûr we find Sivaji's horse ravaging their country  
nearly to Aurangâbâd, and himself taking their forts  
in the neighbourhood of Junêr.

To put an end to these aggressions, Shâyista Khân marched  
from Aurangâbâd, drove Sivaji's army out of the field,  
took the fort of Châkan, and finally took up his quarters  
at Pûna, within twelve miles of Singhar, the hill-fort  
into which Sivaji had retired. At Pûna, Shâyista  
occupied the house in which Sivaji had passed his early  
days; and it was probably the local knowledge thus acquired  
that suggested a plan for chastising the intruder. The khân  
had taken every precaution to guard against the advance of  
Sivaji's troops, and also against the admission of Maratta  
soldiers individually into the town; and in these circumstances,  
and with his troops cantoned around him, he thought himself  
as secure as if he were in a peaceful country. But Sivaji, who  
was well aware of all that was passing, left Singhar one evening  
after dark, and, posting small bodies of infantry on the road to  
support him, went on, with twenty-five Mâwalis to the town.

"Great Deaf."

"See page 614."

"Shâyista Khân, maternal uncle of Aurangzib, and his sister."

"The learned Shah Jehân, whose name was  
the first object in the empire, and of  
the royal blood." Ed.

He gained admission by joining a marriage procession, with the conductor of which he had a previous concert. Being now within the line of guards, he proceeded direct to the house, and entered by a back-door before any person within had a suspicion of danger. So completely was Sháyista Khán surprised, that he had barely time to escape from his bedchamber, and received a blow from a sword which cut off two of his fingers, as he was letting himself down from a window into the court below. His son and most of his attendants were cut to pieces in a moment. Sivají's retreat was as rapid as his attack: he was joined by his parties on the road as he retired, and ascended to Singhar amidst a blaze of torches, which made his triumph visible from every part of the Mogul camp. This exploit, so congenial to the disposition of his countrymen, is the one of all his actions of which the Marattas still speak with the greatest exultation. It was attended with consequences that could scarcely have been foreseen; for Sháyista Khán imputed his danger to treachery on the part of Rája Jeswant Sing, who had not long before been sent to reinforce him; and the dissensions of the leaders crippled the army, until Aurangzib removed Sháyista Khán to the government of Bengal,<sup>3</sup> and sent his son, Prince Móazzim, to command, with the assistance of Jeswant Sing. Before the prince's arrival, Jeswant had withdrawn to Aurangábád, after an attempt to reduce Singhar, and Sivají was preparing to take a full retaliation for the attack he had been exposed to. During his operations in the mountains, his chief force was in his infantry; but the Marattas had been distinguished in the Bījápúr armies for their services as light cavalry, and it was in this shape that Sivají now resolved to employ them. After gaining intelligence of the state of affairs where he was going, and deceiving his enemies by various feigned movements, he suddenly set off with 4,000 horse, and came at once on the rich and defenceless city of Surat, in a part of the country which was thought to be beyond the reach of his arms. He plundered it at leisure for six days; and though beaten off from the English<sup>4</sup> and Dutch factories, where some of the native merchants had also taken refuge, he carried off an ample booty, and lodged it in safety in his fort of Réri, or Ráighar, in the Cóncan.

<sup>3</sup> [Under his government occurred the wars with the English in 1687 and 1688 : see Mill, vol. i. p. 124.—ED.]

<sup>4</sup> [See Mill, vol. i. p. 98.—ED.]

It was soon after this expedition that Sivaji heard of the death of Sháhjí. Although of a great age, he was killed by a fall in hunting. He had restored his jagir to perfect order, and had extended his conquests to the southward (under the name of the king of Bijápúr, until they comprehended the country near Madras and the principality of Tanjore.

Sivaji was now again at war with Bijápúr, and chiefly carried on his operations in the Concan, where he had established his capital at Raighar. He collected a fleet, took many Mogul ships, and on one occasion embarked with a force of 4,000 men, on 87 vessels; and, landing at a remote point in the province of Canara, sacked Barcelór, a wealthy seaport belonging to Bijápúr, and plundering all the adjoining tract, where there was not the slightest apprehension of a visit from such an enemy. Nor did he, during these employments, leave the country quiet above the Gháts: he sent troops to ravage the territory of Bijápúr, and led, in person, a destructive inroad into the Mogul dominions. This injury did not exasperate Aurangzib so much as the capture of some vessels conveying pilgrims to Mecca, and the violation of Surat, which derives a sort of sanctity from being the place of embarkation for those devotees. Sivaji had added another provocation to these offences: soon after his father's death, he had assumed the title of rája, and began to coin money, one of the most decisive marks of independent sovereignty. A large army was therefore sent to the Deccan, at the head of which was Rája Jei Sing, the constant engine in all difficult affairs with Hindús; but the emperor's suspicious temper made him still adhere to the system of divided authority, and Dilír Khán was associated on equal terms in the command. These appointments superseded Jeswant Sing and Prince M'azzim, who returned to Delhi. As Aurangzib anticipated little opposition from Sivaji, Jei Sing had orders, as soon as he should have reduced the Maratta, to employ his arms in the conquest of Bijápúr.

These chiefs crossed the Nerbudda in February, and advanced unopposed to Púna, when Jei Sing undertook the siege of Singhar, and Dilír Khán that of Purnandar. Both places held out; but Sivaji seems himself to have despaired of successful resistance; and he may, perhaps, have

looked to some recompense, for the temporary sacrifice of his pride, in the advantages he might gain by co-operating with the Moguls against Bījápūr. He opened a negotiation with Jei Sing, and after receiving assurances, not only of safety, but of favour, from the emperor, he privately withdrew himself from his own army, and went, with a few attendants, to the rája's camp. He was received with great distinction, and on his part made the humblest professions of fidelity. An agreement was concluded, by which Sivají was to give up twenty out of the thirty-two forts he possessed, together with the territory attached to them. The remaining twelve forts, with their territory and all his other possessions, he was to hold as a *jágír* from the Mogul emperor, in whose service his son Sambají, a boy of five years old, was to receive the rank of a commander of 5,000. In addition to these advantages, Sivají was to be entitled to a sort of percentage on the revenue of each district under Bījápūr; and this grant was the foundation of the ill-defined claims of the Marattas, which afforded them such constant pretexts for encroachment on foreign territories in later times. These terms, except the last (which was not noticed), were distinctly confirmed in a letter from Aurangzīb to Sivají. He co-operates with Jei Sing against Bījápūr. He now joined the imperial army, with 2,000 horse and 8,000 infantry; and the whole body commenced its march on an invasion of Bījápūr.

The Marattas distinguished themselves in this campaign, and Sivají was gratified by two letters from Aurangzīb: one complimenting him on his services, and the other containing great but general promises of advancement, and inviting him to court, with a promise that he should be allowed to Goes to Delhi. return to the Deckan. Won by these attentions, and by the cordiality with which he was treated by Jei Sing, Sivají made over his *jágír* to three of his chief dependants, and set off for Delhi, accompanied by his son Sambají, and escorted by 500 chosen horse and 1,000 *Máwalís*.

Aurangzīb had now an opportunity of uniting Sivají's interests to his own by liberal treatment, and of turning Haughty reception by Aurangzīb. a formidable enemy into a zealous servant, as had been done before with so many other Hindú princes: but his views in politics were as narrow as in religion, and, although he could easily suppress his feelings to gain any immediate advantage, he was incapable of laying aside his prejudices, or making such full and free concessions as might secure permanent attachment. Moreover, he despised as well as disliked Sivají: he felt

the insults offered to his religion and his dignity the more because they came from so ignoble a hand; and he so far mistook the person he had to deal with, as to think he would be most easily managed by making him sensible of his own insignificance.

Accordingly, when Sivaji was about to enter Delhi, an officer of inferior rank was sent, on the emperor's part, along with Rám Sing, the son of Jai Sing, who went out to meet him; and his reception, when he came to court, was conducted in the same spirit. Sivaji performed his obeisance, and presented his offerings in the most respectful manner, and probably intended to have made his way, as usual, by suppleness and humility; but when he found he was received without notice, and placed, undistinguished, among the officers of the third rank,<sup>6</sup> he was unable any longer to control his feelings of shame and indignation; he changed colour, and, stepping back behind the line of courtiers, sank to the ground in a swoon. When he came to himself, he reproached Rám Sing with the breach of his father's promises, and called on the government to take his life, as it had already deprived him of his honour. He then retired, without taking leave, or receiving the honorary dress usual on such occasions.<sup>7</sup> Aurungzib was not prepared for this decided conduct; he ordered Sivaji's motions to be watched, while he professed to wait for a report from Jai Sing as to the promises he had really made to him.

From this time Sivaji's whole thoughts were turned to the means of making his escape, which was soon rendered more difficult by guards being posted round his residence. He applied for leave to send back his escort, with whom he said the climate of Delhi did not agree; and as this arrangement seemed to leave him more than ever in the power of the government, it was willingly agreed to. He next took to his bed on pretence of sickness, gained over some of the Hindú physicians who were allowed to attend him, and by their means established a communication with his friends without. He also made a practice of sending presents of sweetmeats and provisions to be distributed among fakirs and other holy men, Mahometan as well as Hindú, and thus accustomed his guards to the passage of the

<sup>6</sup> The commanders of the army, the station which alone conferred on him his infant son. He was afterwards, the son of Jai Sing, who had, that day, been appointed Jai Singh, the son of Jai Singh, which is the name

marks. There was properly the highest rank in the army, in the decline of the empire, the rank of *Wazir* and *Wazir* was conferred on powerful ministers. — (Ed.) Khan Khan.

large baskets and hampers in which those donations were conveyed. At length, one evening, when he had concerted his measures with those without, he concealed himself in one of the hampers, and his son in another, and was carried out unquestioned through the midst of the sentinels. His bed was occupied by a servant, and a long time elapsed before his escape was suspected. In the meantime he repaired to an obscure spot, where he had a horse posted, mounted it with his son behind him, and made the best of his way to Mattra. At this place were some of his chosen companions, in assumed characters; and he himself put on the dress of a Hindú religious mendicant, shaving off his hair and whiskers, and rubbing over his face with ashes. In this disguise he pursued his journey by the least suspected roads\* to the Deccan, leaving his son at Mattra in charge of a Maratta Bramin.

Sivaji  
escapes  
from con-  
finement.

It must have required much address to elude his pursuers, who had a long time to be prepared for him before he made good his retreat to Ráighar. He reached that place on his return, nine months after his departure from Delhi.<sup>9</sup>

Arrives at  
Ráighar.

A.D. 1666,  
December.

Soon after Sivaji's flight died Sháh Jehán. Though always confined to the citadel of Agra, he had been treated with great respect, and allowed an ample establishment and complete authority within the palace. He carried this control so far as to prevent the removal of Dárá's daughter, whom Aurangzib wished to marry to a son of his own, and also to withhold some valuable crown-jewels which the emperor was anxious to possess: on these subjects several letters of remonstrance and expostulation passed between him and his son.

Death of  
Sháh Jehán.  
A.D. 1666,  
December;  
A.D. 1076,  
Rajab.

This was the most prosperous period of the reign of Aurangzib. Every part of his own dominions was in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity. His governor of Cashmír had just brought Little Tibet under his authority, and his viceroy of Bengal made an acquisition of more real value in the fine country of Chittagong, on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal.

Prosperous  
state of Au-  
rangzib's  
empire.

He had also received marks of respect from most of the neighbouring powers. The sherif of Mecca, and several other princes of Arabia, sent embassies; as did the king of Abyssinia, and

\* [By Allahabad, Benares, Gayá, Catak, and Hyderabad.—ED.]

<sup>9</sup> The English factors at Carwar, in the

Cóncan, write, September 29th: "If it be true that Sivaji has escaped, Aurangzib will quickly hear of him to his sorrow."

the khán of the Uzbeks. The most important came from the king of Persia, and was returned by an embassy of unusual splendour. But this last interchange of missions did not lead to permanent friendship; for some questions of etiquette arose between the monarchs, which led to so much irritation on the part of Sháh Abbás II., that he assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Candahár; and Aurangzib was thinking seriously of moving in person against him, when he heard of the Sháh's death, and the discontinuance of all his preparations.

The only exception to the general prosperity of the empire was the ill-success of its army in the territory of Bījāpūr. Failure of Jai Sing's attack on Bījāpur. Jai Sing's operations in that country had at first gone on to his wish; but as soon as he had formed the siege of the capital, the old plan of defence was adopted against him: the surrounding country was reduced to a desert, and all his supplies were cut off by plundering horse. The king of Golcōnda also secretly assisted his neighbour; and Jai Sing, perceiving that he had no chance of success, retreated, not without loss and difficulty, to Aurangábad. He was removed His death. after this failure, and died on his way to Delhi. Prince Return of Prince Muzzim and Jeswant Sing. Muzzim was sent to replace him, with Jeswant Sing to assist: Dilír Khán, who was unacceptable to the prince as well as to the rája, was left as an additional check on both.

Jai Sing's misfortune was of the utmost importance to Sivají. A.D. 1667. During his struggle and retreat he had withdrawn all A.D. 1667. his troops from the country near the Gháts, had evacuated many forts, and left others with scarcely any garrisons. page 630. Many of these were occupied by Sivají's officers before 1667. he himself reached the Deekan, and his own arrival was speedily followed by still more extensive acquisitions.

The change in the Mogul commanders was yet more to Sivají's advantage. Jeswant Sing had a great ascendancy over Prince Muzzim, and was much better disposed to the Hindús than to the government which he served; and it was, moreover, believed that he was not inaccessible to the influence of money. page 631. By these means combined, Sivají enlisted him on his 1667. side; and, through his and the prince's aid, obtained a peace with Aurangzib on terms exceeding his most sanguine hopes. A considerable portion of territory was restored to him and a new jagír granted to him in Berár. His title of rája was acknowledged, and all his former offences seemed to be buried in oblivion.

Thus delivered from his most powerful enemy, Sivají turned his arms against Bījápúr and Golcónda; and those states, weak within, and threatened by the Moguls, were unwilling to enter on a new contest with their formidable neighbour, and averted the evil by the humiliating expedient of agreeing to an annual tribute.

*Levies  
tribute on  
Bījápúr and  
Golcónda.*

A long period of tranquillity which followed was employed by Sivají in giving a regular form to his government; and none of his military successes raise so high an idea of his talents as the spirit of his domestic administration. Instead of the rules of a captain of banditti, we are surprised to find a system more strict and methodical than that of the Moguls. The army, both horse and foot, was formed into uniform divisions, commanded by a regular chain of officers, from heads of ten, of fifty, etc., etc., up to heads of 5,000, above which there was no authority except that of the general appointed to command a particular army; and these officers were not feudal chiefs, but servants of the government, placed over soldiers mustered and paid by its agents. Both troops and officers received high pay, but were obliged to give up their plunder of every description to the state. The most minute attention to economy pervaded every department of Sivají's service.

*His internal  
arrange-  
ments.  
A.D. 1693  
and 1695,  
A.H. 1073  
and 1075.*

His civil government was equally regular, and very vigorous, both towards its own officers and the heads of villages; and this in checking oppression of the cultivators, no less than frauds against the state. His civil officers were all Bramins, and those of the highest rank were often employed in military commands also.

The real motive of Aurangzíb's concessions was the hope of getting Sivají again into his power, without the expense and damage of a protracted war with him. He pursued his object with his usual patience, enjoining Prince Móazzim and Jeswant Sing to keep up a constant intercourse with Sivají, and let slip no opportunity of making him their prisoner. They were even directed to feign disaffection to his own government, and to show a disposition for a secret and separate alliance with the Marattas.<sup>10</sup> But Sivají turned

*Schemes of  
Aurangzíb  
to entrap  
Sivají.*

<sup>10</sup> Grant Duff. He, however, doubts whether Móazzim ever gave in at all to the emperor's design, and whether he ever attempted to deceive Sivají by a show of disaffection; but it seems probable that he must, to a certain extent, have conformed to his instructions; and

that it was his consequent proceedings that gave rise to the story first told by Catrou (or Manucci), of a mock rebellion of Prince Móazzim, got up by his father's desire, for the double purpose of finding out his secret enemies and of discrediting his son, in case that prince should ever





long as it was regularly paid. Sivajī also equipped a powerful fleet, and renewed his attacks on his old enemies, the Abyssinians of Jinjera, who held a small principality as admirals to the king of Bġápūr. This attack was injudicious; for it led to the Abyssinians placing themselves under the Moguls, and thus increasing the power of Sivajī's only formidable enemy.

The rapidity of Sivajī's progress was owing to the inadequacy of the force under Mōazzim, whom Aurangzīb long refused to reinforce from distrust; and when, at last, he was convinced of the necessity of having more troops in the Deckan, he sent down an army of 40,000 men, under Mohābat Khān, and quite independent of the prince's authority. Nor was he by any means entirely satisfied even with this new commander:

A.D. 1671.  
A.H. 1081.

shortly before his march from Delhi he took offence at some of his proceedings, and ordered one of the ministers to remonstrate with him in private. The arrival of his army was attended with no corresponding result. Mōazzim remained inactive at Aurangābād; and Mohābat Khān, after undertaking some sieges, was obliged to suspend his proceedings by the approach of the rainy season. When he again began operations, Sivajī sent an army to raise a siege in which Mohābat was engaged; and the latter, in an injudicious attempt to cover the siege, exposed a body of 20,000 men to a total defeat by the Marattas.<sup>12</sup> This was the first field-action

Defeat of the  
Moguls in a  
field-action.

A.D. 1672.  
A.H. 1082.

won by Sivajī's troops, and the first instance of success in a fair conflict with the Moguls. It seems to have made a strong impression on the beaten party: they immediately concentrated their forces on Aurangābād, and both Mōazzim and Mohābat were soon after recalled; Khān Jehān, the viceroy of Guzerāt, was sent to take their place; Aurangzīb's exertions were required in another quarter, and the war languished for a period of several years.

Khān Jehān  
made vice-  
roy of the  
Deckan.

Suspension  
of active  
operations in  
the Deckan.

What drew off Aurangzīb's attention was, the increasing importance of a war which had for some time been going on with the north-eastern Afghāns. It was always a matter of difficulty to remain at peace with those tribes; but, as the communication with Cābul and other western countries lay through their lands, it was necessary to find some means of keeping them quiet: and as the tribes

Aurangzīb  
occupied by  
a war with  
the north-  
eastern  
Afghāns.

<sup>12</sup> There are doubts about this battle, which some say was with a detachment of Dilīr Khān's, and others, of Mohābat's.

The obscurity arises from the same cause as the defeat,—the divided command of the Mogul army.

upon the road were also the most open to attack, it was generally managed, between threats and pensions, to retain them in a certain degree of submission to the royal government. The more powerful tribes were let alone, and remained quiet within their own limits. But from the numerous small communities, and the weakness of the internal government even in the large ones, there must often have been acts of aggression by individuals, which required forbearance on the part of the royal officers. As Aurangzib was very jealous of his authority, and as he knew nothing of the structure of society among the Afghāns, it is not unlikely that he suspected the chiefs of countenancing these irregularities underhand; but, from whatever cause it proceeded, he fell out with the whole of the tribes, even including the Yūsufzais. This was the state of things in A.D. 1667, when Amin Khān, the son of the celebrated Mīr Jumla, and the successor to his rank and title, was appointed governor of Cābul, and gained such success as for a time prevented the disturbances increasing, although they never were entirely suspended. But, in A.D. 1670, the Afghāns regained their superiority, defeated Amin Khān in a great battle, and, totally destroyed his army: even his women and children fell into their hands, and were obliged to be redeemed by the payment of a ransom.

The Afghāns, about the same time, set up a king, and coined money in his name.<sup>1</sup>

The emperor at last determined to conduct the war in person. He marched to Hasan Abdāl, and sent on his son, Prince Mohammed Sultān, whom he had now released and intrusted with the command of an army.<sup>2</sup> He probably was prevented going himself by the fear of committing his dignity in a strong country, where great blows could not be struck, and where great reverses might be sustained.

This war occupied Aurangzib for more than two years,<sup>3</sup> and was carried on through his lieutenants after his own return to Delhi, until the increased disturbances in India, and the hopelessness of success, at length over-

<sup>1</sup> The Indian writers seem to consider this prince an Afghan chief, but such an interpretation is entirely inconsistent with the names and pretensions of that people, and although the authority is not a contemporary, I am inclined to believe with the Europeans, that the pretended king was an impostor, who was passed off as a descendant of the Afghāns.

to have taken refuge among them, and whose pretensions to the throne of India would furnish good means of annoying Aurangzib.

<sup>2</sup> The prince had remained in prison since 1660. He did not live long after his release. Ed.

Khaf. Khan.

pelled him to be contented with a very imperfect settlement. But although the contest was of such importance at the time, it had no permanent influence on the history of India; and the events of it, though varied and interesting, may be imagined from those already related under the reign of Akber.<sup>16</sup>

The emperor had scarcely returned from this unsuccessful expedition when an extraordinary insurrection broke out near the capital. A sect of Hindú devotees, called *Satnarámís*, were settled near the town of *Nárnól*: they were principally engaged in trade and agriculture; and, though generally peaceable, carried arms, and were always ready to use them in their own defence. One of their body, having been mobbed and beaten by the comrades of a soldier of the police, with whom he had quarrelled, collected some of his brethren to retaliate on the police. Lives were lost, and the affray increased till several thousand *Satnarámís* were assembled; and the chief authority of the place having taken part against them, they defeated a band of troops, regular and local, which he had got together, and finally took possession of the town of *Nárnól*. An inadequate force sent against them from Delhi was defeated, and served only to add to their reputation; a repetition of the same circumstance raised the wonder of the country, and, joined to their religious character, soon led to a belief that they were possessed of magical powers: swords would not cut nor bullets pierce them, while their enchanted weapons dealt death at every blow. The belief that they were invincible nearly made them so in reality. Many of the *zemíndárs* of the neighbourhood took part with them; no troops could be got to face them; and as they approached Delhi, Aurangzíb ordered his tents to be prepared to take the field, and with his own hand wrote extracts from the *Korán*, to be fastened to the standards as a protection against enchantment. The absolute necessity of resistance, and the exertions of some chiefs, both Mussulman and Hindú, at last prevailed on the royal troops to make a stand, when the insurgents were defeated and dispersed with great loss. But the previous success had tempted many of the

*Bamania, to A.D. 1695, Jannáda's élan, or thereabouts.*

*A.D. 1678, A.D. 1687.*

*Aurangzíb returns to Delhi. Insurrection of the Satnarámi religiousists.*

<sup>16</sup> This war derives additional interest from the picture of it preserved by one of the principal actors. Khúsh Khál, the khán of the tribe of Khatak, was a voluminous author, and has left several poems, written at this time, for the purpose of exciting the national enthusiasm of his

countrymen. They are remarkable for their high and ardent tone, and for their spirit of patriotism and independence, so unlike the usual character of Asiatics. [Some of them have been translated in Capt. Raverty's specimens of Afghán poetry.—Ed.]

Hindû population to take up arms, and had thrown the whole provinces of Ajmir and Agra into such confusion that Aurangzeb thought his own presence necessary to restore order.<sup>17</sup>

These disturbances had irritated his temper, already ruffled by his failure beyond the Indus; and led him, while he was still in Delhi, to take the last step in a long career of bigotry and impolicy, by reviving the jizya or capitation tax on Hindûs.

At the second anniversary of his accession (A.D. 1658), he forbade the solar era, as an invention of fire-worshippers, and directed the Mahometan lunar year to be used on all occasions; and in this resolution he persevered, notwithstanding long-continued remonstrances from his official people, on the disadvantage of a calendar that did not agree with the seasons.<sup>18</sup>

At the same time he appointed a mullah, with a party of horse attached to him, to suppress all drinking and gambling-houses, and to check all ostentatious display of idol-worship.<sup>19</sup> Not long afterwards, he abolished all taxes not expressly authorised by the Mahometan law, and all duties on goods sold at the great Hindû fairs, which he considered as polluted by their original connexion with idolatry. His remissions, as far as they were carried into effect, were productive of great inequality; the unauthorised taxes being chiefly those that fell on bankers, great traders, and other inhabitants of towns, whom the new rule would have left nearly exempt from contribution. The land revenue remained as before; and the customs and road duties, which were by much the most vexations of all, were rather increased than diminished.<sup>20</sup>

But, in fact, the alteration produced a heavy loss to the state, without affording any relief to the subject: except in a few cases, where the exaction was likely to attract notice, the revenue officers and officials confined the remission to their own use, with the government, and levied the taxes without diminution on those under their authority. Some years later he forbade fairs on Hindû festivals altogether; and about the same time he issued an edict against music, dancing, and buffoons, and discharged all the singers and musicians attached to the palace. He likewise forbade astrology, and dismissed the astrologers previously attached to the court. He also discountenanced

<sup>17</sup> Khud Khan.

<sup>18</sup> Khud Khan.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

poets, who used to be honoured and pensioned, and abolished the office and salary of royal poet. It is even distinctly related that he prohibited the composition and recitation of poetry;<sup>21</sup> but this extreme austerity must have been of very short duration, for his own notes and letters are filled with poetical quotations, and sometimes with extemporary verses made by himself. His prohibition of history was more permanent: he not only discontinued the regular annals of the empire, which had before been kept by a royal historiographer, but so effectually put a stop to all record of his transactions, that from the eleventh year of his reign,<sup>22</sup> the course of events can only be traced through the means of letters on business and of notes taken clandestinely<sup>23</sup> by private individuals. A few years later he took off one-half of the customs paid by Mahometans, while he left those of Hindús undiminished. Among other minute reforms, he made further changes in the mode of saluting him; and discontinued his public appearance at the window of his palace, for fear of affording an opportunity for the ceremony of adoration. Though few of these alterations bore directly on the Hindús, they all tended to stir up a scrupulous and captious spirit, and to mark the line between the followers of the two religions which it had been the policy of former monarchs to efface.

His present measures were far more decidedly intolerant: for, although he began with an equitable edict, by which all claims on the government were to be received in the courts, and tried according to the Mahometan law, yet, at the same time, a circular order was sent to all governors and persons in authority to entertain no more Hindús,<sup>24</sup> but to confer all the offices immediately under them on Mahometans only.

It was found quite impracticable to comply with this order; and, in fact, most of the above edicts remained a dead letter, and had no other effect but to excite alarm and disaffection.

But no such laxity appeared in the levy of the *jizya*. The

<sup>21</sup> Kháfí Khán.

<sup>22</sup> [The *Álamgir námah* was written by Muhammad Kázim in the thirty-second year of the emperor's reign; it goes down to the eleventh year, when Aurangzib forbade its continuation.—Ed.]

<sup>23</sup> [The word "clandestine" has a meaning in the text. "Mír Muhammad Háshim composed his history in the latter part of Aurangzib's reign, but, owing to the well-known prohibition of that monarch, he concealed his work, and from

some other causes did not publish it until A.H. 1145. The book was well received on its publication; and, from the circumstance of its having been so long concealed (*Kháfí*), its author received the title of Kháfí Khán." (*Morley's Catalogue*). Besides Kháfí Khán's history, "Sir H. Elliot (*Historians*, p. 6) mentions fifteen works which treat of Aurangzib's reign.—Ed.]

<sup>24</sup> [Nearly all the revenue officers had hitherto been Hindús.—Ed.]

poll-tax so called was imposed, during the early conquests on all infidels who submitted to the Mahometan rule and was the test by which they were distinguished from those who remained in a state of hostility. The revival of it excited the utmost discontent among the Hindûs—those at Delhi and the neighbourhood assembled in crowds and besieged the king's palace with their complaints and clamours. No attention was paid to these remonstrances. On the next Friday, when the king was going in procession to the mosque, he found the streets completely choked by the crowd of suppliants. He waited some time, in hopes that a passage might be opened by fair means; but as the mob continued to hold their ground, he ordered his retinue to force their way through, and many persons were trampled under foot by the horses and elephants. This harsh conduct was successful in striking terror, and the tax was submitted to without further demur.

The effects of these fanatical proceedings were not long in showing themselves. At the beginning of this reign, the Hindûs served the state as zealously as the Mussulmans, and that even when employed against people of their own religion; but their attachment declined as they had experience of the new system; discontent spread among the inhabitants of the emperor's own dominions, the Rājputs began to be disaffected, and every Hindû in the Deccan became at heart a partisan of the Marattas.<sup>6</sup>

These religious animosities were kindled into a flame by an event which took place a few months after the imposition of the jizya. Rāja Jeswant Sing died at Calcut, leaving a widow and two infant sons. The widow immediately set out for India, without leave or passport.

Khaf Khan. The general sentiment of the times is well shown in a letter to Aurangzeb, not merely ascribed to Jeswant Sing, but ascribed to his wife, for it is the voice of a person every way well qualified to speak for the people. Jeswant Sing was serving against the Afghans when the jizya was imposed, and consequently died of the hardship his death is not recorded in any contemporary history. The letter is written at Calcut, and gives the names of the persons to whom it is addressed. It is also signed by Khaf Sing, a name of no importance, well known to the Emperor Shah Jahan, and the Marattas, and to the Rājputs, and to the Mussulmans. The letter is a translation of the work of a Hindû writer, which shows thus very clearly,

ing a sort of manifesto against the government. It is not destitute of ability. It maintains the principles of toleration which are violated by the jizya, recalls the liberality of the former princes of the house of Timur, and contrasts the flourishing state of the empire in their time with that of the present reign, when men of all classes and religions are taxed, the revenue goes to ruin the people oppressed, and yet the treasury empty, the police neglected, the cities insecure, and the forts falling into decay.

A translation of this letter is given in *Asiatic Researches*, p. 252. A Chinese translation, with the Persian, was published by Mr. Weston, in 1803.

and on her being stopped at the Indus, her escort made an attempt to force the guard at Attok, and afterwards did effect their passage by some neglected ford. This violence offered a pretext for Aurangzíb to get the children into his power. He refused them admission into Delhi, and surrounded their encampment with his troops.

But on this occasion the Rájputs united considerable address to their accustomed courage. Their leader, Durgá Dás, <sup>They escape from Delhi.</sup> obtained leave to send off part of the escort with their women and children to their own country: along with this party he despatched the ráni and her infants in disguise, while he substituted two children of the same age for the young princes, and employed one of her female attendants to personate the ráni, all which was rendered more easy by the privacy of the women's apartments. In spite of these precautions, many hours had not elapsed before Aurangzíb's suspicions were awakened, and he sent orders that the ráni and her children should be brought into the citadel. His fears for their actual escape were for the time removed by the obstinacy of the Rájputs, who refused to give up the widow and children of their rája, and declared themselves ready to die in their defence. His attention was now occupied in overcoming their resistance; troops were sent against them, whom they gallantly repulsed. At length, after the loss of the greater part of their number, the supposed ráni and her family were seized, while Durgá Dás and the survivors dispersed for the time, and, again assembling at a distance, retired to their own country. Their protracted defence had given time for the ráni to effect her escape. She arrived in Jódipúr, and her eldest son, Ajit Sing, lived to enjoy a long reign over Márwár, and to be a formidable enemy to Aurangzíb for all the rest of that monarch's life. His identity, however, was long exposed to question; for Aurangzíb, with his usual adroitness, received the supposititious children as the undoubted issue of Rája Jeswant Sing, directed them to be honourably treated, and afterwards employed their pretensions in aid of his attacks on Jódipúr.

This outrage towards the family of one of their body, combined with the imposition of the jizya, disposed the Rájputs <sup>Combina-  
tion of the  
Rájputa.</sup> to unite in their own defence. Rája Rám Sing of Jeipúr, or Ambér, whose family was connected with that of the emperor by so many intermarriages and the distinguished services of several generations, retained his attachment even at the present crisis; but Ráj Sing, rána of Ondipúr or Mówár, entered



heartily into the cause of the children of Jeswant Sing, and at the same time peremptorily refused to agree to the jizya. The whole of the western part of Rájputana being now opposed to him, Aurangzib assembled an army and marched to Ajmir.<sup>a</sup> From that place he sent on detachments to ravage Márwár; and, with his main army, he made so great an impression on the rána, as to induce him to send in overtures of submission. He was allowed, on very favourable terms, a small cession of territory being accepted in lieu of the jizya, and no other sacrifice demanded but a promise not to assist Jódhpúr.

This arrangement concluded, the emperor returned to Delhi, having been absent less than eight months.<sup>b</sup> He scarcely reached his capital, when he learned that the rána had broken the treaty (probably by giving secret assistance to Jódhpúr), and before many months were over he again set out for Ajmir. On this occasion he put forth his utmost strength, and applied all his energy to the speedy suppression of the combination against him. He summoned Prince Móazzim from the Deekan, and Prince Azam from Bengal; and at a later period he ordered the viceroy of Gujarat to invade the Rájput territory from that quarter also. But the principal attack was made by his own army, which was sent under Prince Akber (assisted by Tohattyar Khán) direct to Oudhpúr; while the rána, intimidated by the forces which threatened him on all sides, abandoned his capital, and took refuge in the Aravalli mountains. He was pursued into a retreat by Akber, who left a detachment behind him to ravage the open plains. Prince Móazzim had by this time reached Ujain, and was ordered to adopt the same course; and Prince Azam, on his arrival, was directed against the Jódhpúr territory and the adjoining part of the rána's. Their orders were, to employ part of their troops to cut off all supplies from the fugitives in the hills, and with the rest to lay waste the country, burn and destroy the villages, cut down the fruit-trees, and carry off the women and children, so as to make the enemy feel all the evils of war in their utmost severity.

It is consistent with Aurangzib's character to suppose that even these inhuman orders were dictated by an unfeeling policy alone; but his religious prejudices and a hatred of opposition make it probable that anger and revenge

The emperor  
marches  
against  
them.

A.D. 1679,  
January;  
A.D. 1680,  
Zi-Haj.

Grants  
favourable  
terms to the  
rána of  
Márwár.

The rána  
breaks the  
peace.

A.D. 1680,  
July;  
A.D. 1681,  
Rabi-ul-

orders  
were  
issued.

<sup>a</sup> Kásh. 13.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*

also had an influence even on his calculating temper. Whatever were the motives, the effect was to complete for ever the alienation of the Rájputés. They were afterwards often at peace with Aurangzíb's successors, and they sometimes even furnished their contingents, and professed their allegiance, but their service was yielded with constraint and distrust, very unlike the zealous attachment which formerly made them the prop of the monarchy.

During all this time, the Rájputés kept a body of 25,000 horse, chiefly Ráhtórs of Jódipúr, in the field, with which, aided by their infantry in the hills, they occasioned much distress and some danger to their adversaries : they cut off convoys, attacked detachments, defended favourable positions, and sometimes gained important advantages by surprises and night attacks. But Durgá Dás, who still acted a prominent part in their councils, did not trust to force alone for the deliverance of his country. He endeavoured to open a negotiation with Prince Akber joins the Rájputés with his army.  
Prince Móazzim, and to draw him off from his allegiance by offers to support him in possessing himself

of the crown. These prospects seem for a time to have had some charms even for Móazzim, a prince of mature years, and next in succession to the throne ; but on his rejection of them, they were eagerly embraced by Prince Akber, the youngest of the brothers, who was then only twenty-three, and who in his boyhood had been considered as the chosen heir of his father.<sup>28</sup> He at once entered into Durgá Dás's views ; and although Prince Móazzim warned the emperor of the plots which were going on, yet Aurangzíb was attached to Akber, whose youth, he thought, prevented his being dangerous, and at the same time he entertained the greatest jealousy of Móazzim himself. He therefore set down his information to envy, or some worse motive, and took no step to guard against Akber's infidelity, until he heard that Durgá Dás was encamped beside him, and that he had assumed the title and all the functions of a king. Is proclaimed emperor.  
Tohavvar Khán became his prime minister ; Mojáhid Khán, another great nobleman, also accepted of an office ; and the rest of the army, destitute of a leader, continued submissive to the authority which they had been accustomed to obey. Aurangzíb had sent all his troops on different detachments, and had scarcely one thousand men with him Marches against Aurangzíb.  
at Ajmír, when he heard that Akber was in full march against him. He instantly called in Móazzim, with as many of

<sup>28</sup> Bernier, vol. i. p. 193.

his troops as he could assemble; but they produced nothing more capable of opposing Akber, now at the head of 20,000 <sup>strong</sup> men. Aurangzib's situation seemed hopeless; and, to render it still more desperate, he gave way to his old suspicion of Mōazzim and ordered his guns to be pointed on that prince's division. But he did not lose his penetration, even in this perplexity: conjecturing that the bulk of Akber's army had been surprised into revolt, rather than led to it by any real disaffection, he sent an officer of ability, who was brother to Mōiāhid Khān, with a small body of horse, to get as near as he could to the enemy, and try to open a communication with his brother. Mōiāhid, who had never sincerely united with Akber, took the first opportunity of coming over to his brother. His defection, <sup>of Akber's</sup> example was followed by other chiefs, and the general inclination was so evident, that Tohayyar Khān, when next day sent out with the advanced guard, came forward as if to engage with that opposed to him, and at once passed over to the emperor's side.

It is not clear whether there was a real or affected suspicion that he came over with treacherous intentions, or whether, which is extremely improbable, he really did entertain such designs; but a report was set on foot that he intended to assassinate the emperor, and, on his refusing to give up his arms, force was used, and he was cut down close to the royal pavilion.

Meanwhile, his desertion, and that of so many other men, of every rank, struck the Rājpūts with dismay; and, finding none of themselves left to oppose the whole Mussulman army, they thought it necessary at last to attend to their own safety; only Durgā Dās remaining, with 3,000 horse, to protect Prince Akber on his retreat. That prince was left with scarcely a single Mahometan soldier, and all he could expect from the Rājpūts was to be allowed to share in their privations. He therefore resolved to seek a asylum with the Marattas; and, taking present leave, marched from the hills into Gherāt, a made his way to the

Coast, and arrived in safety, still escorted by Durgā Dās, with 200 Rājpūts.

But the war with Mōwār and Dulpā, though it had not ended, continued its old channel, and undisturbed. The Marattas, who were at war with their savages, the Rājpūts retaliated by sending troops into Mālwa and Berar, at length brought the country to submission from their persecutions, they plundered the country, burnt the Korān, and insulted the mullahs. The chief

sufferer by this system of hostility was the rána of Oudipúr, whose fertile territory lay nearest the Moguls, and was occupied by their troops; while the remote and barren tracts under Jódipúr were less exposed to such an impression. Aurangzíb himself was desirous of putting an end to a struggle which withdrew him from more important affairs; and, by his contrivance, the rána was induced to make overtures, which were immediately and favourably received. The jizya was passed over in silence, the small cession formerly made in lieu of that impost was now given as a penalty for having assisted Akber; but all the other articles were favourable to the rána, whose honour was saved by a clause promising the restoration of Ajit Sing's country to him when he should come of age.<sup>30</sup> This treaty allowed Aurangzíb to draw off his army, without discredit, to the Deckan, where its presence could no longer be dispensed with; but it did little towards the real restoration of tranquillity. The western Rájputés were still in arms; the war with the rána was renewed at no distant period; and the whole of the Rájput states, except Jeipúr and the little principalities towards the east, continued in a state of open hostility till the end of Aurangzíb's reign. The capitals remained in the hands of the Moguls; but, though the dissensions among the Rájputés prevented their making solid acquisitions, they still severely harassed the troops in their own country, and often laid waste the neighbouring provinces.<sup>31</sup>

### CHAPTER III.

FROM 1681 TO 1698.

THE continuance of this warfare did not prevent Aurangzíb from turning all the resources he could command to the settlement of the Deckan, where many changes of moment had taken place, while he was engaged in other quarters. When his forces were first drawn off for the war with the Afgháns (A.D. 1672), Khán Jehán, his general in the Deckan, found himself too weak to prosecute active hostilities against the Marattas; and would probably have been unable to defend

Affairs of  
the Deckan  
resumed.

<sup>30</sup> Orme's *Fragments*, p. 106. Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. i. p. 388.

<sup>31</sup> Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. ii. p. 69, etc. Colonel Tod's account of the transactions subsequent to the treaty is probably rectified from the Mahometan newspapers

(akhbárs) of the day, which he mentions were in his possession. It is certainly quite unlike the Rájput legends; being distinct and consistent, and constantly referring to dates, which coincide with those of events related by other authors.



the government of Bījápūr. Sivajī was therefore now at liberty either to claim it as heir, or to conquer it as an enemy; and his views were particularly directed to it from his having lately been joined by Raghunāth Nārāin, the Bramin who had formerly managed it on the part of Shāhjí, and had afterwards been minister to Véncají until a recent quarrel. This man was useful to Sivajī both from his knowledge and connexions. But as he could not safely set out on so remote an expedition without leaving a friend in his rear, he took advantage of the jealousy of Bījápūr and fears of the Moguls entertained by the king of Golcōnda, and proposed an alliance to him against their common enemies. His overtures being encouraged, he marched <sup>Towards the end of A.D. 1674</sup> for Golcōnda with an army of 30,000 horse and 40,000 infantry. He halted for some time at Golcōnda to make a definite settlement of his alliance; when it was agreed that he was to share with the king whatever conquests he made beyond his father's jágír, and that the king was to supply him with a sum of money and a train of artillery, reserving all his other forces to keep the armies of Bījápūr and the Moguls in check. Having thus secured his rear, Sivajī crossed the Kishna <sup>A.D. 1677, March</sup> at Carnúl, proceeded through Cadapa, and passing <sup>He takes Jinjí,</sup> close to Madras,<sup>3</sup> presented himself before Jinjí (Gingee), 600 miles from his own territories. Jinjí was a strong and important hill-fort belonging to Bījápūr, but was given up in consequence of a previous understanding with the commander. The heavy part of his army, which he had left behind, next laid siege to, and ultimately took, Vellór; while <sup>and Vellór,</sup> Sivajī had a personal interview with his brother, and endeavoured to persuade him to give him a share of their father's possessions. Having failed in this negotiation, he took A'ruí, and <sup>and recovers all his father's jágír in Mysore.</sup> various other forts, and forcibly occupied the whole of Shāhjí's jágír in the Mysore. While thus employed, he heard of the invasion of Golcōnda by the Moguls and the government of Bījápūr; on which he marched off to the north, leaving his conquests in charge of his half-brother Santají, who had joined him on his first arrival. As soon as Sivajī was out of reach, Véncají made an attempt to recover his possessions; and the dispute terminated in a compromise, by which Véncají\* was to retain the jágír, but pay half the revenue to Sivajī, who was to keep to himself the places which *he* had conquered from

\* First week of May, 1677. Wilks' *Mysore*, from the "Madras Records."

[Véncají's son Tukají had two sons, one legitimate named Sahají, the other illegitimate named Pratáp Sing. Their

disputes led to the first interference of the English in the affairs of the Deccan, in 1749: see Mill, iii. 87, Duff's *Mahrattas*, i. 566. Ed.]

Bijâpûr. The king of Golkonda had by this time come to a settlement with the Moguls; and Sivaji, after conquering the districts of Belkiri and Adim on his way, passed on to Raigad, which he reached after an absence of eighteen months.

The invasion of Golkonda was owing to a change in the policy of the Moguls. Khân Dildâr had been formerly governor of the place, and succeeded by Dilir Khân, perhaps the best of Aurangzib's officers. His force was still small, but a considerable portion of his troops were Paties like himself, and he made up for all deficiencies by his own vigour and activity. The king of Bijâpûr was still a minor, and various revolutions had taken place among his ministers and guardians. Dilir formed a union with one of them, and made the above-mentioned attack on Golkonda. The regent of Bijâpûr, who acted with him on that occasion, died soon after; and Dilir, by supporting the claims of an Abyssinian, named Masud, to succeed him, acquired a perfect ascendancy in the councils of Bijâpûr. But Aurangzib, not satisfied with these advantages, sent down Prince Mûazzam, as viceroy, to advance further demands, which Dilir, as general, was to enforce. The execution of this plan, however, Dilir renewed the war with Bijâpûr, and laid siege to the capital. The regent, in despair, had recourse to Sivaji, who, not finding himself strong enough to attack the besieging army, ravaged and laid waste the Mogul territory with more than ordinary severity. He was nearly cut off on his retreat, or rather, from one of those roads; but, almost immediately afterwards, appeared in greater strength than ever, and took several forts from the Moguls. But Dilir Khân still persevered in the siege, and the regent, reduced to extremities, treated Sivaji as an enemy, rather than as assistance. Before it was too late, Sivaji learned of the intelligence that his son, Sambhar, had deserted to the Moguls. This young man, who had received his father's qualities, exerted his courage and genius, in a desperate manner, and then, in order not to violate his alliance with Aurangzib, and to avoid the suspicion of desertion, he wrote to the emperor, and begged him to send him to his father. The embarrassed emperor, who had sent Sambhar as a hostage to Aurangzib, and the king of Bijâpûr, ordered Sambhar to be sent prisoner to the Mogul camp, and Dilir, whose son it was pledged to, was obliged to release him, and allow him to return to his father. Mas-

while the defence of Bijápúr had surpassed expectation : Sivají, as soon as he recovered from his first surprise, had renewed his exertions ; and Dilír Khán, finding his supplies cut off, was obliged to raise the siege. The price of Sivají's alliance <sup>Siege of Bijápúr raised.</sup> was a cession of the territory between the Tumbadra and Kishna, and of all the king's rights over the jágír of Sháhjí. This last acquisition gave him the right, as his successors did the power, of exercising a more effectual control over his brother ; and Véncají's mortification at the change had led him to the thoughts of renouncing worldly affairs ; when all Sivají's designs were cut short by an illness which carried him <sup>Death of Sivají.</sup> off on the 5th of April, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age.

Though the son of a powerful chief, he had begun life as a daring and artful captain of banditti, had ripened into <sup>His character.</sup> a skilful general and an able statesman, and left a character which has never since been equalled or approached by any of his countrymen. The distracted state of the neighbouring countries presented openings by which an inferior leader might have profited ; but it required a genius like his to avail himself as he did of the mistakes of Aurangzib, by kindling a zeal for religion and, through that, a national spirit among the Marattas. It was by these feelings that his government was upheld after it passed into feeble hands, and was kept together, in spite of numerous internal disorders, until it had established its supremacy over the greater part of India. Though a predatory war, such as he conducted, must necessarily inflict extensive misery, his enemies bear witness to his anxiety to mitigate the evils of it by humane regulations, which were strictly enforced. His devotion latterly degenerated into extravagances of superstition and austerity, but seems never to have obscured his talents or soured his temper.\*

When Sambají returned from the Mogul camp, he was again placed in confinement at Panálla, and was there when <sup>Unsuccessful attempt to set aside Sambají.</sup> his father died. This circumstance, and some expressions of uneasiness which had fallen from Sivají regarding the future conduct of his eldest son, offered a pretext for alleging that he designed the succession for the second,

\* [Aurangzib did not attempt to conceal either his own satisfaction at Sivají's death or the merits of the foe. "He was," he said, "a great captain, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom while I have been endeavour-

ing to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has been always increasing." (Orme's *Fragments*.)—ED.]



Rāja Rām, a boy of ten years old. The intrigues of this young prince's mother gained acceptance to the story; and the Bramin ministers, who dreaded Sambaji's violence, and looked with pleasure to a long minority, affected to receive it as authentic, and sent orders for the close arrest of Sambaji, concealing his death till that object should be accomplished.

But Sambaji, who was a prisoner at large within Patana, contrived to get possession of the secret, and announced his own accession to the garrison, who immediately acknowledged his authority. He did not at first venture out of his stronghold, but the public opinion was favourable to his rising; the Bramin ministers fell out among themselves; a force that was sent to besiege him was gained over to his interest, and he at length made his entry into Raighar as undisputed sovereign (June 1680).

His prudence, up to this time, had gone far to remove the popular prejudice entertained against him, but the favourable impression was effaced by his cruelties after his accession. He put the widow of Sivaji to a painful and lingering death; he imprisoned her son Rāja Rām, threw the Bramin ministers who had been most active against him into prison, and beheaded such of his other enemies as were not protected by the sanctity of their class. The same prevalence of passion over policy appeared in his foreign proceedings. Sivaji had always been in a state of hostility with the Abyssinians of Dindaul, and Sambaji had occasionally made great efforts to reduce them. Sambaji's first operations were against these people; and as they were near neighbouring to his capital, he took a personal interest in the war, and for a long time gave up his whole thoughts to subduing them, as if he had no other enemy to contend with in the world. He was not diverted from this pursuit even by the arrival of Prince Akber in his camp (July 1681). He received the prince with honour, and acknowledged him as emperor, yet showed no intention of rendering his protection useful by supporting him against Aurangzeb. The arrival of Akber suggested to the party still secretly opposed to Sambaji, the possibility of obtaining his sanction to the claim of Rāja Rām. Their plot was soon discovered; many of the principal leaders were punished to death by elephants, and the execution of the sentence was one of the chief Bramin ministers, whose eminent services to Sivaji seemed to protect him from capital punishment almost as much as his sacred order.

The dissatisfaction to Sambaji's government produced by these

executions were increased by other causes. He neglected or persecuted his father's ministers; while he threw his own affairs, without reserve, into the hands of Calusha, a Bramin from Hindostan, who had gained his favour by encouraging his vices, as well as by his insinuating manners and superficial accomplishments.

With the aid of this counsellor he eagerly prosecuted his operations against Jinjera (A.D. 1682). He endeavoured to construct a mound to connect the island with the mainland, and he afterwards attempted an assault by means of boats. All his exertions were in vain; and when he was constrained to raise the siege, the Abyssinians increased his mortification by sallying out and plundering his villages. They soon after injured him still more sensibly by entirely defeating his fleet at sea. Exasperated by these affronts, he charged the Europeans settled on the coast with having contributed to produce them: he began hostilities in person against the Portuguese, with whom Sivaji had also been at war, and nearly proceeded to the same extremity with the English, although they had hitherto always been treated as friends. These petty operations were interrupted by attacks from the Moguls, the precursors of the appearance of Aurangzib. Sambaji's chiefs had not been entirely inactive in the Deckan during his own occupation with the Abyssinians; but great relaxation had been introduced into discipline, and it was increased, along with all other disorders, by the habits to which the ríja had given himself up. His whole time was spent in idleness and debauchery; the vast treasures left by Sivaji were soon dissipated; and, although Calusha added to the general disaffection by increasing the land revenue, the income of the state was inadequate to its expenditure. The troops, left long in arrears, appropriated the plunder taken on expeditions to their own use, and degenerated from the comparatively regular bands of Sivaji into the hordes of rapacious and destructive freebooters which they have ever since remained.

By this time Aurangzib had made his treaty with the rána of Ondipúr; and, after leaving a detachment to ravage the Jódipúr territory, moved with the whole force of his empire to the conquest of the Deckan.

It would appear to have been sound policy for Aurangzib to have combined with the kings of Bijápúr and Golcónda in putting down Sambaji, and restoring the tranquillity of the Deckan; but he, perhaps, thought that those monarchs were

*Gives himself up to a favourite, Calusha.*

*Fails at Jinjera.*

*Decline of his affairs in the Deckan.*

*A.D. 1683.*

*Aurangzib arrives in the Deckan.*

*His views.*

more jealous of him than of the Marattas, and would not sincerely unite with him, so that Sambaji would never want a retreat while they had dominions in which to harbour him. It is at least as probable that the acquisition of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda was Aurangzib's primary object, and that he judged the reduction of Sambaji to be a necessary consequence of success in his other more important undertaking. He had seen with pleasure the wars of those kings with each other and with the Marattas, had fomented their internal disorders, and seemed so far blinded as to think that everything that threw the Deccan into confusion must turn to his advantage.

His first advance was to Burhānpūr, where he made a long circuit, halt, as he afterwards did at Aurangābād. He was occupied during those periods on political and financial arrangements; and, by a sort of infatuation, he took this occasion to enforce the strict exaction of the *jizya*, which the common sense of his officers had led them to avoid.

Before he had left Burhānpūr, he sent Prince Azam with a large and considerable force to reduce the hill-forts near to the great junction of the Chandel range with the Ghāts; and Prince Muzzim, with a still larger one, to overrun the country, and penetrate to the south of Sambaji's country, and the hill-forts to the east of that of Bijāpūr. It is as difficult to see any general design in the employment of these armies as to understand the principles on which their operations were conducted. The strong fort of Salūr was given up by previous concert to Prince Azam, and this petty intrigue may have tempted Aurangzib to detach a force to this unconnected point; but to send a large army of cavalry among the rocks and thickets of the Ghāts, where there were no roads, no forage, and no field for the employment of horse, shows a want of judgment that it is quite beyond me to attempt to explain. Muzzim marched the whole length of the Ghāts unopposed; yet by the time he came to the neighbourhood of Ghāt, he had lost almost the whole of his horses and cattle, and even his men began to suffer from scarcity. The pressure was increased by Sambaji, who stopped up the Ghāts, while his cruisers cut off the vessels that were sent with supplies by sea; and Muzzim, though himself a brave warrior, was unable to emerge into the open plain with the remains of his dismounted army. He was obliged to retire to the effects of an unwholesome climate, and

unusual food, and lost a great portion of his men by an epidemic which broke out at Wálwa, near Mirich, on the Kishna, where he encamped for the period of the rains.

When the season opened he was directed to enter the territory of Bijápúr from the south-west, so as to co-operate with Prince Azam, who, after failing in his expedition against the forts, was despatched with a powerful army to invade Bijápúr; while Aurangzíb himself advanced to Ahmednagar, leaving a reserve under Khán Jehán at Aurangábád. Invasion of Bijápúr: A.D. 1685.

This movement gave Sambají an opportunity to retaliate the invasion of his country. He gradually assembled a body of horse in the north of the Cóncan, behind the right flank of Aurangzíb's armies, which from thence moved rapidly along their rear, sacked and burned the great city of Burhánpúr, and then drew off again to the Cóncan, leaving all the country through which it had passed in a blaze. So secret as well as rapid were the movements of this body, that Khán Jehán, marching on a point where he thought to intercept it, found himself entirely off the line of its retreat. Sambají ravages the country in the emperor's rear.

Meanwhile Prince Azam had taken Sólápúr, and was advancing towards Bijápúr; but he found himself unable to cope with the army that was sent out to oppose him, and was compelled to retreat beyond the Bíma; while Móazzim, too weak to attempt any movement by himself, was obliged to wait for reinforcements, by which he was escorted to Ahmednagar with the wreck of his fine army.

After these failures Aurangzíb advanced in person to Sólápúr, and sent on Prince Azam with his army reinforced: although the distance was so short, the Bijápúr troops cut off the prince's supplies, and would have destroyed his army if a large convoy of grain had not been skilfully conducted into his camp by Ghází ud din.<sup>6</sup> The impression he made was still small, until Aurangzíb, at a later period, moved on to the siege in person. Failure of the invasion of Bijápúr. A.D. 1686.

It was in the present stage of the war that the Marattas, seeing the Moguls drawn off to the south, made another bold inroad into the territory in their rear, plundered the city of Baróch, and retreated after ravaging the adjoining part of Guzerát. It is not clear whether Sambají sent out this expedition from motives of his own, or in concert with the Deekan kings. He had about this time entered into a defensive alliance with the king of Golcónda; and on this fact becoming Sambají plunders Baróch.

<sup>6</sup> The ancestor of the present Nizám.

known to Aurangzib, he did not allow his attention to be drawn off to Sambaji, but immediately made it a ground of quarrel with Golconda, and sent an army to invade that kingdom. From his usual distrust of powerful armies and strong <sup>European</sup> commanders, the force he sent was insufficient: and ere long he was constrained to send his son, Prince M'azzim, with a large body of troops, to support the first army, and take the command of the whole. The government of Golconda was in a very different state from the distracted condition of Bijápur. The king, Abûl Hasan, though indolent and voluptuous, was popular; and his government and finances were ably conducted by Madna Pant, a Bramin, to whom he wisely gave his full confidence. But the exclusive employment of this minister was odious to the Mussulmans, and especially to Ibrahim Khán, the commander-in-chief, into whose hands the power would probably have fallen under any different arrangement. When M'azzim drew near, this man deserted to him with the greater part of his army. Madna Pant was murdered in a simultaneous tumult in the city; the king fled to the hill-fort of Golconda, and Henderábid was seized and plundered for three successive days. M'azzim did his best to check this breach of discipline; and it gave the utmost displeasure to the emperor, not so much from humanity, or policy, as on account of the quantity of treasure lost to the crown, which he violently suspected that M'azzim had seized for his own ambitious purposes, as he himself had done on a similar occasion under Sháh Jehán. Having thus effectually crippled the king of Golconda, he granted him peace <sup>1658</sup> for a great pecuniary payment, and turned his whole forces to the reduction of Bijápur.

The army of that monarchy appears at this time to have melted away; for, although the walls of the city are <sup>1659</sup> six miles in circumference, Aurangzib was able to invest it completely, while he employed a portion of his army on a regular attack and breach. So well was the blockade kept up, that by the time the breach was practicable, the town was distressed for provisions; and as the garrison, though small, was composed of Patans, it was found expedient to give them favorable terms: Aurangzib entered the place on a portable throne through the breach. Ibrahim Khán, the king was made prisoner, and Bijápur

<sup>1658</sup> Aurangzib was not content with this conquest, and kept the place under his power three years, when he and his army returned to the city of Delhi, without the loss of having

ceasing to be a capital, was soon reduced to the deserted condition in which it now stands.<sup>8</sup>

capital, and  
destroys the  
monarchy.

No sooner had Bijápúr fallen than Aurangzib determined to break the peace with Golcónda; and the means he employed were as base as the design was perfidious. He drew his army near on pretext of a pilgrimage, and he obtained jewels and gifts of all sorts from the unfortunate king, anxious at any cost to purchase his friendship, or at least his compassion; but during all this interval he was intriguing with the ministers of Golcónda, and debauching the troops; and when his plot was ripe for execution, he published a manifesto denouncing the king as a protector of infidels, and soon after laid siege to his fort. From this moment Abúl Hasan seemed to cast aside his effeminacy; and, though deserted by his troops, he bravely defended Golcónda for seven months, till it also was given up by treachery; and he then bore his misfortunes with a dignity and resignation that has endeared his memory to his subjects and their descendants even to this day.

Aurangzib  
breaks the  
peace with  
Golcónda.

A.D. 1687  
September.  
Takes the  
capital, and  
subverts the  
monarchy.

During this siege, the unsleeping suspicions of Aurangzib were stirred up by some indiscreet communications between Abúl Hasan and Prince Móazzim. The object of this intercourse was to procure the prince's intercession with his father; but to Aurangzib it appeared to afford a confirmation of all his former surmises, and he lost no time in securing Móazzim, who remained in more or less strict confinement for nearly seven years. Móazzim seems never to have given any cause for these alarms. All accounts give him credit for caution and moderation. Bernier says, no slave could be more obedient, or seem more devoid of ambition: he, however, hints that this was rather too like Aurangzib's own conduct in his youth, and perhaps the same reflection may have occurred to the emperor.<sup>9</sup>

Imprisons  
Prince  
Móazzim.

been poisoned by Aurangzib. Mr. Morley (*Catalogue*, p. 78) says that he died in 1699. — Ed.]

"The walls, which are of hewn stone, and very lofty, are to this day entire, and, being surmounted by the cupolas and minarets of public buildings, still present to the spectator, from without, the appearance of a flourishing city; but within, all is solitude, silence, and desolation. The deep moat, the double rampart, and the ruins of the splendid palaces in the citadel, attest the former magnificence of the court. The great mosque is a grand edifice, and the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Sháh, already mentioned, is

remarkable for its elegant and graceful architecture; but the chief feature in the scene is the mausoleum of Mohummud Adil Sháh, the dome of which fills the eye from every point of view; and, though in itself entirely devoid of ornament, its enormous dimensions and austere simplicity invest it with an air of melancholy grandeur, which harmonises with the wreck and desolation that surround it." (Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 340.) One is at a loss, in seeing these ruins, to conjecture how so small a state could have maintained such a capital.

<sup>9</sup> Bernier, vol. i. p. 120.



Prince Akber, disgusted with his manners, and hoping nothing from such an ally, quitted his court and repaired to Persia, where he lived till A.D. 1706. The <sup>Prince Akber goes to Persia.</sup> chiefs exerted themselves individually against the Moguls, notwithstanding the inefficiency of their rája ; but, in spite of their resistance, the open country belonging to the Marattas was gradually taken possession of, and Aurangzíb was preparing for a systematic attack on the forts, when the activity of one of his officers unexpectedly threw his principal enemy into <sup>Sambaji made prisoner.</sup> his hands. Sambaji was enjoying himself, with a small party of attendants, in a favourite pleasure-house, at Sangaméswar in the Cóncan, when intelligence of his unguarded situation was brought to Tokarrab Khán, the Mogul officer at Cólápúr.<sup>11</sup> Though this place is only fifty or sixty miles from Sangaméswar, it is separated from it by the range of Gháts ; and as Tokarrab Khán was only a governor of a district, his neighbourhood (if it could so be called) gave little uneasiness to Sambaji or those about him. Being an active and enterprising soldier, he set off with a small body of troops, and took his measures so well that he reached Sangaméswar before his march was suspected. Sambaji might still have escaped, for, before his house was surrounded, some of his followers ran in with information of the arrival of the Moguls ; but Sambaji was in a state of intoxication, and replied by threatening them with punishment for such insulting intelligence. Soon after, Tokarrab made his appearance ; most of the attendants fled ; Calusha was wounded in endeavouring to save his master ; and both were made prisoners, and sent in triumph to the imperial head-quarters.<sup>12</sup>

They were led through the camp on camels, amidst the din of drums and other noisy instruments, and surrounded by an innumerable multitude who flocked to see their dreaded enemy : and, after being exhibited before Aurangzíb, they were ordered into confinement. Aurangzíb probably intended to spare his prisoner, for a time at least, as an instrument for gaining possession of his forts : but Sambaji, now roused to a sense of his degradation, courted death, and replied to an invitation to become a Mussulman by language so insulting to the emperor, and so impious towards his prophet, than an order was given for

<sup>11</sup> Grant Duff. From a letter in the *Rukn-i-Kardín* (the forty-first in the India House copy), it appears that the plan originated with Aurangzíb himself, and was executed in strict conformity to

his orders. Tokarrab, by that letter, seems to have been besieging Parnála.

<sup>12</sup> Calusha is generally, but erroneously, believed to have betrayed his master.



his immediate execution. The sentence was probably issued on the ground of blasphemy : for it was attended with studied barbarity, very unlike the usual practice of Aurangzib. His eyes were first destroyed with a hot iron, his tongue was cut out, and he was at last beheaded along with his favourite, Gulusha.

Though his person had been despised by the Marattas, his fate was pitied and resented : and the indignation and religious hatred of the nation was raised to a higher pitch than ever.

Strong as was the animosity of the Marattas, their chance of successful resistance appeared to be very small. The overwhelming military force of Aurangzib, his personal reputation, even the pomp and grandeur which surrounded him, and the very name of the Great Mogul, struck them with an awe which they had not experienced in their former wars with his lieutenants. Their weakness became more conspicuous when Aurangzib, remaining himself near Puna, sent a force to lay siege to their capital of Raighar. The principal chiefs had assembled there on the death of Sambaji, had acknowledged his infant son, afterwards called Sahu, as raja, and had nominated his uncle, Raja Ram, to be regent.

They then, after providing the fortress with a garrison and necessary provisions, withdrew with the regent, to be ready for any service that might arise. Raighar held out for several months, until a secret ascent was disclosed to the Moguls by a Mawali chief, whom some personal disgust, even combined with the general dependency, induced to this act of treason. The infant raja was now in the hands of the enemy, and it was resolved that the regent, instead of exposing to risk the last representative of Sivaji, should withdraw to the distant fortress of Jinji in the Carnatic; while his forts in the Deccan were to be put in a good state of defence, and his troops dispersed in their villages, ready to profit by better times. Raja Ram accordingly proceeded with a few followers to Jinji, to disguise through the hostile provinces between him and Jinji. When he reached that place, he proclaimed

It is not the strength of the place, nor the number of the garrison, but the courage of the soldiers, that is the chief reliance in a siege. The Marattas, who were not yet fully recovered from the effects of the late war, were not in a state to resist the Moguls, who were now at the height of their power.

of his own strength, of the courage of his soldiers, and of his own despair when they met off the enemy, which they thought them unable. When such a state of affairs is met, with properly prepared soldiers and stores, it requires all the resources and active courage of the people to make an impression on them.

his arrival, and assumed the title of rája, on the ground of the captivity of his nephew. He was fortunate in an adviser in Prillád, one of the Bramin ministers, who had sufficient talents to gain an ascendancy over the other ministers and chiefs, and judgment to see that it was not desirable, even if it had been practicable, to do more than give a common scope to the general efforts.

*System of  
defence  
adopted by  
the Marattas.*

Without the pervading genius of Sivaji, the Marattas would never have been formed into a nation; but now, when all were animated by one spirit, the nature of the people, and their mode of war, required that it should be left to operate by individual exertions. The plan best adapted to them was, to bend before a blow, to offer nothing tangible for the enemy to attack, and to return to the charge with undiminished vigour whenever it suited them to take the part of assailants. Accordingly, their chiefs who were in possession of lands lost no time in making their submission to the Mogul, and none were louder in professions of zeal and attachment than they; but they almost all kept up a communication with the rebels, allowed their retainers to join them, even sent parties secretly, under their own relations, to share in plundering expeditions, and did more mischief as spies and hollow confederates than they could have done as open enemies. The soldiers also, when they had no efficient government or regular treasury to look to, formed each his own plan for his individual profit. The thirst for plunder was always the strongest passion of the nation, from the first robbers under Sivaji to the most opulent times of the monarchy. Their only word for a victory is, "to plunder the enemy"; and though they readily combine for common objects, yet even then the mass is moved by each man's eagerness for his separate booty. When this spirit was called into activity, it required but a moderate interference on the part of the government to give it a direction that rendered it more formidable than the courage of disciplined armies.

When the Maratta government appeared to have been expelled from the Deckan, Aurangzib despatched Zúlfikár Khán, the son of Assad Khán, who had distinguished himself by the capture of Ráighar, to give it its death-blow by the reduction of Jinjí.<sup>14</sup> Zúlfikár, on his arrival, found

*Zúlfikár  
Khán sent  
to reduce  
Jinjí, 1691.*

<sup>14</sup> [Aurangzib, after the reduction of Bijápúr and Haiderábád, and the taking of Samba, remained to finish some objects which then appeared easily attainable, but afterwards extended in such a chain that

he could not quit the Deckan for the rest of his life. He often lamented the necessity of the relaxation which his absence occasioned in the government of Hindostan, and would frequently say to his confi-

that his force, though considerable, was not sufficient to reduce or even to invest the place. He applied to Aurangzib for reinforcements, and in the meantime employed part of his army in levying contributions on Tanjore<sup>6</sup> and other southern countries. Aurangzib was in no condition to furnish the reinforcements desired. He had sent his son Cāmbakish, with an army, to reduce Wākinkera, a fort not far from Bijāpūr, which though only held by the head of one of the predatory tribes of the Deccan, was strong enough to baffle all his efforts. A still

greater demand for troops was created by the reappearance of the Marattas themselves. No sooner was Rāja Rām settled in Jinji, than he despatched his two most active chiefs, Santaji G. rjara, and Dhanu Jādū, to make a diversion in his own country. Before they arrived some bands of discharged Bijāpūr troops had begun to plunder on their own account; and as soon as these well-known leaders made their appearance, Maratta horsemen issued from every village, and flocked to join their standards. Rām Chander Pant, who was left at Sattāra, in the civil charge of what little territory remained to the Marattas, had assembled some troops within his own districts; and by appealing to the predatory spirit before adverted to, he now called a new and most efficient army at once into existence. His plan was, to confer on every man of influence amongst the soldiery a right to levy the *chhatt*, and other claims on the Maratta government, on all places not in its possession, and to plunder and lay waste every country that refused this tribute. The contributions were to go to the payment of the troops, the booty to the actual captors; and each chief was authorised to impose, for his personal benefit, a new exaction, called *ghas dāna*, or *corn and kary money*. This invitation put every horseman in the country in motion. Most of the principal Maratta names appeared and many for the first time as leaders of independent parties of various strength, which set out to enrich themselves at the expense of the Mogul's subjects; sometimes each acting singly, and sometimes with a concerted concert, and fixed plans for rendezvous and retreat. The chiefs of Santaji and Dhanu, though under the control of these chiefs, acted upon the same system; the Marattas spread in every direction, and the whole Deccan was filled with war and rapine, till it reached confusion.

<sup>6</sup> Tanjore was the V. J. Rajah's capital. See Appendix, p. 57. Ed. 1804. The Marattas were the first to attack the V. J. Rajah's capital. The Marattas, Chattrapati, and the V. J. Rajah, were the first to attack the V. J. Rajah's capital.

It was now that the Mogul and Maratta systems of war were fairly brought into competition, and it soon appeared with which side the advantage lay. The long tranquillity and mild government and manners established by Akber, and the greater mixture with the Hindús, first began to soften the character of the northern conquerors of India. The negligence of Jehángír's reign, and the internal quiet of Sháh Jehán's, were respectively unfavourable to discipline and to military spirit; and by the time we are speaking of, both were very sensibly impaired. The nobles had far advanced towards the sloth and effeminacy for which they have since been noted, and even those who retained their energy were unsuited to active service. They all went into the field in coats of wadding, that would resist a sword, and over that chain or plate armour; and were mounted on large and showy horses, with huge saddles, and ample housings of cloth or velvet, from which many streamers of different-coloured satin, and often pairs of the bushy ox-tails of Tibet, hung down on each side. The horse's neck, and all the harness, were loaded with chains, bells, and ornaments of the precious metals; and as each soldier imitated his superior, as far as his means would admit, they formed a cavalry admirably fitted to prance in a procession, and not ill-adapted to a charge in a pitched battle, but not capable of any long exertion, and still less of any continuance of fatigue and hardship.

*Comparison  
of the Mogul  
and Maratta  
armies.*

To their individual inefficiency was added a total relaxation of discipline. In spite of all Aurangzíb's boasted vigilance, the grossest abuses had crept into the military department. Many officers only kept up half the number of their men, and others filled the ranks with their menials and slaves. Such comrades corrupted the soldiers by their example, and extinguished spirit by degrading the military character. The indulgence and connivance necessary for chiefs so conscious of their own delinquencies completed the ruin of their troops. They could neither be got to keep watch nor to remain alert on picket; and their sluggish habits would have prevented them ever turning out on an emergency, even if the time required to adjust their bulky housings and heavy defensive armour had not put it out of the question.<sup>16</sup>

The emperor's camp-equipage was in all the pomp of peaceful

<sup>16</sup> "The Frenchman praised the high pay, and said the service was diversion; nobody would fight or keep watch, and only forfeited a day's pay when they

failed to do either." (Gemelli Carreri in Churchill's *Collection*, vol. iv. See also the Bondéla Narrative in Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii.)



Moguls in darkness, till they were suddenly assailed on the line of march, and saw the camels and cattle, carrying the grain and stores they were escorting, swept off in a moment. They would then form a compact body, to protect those which were carrying treasure ; but with such a prize before them, the Marattas were irresistible : the party were generally obliged to take post ; the Marattas cut off the communications, and perhaps even the water ; and, at the end of a day or two, the Moguls were obliged to surrender ; the men were stripped of their horses and their valuables, and the chiefs detained for a ransom.

As Aurangzīb drew a great proportion of his recruits and treasures from Hindostan, Santajī and Danajī threw themselves between his army and that country. They intercepted several convoys, defeated more than one detachment, and gained such a superiority that the Moguls began to change their A.D. 1663. contempt for them into fear and dread.

In this state of discouragement, Aurangzīb perceived the necessity of adopting some measure which, if it did not bring the war to an end, might recover his reputation, and restore the spirit of his troops. He resolved on Siege of Jinjī committed to Prince Cāmbakhsh the vigorous prosecution of the operations against Jinjī : he had withdrawn Cāmbakhsh from Wākinkerā, and he now sent that prince with a fresh army to assume the conduct of the siege ; but, according to his usual practice, he appointed Assād Khān, the father of Zūlfikār Khān, to serve with him, and A.D. 1664. committed the real direction of all operations to those noblemen. This arrangement disgusted both parties : the prince was displeased at the little solid authority intrusted to Disgust of Zūlfikār. him, and the others thought it hard that Zūlfikār should be deprived of the dignity of the command and the honour of the victory.<sup>18</sup>

So completely was Zūlfikār led away by his resentment, that he listened to overtures from the Maratta Bramins (ever on the watch to profit by such dissensions) ; and by indecisive operations on his own part, as well as by affording intelligence to the enemy, he enabled them to spin out the siege for no less than three years. He obstructs the siege.

At the end of that time Santajī Górapara resolved on a bold attempt to relieve his rája. Leaving the rest of the Maratta hordes to keep Aurangzīb in occupation, he called in Danajī Jádu, and set off for Jinjī with 20,000 of their best cavalry. He passed rapidly through Santajī Górapara advances to raise the siege. A.D. 1667.

<sup>18</sup> Grant Duff ; Khāfi Khān ; and the Bondéla Narrative in Scott's *Deccan*.

the intervening country, and came on the besieging army with such celerity that, before they could arrange their camp or body for mutual support, his advance had surprised one of their divisions, plundered its tents, and made the commander prisoner; and he himself immediately after defeated a considerable body of troops sent out in haste to oppose him. He then drove in the outposts, destroyed the foragers, and cut off all supplies and intelligence from the camp. He next circulated reports of the emperor's death, which were easily believed in such a moment of calamity; and under favour of that rumour, he made proposals to Cāmbakhsh to support his claim to the throne. Cāmbakhsh, who seems to have apprehended sinister designs on the part of Assad and Zūlikār, gave ear to these communications, while his intercourse with the enemy in like manner alarmed those officers. One night Cāmbakhsh ordered his immediate contingent to get under arms, and the two generals, assuming (whether justly or otherwise) that this was a direct attempt to go over to the Marattas, immediately placed the prince under restraint.<sup>19</sup> This step increased the alarms and dissensions in the army to such a pitch, that they were soon compelled to blow up their cannon, abandon their batteries, and concentrate on one spot, where they entrenched themselves, and were besieged in their turn. At length an agreement was entered into between the parties: the Moguls were to be allowed to withdraw about twenty miles to Vandiwash, and were there to await the further orders of the emperor.

On the first advance of Cāmbakhsh and Assad Khān, Aurang-zebe<sup>20</sup> had moved southward, and cantoned at Gālgala, or Gālgala, the Kishna. In the next year he retired to Birmaher, near Pandarpūr, on the Bina, where he erected a permanent cantonment, and remained for several years. He now made a movement to Bijāpūr, and at the same time sent orders expressing his total disapprobation of the proceedings of his generals. He directed Cāmbakhsh to be sent up to the imperial court, and received him with marked kindness.<sup>21</sup> At the same time he recalled Assad Khān, but, with unaccountable inconsistency, left the sole command of the army to Zūlikār Khān, young though the eldest of his officers, he could not be expected to find the best affected. The war, when renewed,

<sup>19</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 103. <sup>20</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 103.

<sup>21</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 103. <sup>22</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 103.

<sup>23</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 103.

assumed a desultory character. Zulfikār levied contributions at Tanjore; and Santajī totally destroyed a very strong Mogul detachment, under an officer of rank and reputation, near Chitāldrūg in the Mysore: other conflicts took place with various success, in different parts of the country; but the general result must have been favourable to the Moguls, as they were able, in the end, to resume the siege of Jinjī.

Increased  
disaffection  
of Zulfikār.

A.D. 1697.

During the operations in the field, Zulfikār performed the part of a zealous and able officer; but, on recommencing the siege, he renewed his intercourse with the Marattas, and evidently made it his object to protract the fall of the place.<sup>a</sup>

He renews  
the siege,  
but pro-  
tracts the  
operation.

But it was difficult to carry on such practices under a prince of Aurangzīb's penetration; and in the course of the next year, Zulfikār found that he must either take Jinjī or expect to be recalled in disgrace. He performed a last act of friendship in advising Rāja Rām to escape; and then, prosecuting his operations with vigour and in earnest, he before long made himself master of the fortress.

Resentment  
of the em-  
peror.

Jinjī taken,  
A.D. 1698.

## CHAPTER IV.

### FROM 1698 TO THE DEATH OF AURANGZĪB.

THE unexpected recovery of Zulfikār's strength, which had put it in his power to renew the siege, was probably occasioned by dissensions among the Marattas, which now broke into an open quarrel. Danajī Jādu had fallen out with Santajī, and had received the support of the rāja, who was jealous of the renown of the latter chief; and as Santajī was unpopular, in consequence of his attempts to keep up discipline, a party was formed in his own camp, he was compelled to fly, and was at length overtaken and put to death on the spot.\* Before this catastrophe, Rāja Rām had established his residence at Sattāra, and he now

Dissensions  
among the  
Marattas.

Murder of  
Santajī  
Gōrpara.  
Rāja Rām  
takes the  
field in  
person.

<sup>a</sup> All Zulfikār's intrigues with the enemy appear from Maratta MSS. referred to by Captain Grant Duff, and are asserted (probably on similar authority procured at Mysore) by Colonel Wilks. They are unknown to the writers on the Mogul side; but the Bondéla accuses Zulfikār of purposely prolonging the war. His object,

probably, was to retain his large command and important position until the death of the emperor, which his very advanced age made men expect to be of early occurrence.

\* [His grand-nephew was the Murāri Rāo of Gūti, often mentioned in the Carnatic wars of the English.—Ed.]



assumed the active control of the whole government. He took the field himself, at the head of the largest Maratta army that had ever yet been assembled, and, proceeding to the north of the Godâverî, levied the *chout* and other dues on such places as submitted, and ravaged the rest as far as Jâlnâr in Berâr. At this point his progress was checked in consequence <sup>Now part of</sup> of a change in the system of the Moguls. <sup>Amrâvât, a fortress</sup> Hitherto Aurangzib had, for the most part, had his head-quarters <sup>in the empire</sup> at Birmâpûrî, sometimes sending a detachment <sup>of his army</sup> under his son, Prince Azam, to reduce a hill-fort or repel an incursion, but generally trusting the defence of the country to detachments stationed at different parts of it. At present his plan was to bring his whole force into efficiency, by leading one part, in person, against the enemy's forts; while another under Zûlfikâr Khân, nominally commanded by one of his grandsons, should pursue their field armies wherever they might direct their course. Had this plan been earlier adopted, it might have been attended with success; but disturbances had reached too great a height to be put down by any merely military disposition. Although Zûlfikâr Khân began by driving back Râja Râm, as has been mentioned, and during the succeeding years repeatedly defeated the Marattas, and in some degree restored the courage of the Mussulmans, yet he found himself, at the end of that time, in a worse situation than when he began. A defeat to the Marattas was like a blow given to water, which offers no resistance to the stroke and retains no impression of its effect: their army dispersed at the moment, to unite again on the same day or the next. But a defeat to the Moguls was attended with loss and humiliation; and even the partial success did not stop the waste of their resources and embarrassment of the finances of their government, which every day increased their difficulties and undermined their strength.

Aurangzib's personal operations gave a promise of more solid advantages. He quitted his cantonment, to the great regret of his officers, who had erected comfortable dwellings, and founded a sort of city; and, after reducing some other forts, he sat down before Sattârâ. By a device, the Marattas felt he contrived to take that place unopposed, but they nevertheless made a desperate defence, and did not surrender till the siege had lasted several months.

But in 1681 Râja Râm had died, and had been succeeded by his son Sivajî, under the regency of Târâ Bâi, the widow of the deceased and mother of the young rîja.

This event had little effect on the war. Aurangzib went on with his plan, and in the course of the next four or five years <sup>Aurangzib goes on taking forts.</sup> had taken almost all the principal forts possessed by the Marattas. Many of the sieges were long and bloody,<sup>1</sup> and various expedients and stratagems were employed by both parties in the conduct of them; but they were too monotonous to bear description, and the result was as has been stated.

In reviewing these laborious undertakings, it is impossible not to admire the persevering spirit with which Aurangzib bore up against the difficulties and misfortunes that overshadowed his declining years. He was near sixty-five when he crossed the Nerbadda to begin on this long war, and had attained his eighty-first year before he quitted his cantonment at Birmapúri. The fatigues of marches and sieges <sup>Spirit and perseverance of Aurangzib.</sup> were little suited to such an age; and, in spite of the display of luxury in his camp-equipage, he suffered <sup>Difficulties and hardships to which he was exposed.</sup> hardships that would have tried the constitution of a younger man. While he was yet at Birmapúri, a sudden flood of the Bîma overwhelmed his cantonment in the darkness of the night; and during the violence of one of those falls of rain which are only seen in tropical climates, a great portion of the cantonment was swept away, and the rest laid under water: the alarm and confusion increased the evil; 12,000 persons are said to have perished, and horses, camels, and cattle without number. The emperor himself was in danger, the inundation rising over the elevated spot which he occupied, when it was arrested (as his courtiers averred) by the efficacy of his prayers. A similar disaster was produced by the descent of a torrent during the siege of Parli, the fort he took next after Sattára; and, indeed, the storms of that inclement region must have exposed him to many sufferings, during the numerous rainy seasons he spent within it. The impassable streams, the flooded valleys, the miry bottoms, and narrow ways caused still greater difficulties when he was in motion, compelled him to halt where no provisions were to be had, and were so destructive to his cattle as sometimes entirely to cripple his army. The violent heats, in tents and during marches, were distressing at other seasons, and often rendered overpowering by failure of water: general

<sup>1</sup> Aurangzib writes thus of one of them to his son, Prince Azam: "You will have received accounts of the calamities of the siege of Kélna, and of the unheard-of condition and intolerable sufferings of the followers of Islám. Praise be to God that

the afflictions of this devout band have at length been brought to a conclusion!" He then prays for happy results, and ascribes the past disasters to a judgment on his own wickedness and neglect. (Thirty-eighth note of the *Dastúr ul Amí.*)



prevent their feeling the irksomeness of their situation. To similar motives also, though partly to his natural disposition, and courtiers, must be attributed the considerate manner in which he treats his officers, and the sort of court which he appears to pay to all of them : he condoles with their loss of relations, inquires about their illnesses, confers honours in a flattering manner, makes his presents more acceptable by the gracious way in which they are given, and scarcely ever passes a censure without softening it by some obliging expression. His extreme leniency to all offences that do not touch his power or his religious prejudices seems also to have had its source in an unwillingness to make enemies, no less than in the real easiness of his temper. After all, he does not seem to have been successful in winning attachment : and with his sons, he seems at heart to have trusted much more to fear than affection. Though he released Mōazzim after seven years' imprisonment (A.D. 1694), he seems always to have regarded him with dislike and apprehension. He sent him to the remote government of Cābul, constantly resisted his wishes to return, even for a time, and endeavoured to engage him in an expedition which might carry him to the most distant part of his province, and might completely absorb his resources. He at first approved of the seizure of Cāmbakhsh, though afterwards convinced of his innocence : and his behaviour on one occasion to his favourite, Prince Azam, shows at once his policy in the management of his sons, and his innate love of artifice and dissimulation. Having imbibed a suspicion that this prince was meditating independence, he sent for him to court ; and, as the prince made excuses and showed alarm, he offered to meet him slightly attended on a hunting-party. Azam, on this, set out, and Aurangzīb secretly surrounded the place of meeting with chosen troops : as the prince got more and more within his toils, the old emperor found a succession of pretences for requiring him gradually to diminish the number of his attendants, until, when he reached the place where his father was, they were reduced to three persons. As nobody offered to undertake the duty, he was obliged to leave two of his companions to hold his horses ; and he and the remaining attendant were disarmed before they were admitted to the royal presence. On this he gave himself up for lost, and had no doubt that he was doomed to a long or perpetual imprisonment. But when he was introduced to his father, he was received with an affectionate embrace. Aurangzīb, who was prepared for shooting, gave his loaded gun to him to hold, and then led him into a retired

tent, where he showed him a curious family sword, and put it naked into his hand that he might examine it : after which he threw open his vest, on pretence of heat, but in reality to show that he had no hidden armour. After this display of confidence he loaded Azam with presents, and at last said he had better think of retiring, or his people would be alarmed at his detention. This advice was not premature : Azam, on his return, found the whole camp on the point of breaking up, and his women weeping and lamenting his supposed fate. Whether he felt grateful for his easy dismissal does not appear ; but it is recorded that he never after received a letter from his father without turning pale, or recovered his composure until he had satisfied himself of the contents of it.<sup>1</sup>

But all Aurangzib's arts and all his industry were insufficient to resist the increasing disorders of the state, which were now pressed upon him from every quarter. The Rájpúts were still in open hostility : their example had long since been followed by the Játs near Agra : against these last, as at a later period against some insurgents at Multán,<sup>2</sup> it had been necessary to send a force under a prince of the blood. Zuláikar's force began to be exhausted, and the inefficacy of his former exertions became more and more apparent. The Marattas seemed to multiply as the Mogul armies decayed : after restoring the Deekan to a desert, they had spread over Malwa, and made a powerful inroad into Guzerát, leaving their traces everywhere in pillaged towns, ravaged fields, and smoking villages.

The grand army still went on taking forts, but its last success was scarcely less ignominious than a defeat : it was the taking of Wákinkará, which, though only a fortified village, belonging to a chief of banditti, required the presence of the emperor and a siege of several months to subdue it. These acquisitions began at this time to be balanced by corresponding losses. The Marattas were in a condition to attempt the recovery of their strongholds, and the forts, which had cost so many labours to gain, were one by one falling into their possession. As the calls on the grand army increased, its power went on to decline. The troops became more timid than ever : the cattle were neglected, and could not be replaced from the wasted state of the country ; the sows perished from the same reason, and the means of

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Sukh, under Gura Ghemal.

obtaining them from a distance were cut off by the emptiness of the treasury.<sup>5</sup>

Notwithstanding vast remittances from Hindostan, the finances had long since fallen into confusion; and as their state became more painful, Aurangzib withdrew his attention from them.<sup>6</sup> He was irritated by applications for arrears of pay, and used peevishly to answer such demands by saying that he did not want the troops, and if they were not pleased with the service they might quit it.<sup>7</sup> He even disbanded some bodies of horse, with the intention of easing the finances. But regular pay was indispensable to troops situated like his; and when it had been long withheld, they began to break into open mutinies, which were quieted by temporary expedients.<sup>8</sup>

All his difficulties were increased as the Marattas drew closer round the army. At times they plundered up to the very skirts of the camp, intercepted the supplies, carried off the cattle, cut up the foragers, insulted the pickets, and made it impossible for any one to show his head out of the lines without a powerful escort. If any ordinary detachment was sent to check them, they repelled or destroyed it. If a great effort was made, they vanished; and perhaps did not again appear till they had plundered some distant town, and left time for their pursuers to weary themselves by forced marches in a wrong direction.<sup>9</sup> They now treated the power of the emperor with derision. Those in his service mixed and feasted with those opposed to him, and on such occasions they used to mimic the pompous manners and devout ejaculations of the Mussulmans, and to pray with mock solemnity for long life to their best patron, Aurangzib. So low was the emperor reduced, that he was persuaded by Cámbakhsh to authorise overtures to the enemy; and if the negotiations had not been

*Disorder of the finances.*

*Grand army hard pressed by the Marattas.*

<sup>5</sup> ["Contributions were now levied in lieu of regular revenue, and the parties sent to collect supplies committed great excesses. The collectors of the jizya extorted millions from the farmers, and sent only a small part to the treasury. Whenever the emperor appointed a jágirdár, the Marattas appointed another to the same district, so that every place had two masters. The farmers left off cultivating more ground than would barely subsist them, and in their turn became plunderers for want of employment." (*Bondéla Narrative*, p. 108.)—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> Aurangzib's letters, and Kháfí Khán.

<sup>7</sup> Kháfí Khán. The army was for a long time very regularly paid. Gemelli

Carreri, in 1695, says the troops were paid punctually every two months, and would not bear any irregularity.

<sup>8</sup> He writes on one occasion to Zúlfikár Khán, that he is stunned with the clamour of "these infernal foot-soldiers," who are croaking like crows in an invaded rookery. In another letter he reminds him of the wants of the exchequer, and presses him to search for hidden treasures, and to hunt out any that may have fallen into the hands of individuals. Many of his notes dwell on his pecuniary embarrassments.

<sup>9</sup> Bondéla Narrative, in Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii.

broken off, by the exorbitance and insolence of the Marattas : he would probably have agreed to release Sâhib Râja, and grant (in such forms as might save his dignity) an annual payment on the revenue of the Deekan.

Aurangzib's last military operation was a retreat to Ahmednagar, the nature of which may be conceived from the exhausted cattle and dispirited troops. All hurried on in disorder and dejection, deafened with the incessant firing kept up by the marksmen, alarmed by the shouts and charges of the lancers, and every moment expecting a general attack to complete their dispersion and destruction. Such, indeed, was the fate of a portion of the army : and it is a subject of pure exultation to the Mussulman historians, that the emperor himself escaped falling into the hands of the enemies whom he had ever so much despised.<sup>1</sup>

Ahmednagar, from whence, twenty years before, he had marched in so much power and splendour on his conquests, received the remains of his ruined greatness, and was soon to witness the close of his earthly career.

His health had, of late, become gradually impaired : he with difficulty overcame one illness that threatened his life : <sup>1666</sup> and although he continued his public appearance, and his attention to business, his spirit at length began to sink under the accumulated burden of anxiety and disease. On reaching Ahmednagar, he said he had now come to the end of all his journeys : and from his last letters we perceive, at once, the extent of his bodily sufferings, the failure of his hopes in this world, and his dread of that to come. The remembrance of <sup>1666</sup> Shah Jehân seemed to haunt him more than ever : he nowhere expresses remorse for his share in that monarch's fate, but he shows by all his actions how much he fears that a like measure may be meted out to him.

Prince Mîrâzîm having proposed some arrangements which common prudence required at such a crisis, he inter-<sup>1667</sup>jects them into a design to seize on the government while he was yet alive. When a letter from Prince Azam was read to him, entreating permission to come to Ahmednagar, on the ground that the air of Gherât was ruining his health, he abruptly remarked, "That is exactly the pretext I used to Shah Jehân on his illness," and added, that "no air was so unwholesome as the stinks of ambition,"<sup>2</sup> and although afterwards

prevailed on by Azam's importunity to allow him to pay him a visit on his way to his new government of Málwa,<sup>11</sup> yet one of the last exertions of his authority was to compel the prince to proceed on his journey, and to prevent his finding any excuse for remaining about the court. He had just before sent off Cábakhsh to Bijápúr, but this seems rather to have been done to gratify Azam than from any apprehensions of his own.

These measures had not long been completed before he became sensible that his end was approaching. In this awful moment he wrote, or dictated, a letter to Prince Azam, in which his worldly counsels and his adieus are mixed with broken sentences, giving utterance to the feelings of remorse and terror with which his soul was agitated, and which he closes with a sort of desperate resignation,—“Come what come may, I have launched my vessel on the waves.” . . . “Farewell! farewell! farewell!”

His alarms at the approach of death.

He also wrote to his youngest, and latterly his favourite, son Cábakhsh. His letter, as to a much younger man, is more one of advice and admonition than that to Azam. It shows that he retained his favourite habits to the last. “Your courtiers,” he says, “*however deceitful*, must not be ill-treated: it is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art,” etc. Even in this letter, his sense of his own situation breaks out from time to time. “Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity.” . . . “I have committed numerous crimes, and I know not with what punishments I may be seized.” . . . “The agonies of death come upon me fast.” . . . “I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you.”<sup>12</sup> It must have been about the same time that he drew up a sort of will, which was found under his pillow on his death. He there recommends that Mázẓim should be recognised as emperor, and that he and Azam should divide the empire: one taking the northern and eastern provinces, with Delhi for his capital; and the other Agra, with all the country to the south and south-west of it, including all the Deckan, except the kingdoms of Golcónda and Bijápúr. These last were assigned to Cábakhsh.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> [“Guzerát had at the same time been given to his eldest son, Bidár Bakht.” (*Iradat Khán.*)—Ed.]

<sup>12</sup> I have taken the translation in Scott's *Deckan*, vol. ii. page 8, of the Memoirs, though the original of it must have differed in some slight particulars from the Persian copy at the India House.

<sup>13</sup> He left another will, seemingly prepared when under less agitation. It con-

tains some general maxims of government, and instructions about his funeral; the expense of which was to be defrayed by a sum of four rupees and a half (about ten shillings), saved from the price of caps which he had made and sold. Eight hundred and five rupees, which he had gained by copying Koráns, was to be given to the poor. (See *Asiatic Register* for 1801.)





often expresses his contempt for the assumed sanctity of fakirs and dervises.

His government is a system of continual mistrust : every man's character is secretly investigated, and colleagues are so selected that each may be a check on his neighbour ; yet there never was a prince so much cheated or so ill-served.

The coldness of his heart is conspicuous in the manner in which he receives the accounts of the death of his oldest and most intimate friends. In so long a life such events often occur, and they always draw forth some pious or philosophical reflection, followed up by strict orders to seize on the property of the deceased, to see that none is embezzled, to hunt out all deposits, and to be careful in recovering all outstanding debts.

His letters almost invariably include some poetical quotation, or some verse from the Korán. They are sometimes His letters. familiar, and even jocose, especially those to his sons. One, written after he was eighty, ends with some burlesque verses, of two or three words long, each of which gives a ludicrous description of the present occupations of some one of the principal people about his court.<sup>16</sup>

Gemelli Carreri, who saw Aurangzīb in the seventy-eighth year of his age, describes him as of low stature, slender, and stooping with age, with a long nose and a round beard, the whiteness of which was more visible on his olive skin. He was dressed in plain white muslin, with one emerald of great size in his turban. He stood amidst his omrahs, leaning on a staff ; received petitions, read them without spectacles, endorsed them with his own hand, " and, by his cheerful smiling countenance, seemed to be pleased with the employment."<sup>17</sup>

Of all the kings of India, Aurangzīb is the most admired among the Mussulmans. There are few who are quite blind to the lustre of Akber's character, but fewer still whose deliberate judgment would not give the preference to Aurangzīb.

There are some unconnected events which should not be entirely omitted in an account of this reign. Miscellaneous transactions.

<sup>16</sup> There are three collections of his letters :—First, the " Kalāmāt i Taibāt," published by one of his chief secretaries, Enāyat Ullah ; second, the " Rakāim i Karāim," by the son of another secretary ; and third, the " Dastūr ul Aml Agāhī," collected from all quarters thirty-eight years after his death. The two first collections profess to be merely the rough

drafts or notes which he wrote with his own hand for his secretaries. Most of the third collection have the same appearance. They are without dates or order, and are often obscure, from their brevity, and our ignorance of the subjects alluded to.

<sup>17</sup> Gemelli Carreri, in *Churchill*, vol. iv

The insurrection of the Jāts has been mentioned; they are a Hindū people of the Sūdra class, who inhabit a tract east of Agra of which the capital is Bhartpūr. Though in an open country, and close to Agra and Mattra, they occasioned much disturbance to the government even during this reign; and the consequence in those that followed, that at the time they were in possession of Agra, and were the last power in the plains of India that have offered any serious obstacle to the British power.

In the thirty-eighth year of the king's reign, A.D. 1699, a ship bound from Surat to Mecca with pilgrims, which Khāfi Khān describes as carrying 80 guns,\* and furnished with 4000 muskets, was attacked by an English ship of small size. A gun-boat on board the king's ship; the English boarded, and, "although the Christians have no courage at the sword, yet by bad management the vessel was taken."

On this Aurangzib ordered the English factors at his port to be seized, and directed the Abyssinians to take Bombay.

The English retaliated by seizing the king's officers, and the Abyssinians, who (by Khāfi Khān's account) were on a friendly footing with them, showed no inclination to break it off. At length Khāfi Khān himself was sent on a mission from the viceroy of Guzerāt to Bombay. He describes his reception as being conducted with great dignity and good order, and with a considerable display of military power. He negotiated with elderly gentlemen in rich clothes, and, although they sometimes laughed more heartily than became so grave an occasion, yet he seems to have been favourably impressed with their acuteness and intelligence. The English alleged, apparently with truth, that the king's ship had been taken by pirates, for whom they were not answerable; and explained their coming money in their own king's name (which was another complaint against them, by stating that they had to purchase investments at places where the Mogul's money did not pass.

Nothing is stated to have been settled on this occasion. It appears from other sources, that the English compounded for some pecuniary payments.<sup>†</sup>

It is curious that Khāfi Khān (though in this case he relates a transaction of small moment in which he was personally engaged) takes no notice of the war made on Aurangzib by the

\* The number of guns is not exactly stated, but it is said to have been 80. See Grant Duff's *History of India*, vol. i. p. 107.

† Grant Duff. See Macpherson's *History of India*, vol. i. p. 107.

English on both sides of India, which was of so much consequence in the history of the East India Company.<sup>20</sup> He did not foresee the future importance of those unskilful antagonists.

## BOOK XII.

### SUCCESSORS OF AURANGZÍB.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### TO THE ACCESSION OF MOHAMMED SHÁH.

##### *Bahádur Sháh.*

As soon as Prince Azam heard of his father's death, he returned to camp, and within a week was proclaimed sovereign of all India, in perfect disregard of the late emperor's will.

Contest between Prince Azam and his elder brother, Prince Móazzim.

Prince Móazzim, with better reason, assumed the crown at Cábul, with the title of Bahádur Sháh; \* and both brothers prepared to assert their pretensions by force of arms. In spite of the exhausted state of the empire, they assembled very large armies, and met at length not far to the south of Agra. A bloody battle ensued, in which Prince Azam and his two grown-up sons were killed, and his youngest son, an infant, was taken prisoner. Prince Azam had disgusted many of his principal officers by his arrogance: among others, Assad Khán and his son, Zúlfikár Khán, had quitted his camp, and remained spectators of the contest. When the event was known, they sent their submission to the victor. Bahádur Sháh received them graciously, and promoted them to the highest honours in the state. He showed like indulgence towards the other adherents of Azam Sháh; but his confidence was chiefly reposed in Moním Khán, who had been his own principal officer at Cábul, and was now appointed vazír. Moním was an equally able and well-intentioned minister; and as the king's only fault was too great facility of temper, his accession was welcomed by the great body of his subjects, who looked to some relief from the religious austerity of Aurangzíb, and the sacrifices entailed on them by his obstinate wars.

Victory of Móazzim, henceforward Bahádur Sháh.  
A.D. 1707,  
June;  
A.H. 1119.  
Rabí ul awwal.

<sup>20</sup> [See Mill's *History*, book i. ch. 5.  
—Ed.]

\* [He is also called Sháh Alam I.—Ed.]

Prince Cāmbakhsh, though a vain and violent young man, had admitted the sovereignty of Prince Azam, and had been confirmed in his appanage; but he refused to acknowledge Bahādur Shāh, and that king, after attempting in vain to win him over by conferences, marched against him to the Deccan, and defeated him in a battle near Heiderābād, where Cāmbakhsh died of his wounds on the same day.

The emperor's presence in the Deccan made it necessary to consider what course should be adopted towards the Marattas. It was easier at this time to effect an accommodation with them than could have been expected from the state of affairs at Aurangzib's death. At that period Sāho, the rightful rāja, was still a prisoner in the hands of the Moguls, and the government was carried on by Tārā Bāi, the widow of his uncle Rājā Rām, in the name of her infant son. But though the necessity of having an efficient chief had induced the Marattas to place Rājā Rām on their throne after the taking of Rāighar, they had not forgotten the hereditary claim of his nephew, and were not pleased to see him again excluded without the same motive as before. With a view to profit by these contending claims, Prince Azam, on his march against Bahādur Shāh, released Sāho, who was now grown up, and promised him peace on favourable terms if he should succeed in establishing his title. This plan was adopted at the suggestion of Zūltikār Khān, and completely answered its end. The Maratta chiefs took different sides; and, instead of overwhelming their enemies, who seemed incapable of further resistance, they fell into civil war among themselves, and left the Moguls undisturbed at the moment of their greatest weakness. When Bahādur Shāh turned his attention to the Marattas, Sāho seemed likely to prevail in the contest; and Zūltikār, who was now in great favour, was anxious that peace should be concluded with him, at the price of the concessions formerly offered by Aurangzib. But Moe'in Khān, the vazir, though willing to agree with the terms, wished them to be granted to Tārā Bāi, and the whole negotiation fell to the ground.

On Bahādur's departure he gave the viceroyalty of the Deccan to Zūltikār; and as that chief could not be spared long from court, he left the administration of the government to Dāūd Khān Pannī, a Pātan officer already distinguished in Aurangzib's wars, who was to act as his lieutenant.

Dáúd followed up the view of his principal, and concluded a personal agreement with Sáho, consenting that the *chout* (or fourth) should be paid while he remained in office, but stipulating that it should be collected by agents of his own, without the interference of the Marattas. Makes a truce with the Marattas.

This arrangement kept the Deckan quiet till the end of the present reign, and allowed Bahádur to turn his thoughts to other scenes, where his exertions were scarcely less required. Transactions with the Rájputs. While he was on his march against Cámbakhsh, he had endeavoured to make a settlement of his disputes with the Rájputs. He had entered into a treaty with the rána of Ondipúr, restoring all conquests, re-establishing religious affairs on the footing on which they stood in Akber's time, releasing the rána from the obligation to furnish a contingent in the Deckan, and, in fact, acknowledging his entire independence in everything but the name.<sup>1</sup> He had concluded a treaty, apparently on similar terms, with Ajit Sing, the rája of Márwár, except that, in the latter case, the service of the contingent was still retained. On Jei Sing, the rája of Jeipúr (who, though he had never asserted his independence, had joined with Prince Azam in the late civil war), he had imposed more rigorous terms. He had left a garrison in his capital; and, although he allowed him to command the Jeipúr contingent with the army, he seems to have deprived him of all authority in his own principality. By the time the army reached the Nerbadda on its advance, Ajit Sing also had received some cause of offence; and the two rajas went off together, with their troops, and entered into a league to resist the Mogul authority. As soon as the contest in the Deckan was put an end to by the death of Cámbakhsh, Bahádur Sháh turned his attention to breaking up the confederacy; but before he reached the Rájput country, he received intelligence of the capture of Sirhind by the Sikhs, and of such a state of affairs in the Panjáb as left him no time for his intended operations.<sup>2</sup>

In these circumstances he became anxious to make peace with the Rájputs; and as the great obstacle to an accommodation arose from their fears of treachery, he sent his own son, Prince Azím ush Shán, to accompany them to a meeting which took place on the emperor's line of march, and at which the rajas appeared at the head of their own armies. Peace with that power.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Tod's *Rájasthan*, vol. i. p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Scott's *Memoirs of Erdát Khán*, p. 58. Tod's *Rájasthan*, vol. ii. p. 77, etc.

Ch. 1599.  
Ch. 1621. All their demands were agreed to, and they were probably left on the same footing as the rāna of Oudipor.

The Sikhs, against whom the emperor was obliged to march, had originally been a religious sect, were then rising into a nation, and have in our times attained to considerable political influence among the states of India.

Their founder, Nānak, flourished about the end of the fifteenth century. He was a disciple of Kabir, and consequently a sort of Hindū deist, but his peculiar tenet was universal toleration. He maintained that devotion was due to God, but that forms were immaterial, and that Hindu and Mahometan worship were the same in the sight of the Deity.<sup>1</sup> The spirit of this religion promised to keep its votaries at peace with all mankind; but such views of comprehensive charity were particularly odious to the bigoted part of the Mahometans; and accordingly, after the sect had silently increased for more than a century, it excited the jealousy of the Mussulman government, and its spiritual chief was put to death in A.D. 1606,<sup>2</sup> within a year after the decease of Akbar. This act of tyranny changed the Sikhs from modest quietists into fanatical warriors. They took up arms under Har Govind, the son of their martyred pontiff, who inspired them with his own spirit of revenge and of hatred to their oppressors. Being now open enemies of the government, the Sikhs were expelled from the neighbourhood of Lahor, where had hitherto been their seat, and constrained to take refuge in the northern mountains.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding dissensions which broke out among themselves, they continued their animosity to the Mussulmans, and confirmed their martial habits, until the accession (A.D. 1675) of Guru Govind, the grandson of Har Govind, and the tenth spiritual chief derived from Nānak. This leader first conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a religious and military community, and executed his design with the systematic spirit of a Grecian lawgiver.

To increase the numbers of his society, he abolished all distinctions of cast among its members, admitting as converts, whether Mahometan or Hindū, Brahma or Chandal, on perfect equality; while, to preserve its unity, he instituted a peculiar dress and peculiar manners, by which he

<sup>1</sup> See W. Smith, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 214. <sup>2</sup> See J. Maxw. *Ind. vol. ii. p. 214.*  
<sup>3</sup> See J. Maxw. *Ind. p. 214.*

followers were to be distinguished from all the rest of mankind. Each was to be a vowed soldier from his birth or initiation, was always to carry steel in some form about his person, to wear blue clothes, allow his hair and beard to grow, and neither to clip nor remove the hairs on any other part of his body.

Reverence for the Hindú gods and respect for Bramins were maintained, and the slaughter of kine was most positively forbidden; but all other prohibitions relating to food and liquors were abolished; the usual forms of worship were laid aside; new modes of salutation, and new ceremonies on the principal events of life were introduced;<sup>6</sup> and so effectual was the change operated on the people, that the Sikhs have now (after parting with several of their singularities) as distinct a national character as any of the original races in India. They are tall and thin, dark for so northern a people, active horsemen, and good matchlockmen: they are still all soldiers, but no longer fanatics; though unpolished, they are frank and sociable, and are devoted to pleasure of every description and degree.

Far different was their character under Guru Govind, when they were filled with zeal for their faith and rancour They are overpowered at first. against their enemies, and were prepared to do or suffer anything to promote the success of their cause. But their numbers were inadequate to accomplish their plans of resistance and revenge: after a long struggle, Guru Govind saw his strongholds taken, his mother and his children massacred, and his followers slain, mutilated, or dispersed. His misfortunes impaired his reason, or at least destroyed his energy; for so little formidable had he become, that he was allowed to enter the Mogul dominions unmolested, and was murdered by a private enemy, at Nándér, in the Deckan.<sup>7</sup> But although it is sometimes possible to crush a religion even after it has taken root, it can only be done by long and steady persecution, and *that* the internal disturbances of the Moguls prevented their applying.

Their severities only exalted the fanaticism of the Sikhs, and inspired a gloomy spirit of vengeance, which soon Their fanaticism. broke out into fury. Under a new chief named Banda, who had been bred a religious ascetic, and Their successes, ravages, and cruelties under Banda. who combined a most sanguinary disposition with bold and daring counsels, they broke from their

<sup>6</sup> Sir J. Malcolm, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. pp. 219, 220, 284, 288.

<sup>7</sup> Sir J. Malcolm. Forster's *Travels*,

p. 263. The latter author states that Guru Govind had a small command in the Mogul service, which is confirmed by Kháfi Khán.





Banda himself had escaped during the sally. The emperor, though sufficiently struck by the prisoner's self-devotion to spare his life, was yet so ungenerous as to order him to be shut up in an iron cage and sent to Delhi.

After this success, the emperor returned to Láhór, leaving a detachment to watch the Sikhs, and to check their depredations. This object was not fully attained, and the power of the Sikhs was again on the ascendant, when Bahádur Sháh died at Láhór, in the seventy-first lunar year of his age, and fifth of his reign.

Death of Bahádur Sháh.  
A.D. 1712,  
February;  
A.H. 1124,  
Moharram.

The death of Bahádur Sháh was followed by the usual struggle among his sons. The incapacity of the eldest (afterwards Jehándár Sháh) had given a great ascendancy to the second, whose name was Azím ush Shán;<sup>a</sup> and as he was supported by most of the nobility and of the army, he appeared to have an irresistible superiority over his competitors.

Contest  
between  
his sons.

But his three brothers joined their interests, and were kept together by the persuasions and false promises of Zúlfikár Khán, whose love of intrigue was still as strong as ever. Their concord was of short duration, but lasted until the defeat and death of Azím ush Shán. Two of the surviving brothers soon after came to an open conflict, and the third attacked the victor on the morning after the battle; he was, however, repulsed and slain, and Jehándár Sháh remained undisputed master of the throne.

Artifices of  
Zúlfikár  
Khán.

He secures  
the victory  
to Jehándár  
Sháh.

A.H. 1712,  
May or June;  
A.H. 1124,  
Jamada'l  
awwal.

### *Jehándár Sháh.*

Immediately on his accession, Jehándár appointed Zúlfikár Khán to be vazír. This crafty and able chief had supported Jehándár through the whole of the preceding contest, judging, from the low and slothful habits of that prince, that he was best suited for a tool in the hands of an ambitious minister. Accordingly, he assumed the control of the government from the first, and treated the emperor with the utmost arrogance and disdain. He could not have ventured to adopt this course if Jehándár, besides degrading his own dignity by his vices and follies, had not provoked the nobility by his partiality for the

Accession  
of Jehándár  
Sháh.

His inca-  
pacity.

Arrogance  
of Zúlfikár  
Khán.

<sup>a</sup> [This prince had been governor of Bengal from 1697 to 1703, and again from 1707 to 1712; and in 1698 he had sold to the English the zemindarship of

Chuttanatty, Calcutta, and Govindpore. Most of the time Murshid Khán was his deputy.—Ed.]



Assad Khán's life was spared;<sup>12</sup> but Zúlfikár paid the penalty of his selfish and perfidious career, and was strangled before he left the imperial tent. Jehándár was put to death at the same time; and these severities were followed by many other executions.

death along  
with the  
emperor.

A.D. 1713,  
Feb. 4;  
A.H. 1125,  
Moharram 17.

### *Farokhsír.*

The accession of Farokhsír was naturally accompanied by the elevation of his protectors. Abdullah Khán, the eldest brother, was made vazír; and Hosein received the rank of amír ul omará (or commander-in-chief), which was the second in the state. These brothers were sprung from a numerous and respected family of descendants of the Prophet, who were settled in the town of Bárá;<sup>13</sup> and in consequence of this origin, they are best known in India by the name of the Seiads.

Great power  
of Seiads  
Abdullah  
and Hosein  
Ali.

They had expected from their services, as well as from the grovelling disposition of Farokhsír, and his submissive behaviour while courting their support, that they would be allowed to exercise all the real power of the state, leaving to the emperor only the pageantry, and such a command of wealth and honours as might enable him to gratify his favourites. But neither Farokhsír nor his favourites were so easily

Jealousy of  
the emperor.

contented. His principal confidant was a person who had been cází at Dacca, in Bengal, and on whom he conferred the high title of Mír Jumla. This man, though devoid of capacity, had an obstinate perseverance in his narrow views, which was well suited to gain an ascendancy over a mind like Farokhsír's, incapable of comprehending a great design, and too irresolute to execute even a small one without support.

It was no difficult task to make the emperor jealous of the authority which he was so incompetent to exercise, and the overbearing conduct of the Seiads gave him a reasonable motive for counteracting them.

<sup>12</sup> [Assad Khán died in 1716; and the *Seir ul Mutákerin* calls him "the last member of that ancient nobility which had conferred so much honour on the empire." Irádat Khán says, "for above 200 years their family had filled the highest offices in the state."—ED.]

<sup>13</sup> ["The *birhah súdit* are a powerful tribe of Seiads in the eastern part of the Muzaffarnagar district. The origin of the name *birhah* is ascribed to various sources: some say that, scandalised at the

debaucheries of the Mína bazar of Delhi, they obtained leave to reside outside of the town (*bahír*); others that it was the chief town of twelve (*bárah*) which belonged to the clan; but the spelling is opposed to both derivations. There are four subdivisions of the tribe.—There appears reason to believe that their occupation dates as far back as the time of Shams ud dín Altamish." (Sir H. Elliot's *Suppl. Glossary*.)—ED.]

The first scheme contrived in his secret cabinet was to weaken the brothers by a division of their force. For this purpose Husein Ali was sent against Ajit Singh of Mārwar, while secret messages were transmitted to the Rājput prince, intimating that he could do nothing more acceptable to the emperor than by offering an obstinate resistance to his lieutenant. But Husein Ali was too well aware of the danger occasioned by his absence to insist on terms that might protract the war; and Ajit, when his own interests were secured, had no inducement to make sacrifices for those of the emperor. Peace was accordingly concluded, on terms, to appearance, honourable to Farokhsir; the rājā engaging to send his son to Delhi, and to give his daughter in marriage to the emperor.

The mutual distrust of the parties at court was increased after Husein Ali returned; and Farokhsir, as destitute of prudence and steadiness as faith and honour, was exactly the sort of person with whom it was least possible to feel secure.

The Seindhs, conceiving (probably with good reason) that their lives were aimed at, assembled their troops about their palaces, and refused to go to court. It was now the king's turn to be alarmed, and the preparations of the contending factions threw the capital into the utmost confusion and distress; and there remained no alternative but an immediate conflict, or the submission of the least determined of the parties. The king was therefore prevailed on to allow the gates of the citadel, in which was his palace, to be occupied by the guards of the Seindhs, while they waited on him for the purpose of settling the terms of a reconciliation. It was there agreed that Mir Jumla should be made governor of Behār, and removed from court; that Abdullah Khān should continue to exercise the functions of vazīr; but that Husein should undertake the government of the Deccan, and proceed immediately with an army to that distant province.

Harmony being to appearance restored, the emperor's nuptials with the daughter of Ajit Singh were celebrated with unprecedented splendour; and the Rājāt rājā, from his independent territory, saw his importance acknowledged at the capital whence he and his infant had been conveyed with so much difficulty to escape the tyranny of Aurangzib.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The emperor's army was defeated at Bengal, and exemption from tax was offered to the provinces which had assisted the rebels. (See Mill book iv. ch. 1. the contemporary historians, vol. i. p. 77. and vol. ii. p. 10.)

After this ceremony Hosein Alí set off for the Deckan. He was well aware that his continued absence would be the signal for the recall of Mír Jumla ; and he told the emperor, at parting, that if he heard of any attempt to disturb his brother's authority, he should be at Delhi with his army within three weeks of the intelligence.

Hosein Alí  
marches to  
settle the  
Deckan.

A.D. 1715,  
December ;  
A.H. 1127,  
Zí Haj.

But Farokhsír did not trust to the ordinary chances of war for affording employment to his general. He had recourse for this purpose to Dáúd Khán Panní, who was renowned throughout India for his reckless courage, and whose memory still survives in the tales and proverbs of the Deckan. Dáúd Khán had been removed on the accession of Farokhsír to the province of Guzerát, to which that of Khándesh was now added ; and, being an old fellow-soldier of Zúlfikár Khán, could be relied on for zeal against the instrument of his ruin. He was secretly instructed to repair immediately to Khándesh, to carry with him all the troops he could collect, to exercise his influence with the Marattas and other chiefs of the Deckan, and, under pretence of co-operating with Hosein Alí, to take the first opportunity of accomplishing his destruction. Dáúd's manner of executing these orders was conformable to his established character. He at once set Hosein Alí at defiance, proceeded to engage him as an open enemy, and soon brought the question to a trial of strength in the field. The impetuosity of his charge on this occasion entirely disconcerted Hosein Alí's army ; they began to disperse in all directions, while Dáúd Khán, at the head of 300 chosen men of his tribe, armed with battle-axes, pushed straight at the person of his opponent. At this decisive moment Dáúd received a ball through his head, and his fall immediately turned the fortune of the day. His wife, a Hindú princess, who had accompanied him to Khándesh, stabbed herself on hearing of his death.

Farokhsír  
instigates  
Dáúd Khán  
Panní to  
resist him.

Defeat and  
death of  
Dáúd Khán.

A.D. 1716,  
A.H. 1129.

Hosein Alí, after his victory, proceeded to his operations against the Marattas, without imputing to the emperor any share in the opposition which he had met with.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The above account is from the *Seir ul Mutákkerin* and Scott's *Deckan*, who have both borrowed from Kháfí Khán. [The *Seir* (or rather *Siyar*) *ul Mutaakhhirin* was written in 1780 by Mír Ghulám Husain Khán ; it contains an abridgment of the early history, and a full narrative from the death of Aurangzib. It was translated into English in 1789 by

a Frenchman resident in India, and General Briggs published the first volume of a revised translation in 1832. General Briggs remarks : " It embraces a period of about 70 years, and affords a complete insight into the events which caused the downfall of the Muhammadan power and the elevation of the Mahrattas ; and it brings us to the first steps which led to the

Meanwhile, the long-continued dissensions among the Mughul sultans had afforded an opportunity to the Sikhs to recruit their strength. Banda had issued frequent retreat, defeated the imperial troops, and ravaged the lower country with greater fury than before. At length an army was sent against him, under an able chief named *Abd-ul-Khán*. By him the Sikhs were beaten in repeated actions, and Banda was at last made prisoner, with a number of his men and some of his principal followers. Most of these persons were executed on the spot, but 74 were selected and sent with Banda to Delhi. They were paraded through the streets on camels, dressed in black sheepskins with the wool outside (in derision of the shaggy appearance they affected), and were exposed to the maledictions of the populace, which, it must be owned, they had well deserved. Their punishment exceeded the measure of offences even such as theirs. They were all beheaded on seven successive days, and died with the utmost firmness, disdaining every offer to save their lives at the expense of their religion.

Banda was reserved for greater cruelties. He was exhibited *in* an iron cage, clad in a robe of cloth of gold and a *Mulak* scarlet turban; an executioner stood behind him, with a drawn sword; around him were the heads of his followers on pikes; and even a dead cat was stuck on a similar weapon, to indicate the extirpation of everything belonging to him. He was then given a dagger, and ordered to stab his infant son; and on his refusing, the child was butchered before his eyes, and its heart thrown in his face. He was at last torn to pieces with hot pincers, and died with unshaken constancy, glorifying in having been raised up by God to be a scourge to the rapines and oppressions of the age. Sikhs who were still at large were hunted down like wild beasts, and it was not till after a long interval that they again appeared in force, and once more renewed their depredations.

But the Sikhs, when at the strongest, were not numerous, and consequently they were never formidable beyond a certain distance from the extensive tract. It was with a different sort of power

<sup>1</sup> The Sikhs have never been a threat to the British Government. The only law which they have broken is that which forbids the carrying of arms. They are not a lawless people, and they are not a threat to the British Government. The only law which they have broken is that which forbids the carrying of arms.

<sup>2</sup> The Sikhs have never been a threat to the British Government. The only law which they have broken is that which forbids the carrying of arms. They are not a lawless people, and they are not a threat to the British Government.

<sup>3</sup> The Sikhs have never been a threat to the British Government. The only law which they have broken is that which forbids the carrying of arms. They are not a lawless people, and they are not a threat to the British Government.

that the Moguls had to contend in the Deccan. The removal of Dáúd Khán (A.D. 1713) had dissolved his engagements with the Marattas. His successor, Chín Kilich Khán (after-  
wards so well known under the titles of Nizám ul Mulk and A'saf Jáh), was a man of much ability and more cunning; and as the feud among the Marattas now raged with more bitterness than ever, he contrived, by favouring the weaker party, not only to foment their internal dissensions, but to induce several of their chiefs to espouse the Mogul cause.

Chín Kilich  
Khán (after-  
wards A'saf  
Jáh).

But these measures, though they prevented the increase of the Maratta power, had little effect in restoring the tranquillity of the country; and the removal of Chín Kilich Khán, to make way for Hosein Ali, put an end to the little good they had produced. Bands of Marattas ravaged the Mogul territory as before, and individuals of that nation seized on villages within its limits, and turned them into forts, from whence they plundered the adjoining districts.<sup>17</sup>

His success of  
Hosein Ali.

The most troublesome of these, at the time of Hosein Ali's arrival, was a chief whose family name was Dábári: he occupied a line of fortified villages in Khándésh, and, by his depredations on caravans and travellers, shut up the great road from Hindóstan and the Deccan to Surat.

Soon after the defeat of Dáúd Khán, a very strong detachment was sent to remedy this pressing evil, and was opposed by the usual Maratta tactics. The villages were evacuated as the Moguls advanced, and reoccupied as soon as they had passed by; and Dábári, after affecting to fly till he reached a convenient scene of action, suffered himself to be overtaken, when his men dispersed in small parties among the hills and broken ground with which the place was surrounded. The Moguls, elated with their victory, broke up to pursue the fugitives. The Marattas allowed them to involve themselves in the ravines until they could no longer assemble, and then turned on them at once, cut the general and most of the detachment to pieces, and did not suffer one to escape till he was stripped of his horse, arms, and even clothes.<sup>18</sup> The further progress of the campaign corresponded to this inauspicious commencement; and the Marattas, in addition to the manifest inefficiency of their enemies, were encouraged by the intrigues of Farokhsír himself.

bouring countries: their numbers do not exceed 500,000 souls, and they are supposed to have 3,000,000 subjects by no means well affected to their government. (Burnes' *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 256.) [For more recent information regarding the

Sikhs, see Capt. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed. (1863.)—Ed.]

<sup>17</sup> Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 431. Briggs' *Seir ul Mutakherin*, vol. i. p. 141.

<sup>18</sup> *Seir ul Mutakherin*, vol. i. p. 142.



At length Hoscin Ali, finding that his presence could no longer make peace with Rājā Sāho : 201 agreed to acknowledge his claim to the whole of the territory formerly possessed by Sivaji, with the addition of later conquests; to restore all the forts in his possession within that tract; to allow the levy of the *chout*, or fourth, on the whole of the Deccan; and to make a further payment of one-tenth on the remaining revenue, under the name of *ard anah*. This tenth, with the cession of part of the territory, was all that had been demanded in the last negotiation with Aurangzib. In return, Sāho was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees, to furnish 15,000 horse, to preserve the tranquillity of the country, and be answerable for any loss occasioned by depredations from whatever quarter.

Though Sāho had at this time a superiority in the Maratha civil war, a great part of the country thus acknowledged to be his was not in his possession; and he was entirely unable to check the depredations of the hostile party, if he could trust of his own adherents. But Hoscin Ali's object was attained by being enabled to withdraw his troops from the Deccan, and by obtaining the assistance of a body of 10,000 Marathas on his march to Delhi.<sup>2</sup> Farokhsir refused to ratify this disgraceful treaty. His refusal only served to hasten the crisis of the dispute between him and the Scind. The ultimate occurrence of such an event had long become inevitable.

Abdullah Khān, the elder of the brothers, though a man of superior talents, was indolent and fond of pleasure. His business of vazīr, therefore, was left to his deputy, a Hindu named Rattan Chand,<sup>3</sup> whose strict measures and arbitrary temper made his administration very unpopular. Encouraged by this circumstance, and by Abdullah's want of vigilance, Farokhsir began to form schemes for the recovery of his independence; and reports arose of an intention on his part to seize the vazīr's person. These rumours seemed confirmed by the proceedings of some large bodies of troops who had been suddenly dismissed from the king's service, and by the unexpected appearance of Mir Jumla, who had made a rapid and secret journey from Behār to Delhi. He represented himself as obliged to fly from the dangers to which he was exposed

<sup>2</sup> *History of India*, vol. i. p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 441, 442.

<sup>4</sup> *History of India*, vol. i. p. 441, 442.

empowered to nominate the M. *Amir* (the chief of the province). See H. E. I. C. *Suppl. Gibb* i. p. 441, 442.

by the disaffection of the troops in his province : he was very coldly received by the emperor ; and he ostensibly threw himself on the vazír's protection, professing to have renounced all thoughts of public employment. But these appearances did not satisfy the vazír. He assembled his adherents, and prepared for the worst that might occur. If the emperor had entertained the design imputed to him, he had not the courage to carry it through. Overawed by the vazír's preparations, he hastened to appease his resentment, protested his anxious wish to maintain the administration on its present footing, and dismissed Mír Jumla to his native town of Multán.

But this reconciliation was only superficial : the vazír retained a well-founded conviction of the emperor's insincerity ; and the other almost immediately renewed his plots, which he took up with as much levity, and abandoned with as much pusillanimity, as before. His plan now was, to form a combination of the principal persons who were discontented with the vazír. Among these was Jei Sing, rája of Ambér. Combina-  
tion of great  
nobles to  
support him. This chieftain had been previously employed against the Játs, and had, by a long course of operations, reduced them to extremities, when the vazír opened a direct negotiation with an agent whom they had sent to Delhi, and granted them peace in a manner very derogatory to the honour of Jei Sing. Chín Kilich Khán, who had been removed from the viceroyalty of the Deckan to the petty government of Morádábád, was also ready to revenge the injury, and was summoned to Delhi : he was joined by Sirbuland Khán, governor of Behár : Rája Ajit Sing, the emperor's father-in-law, was also sent for, but showed no inclination to embark in an enterprise directed by such unsteady hands, and soon after openly attached himself to the prevailing party. The other conspirators, however, were zealous ; and it was determined to assassinate the vazír on the occasion of a great annual solemnity, at which the number of troops well affected to the king would much surpass that of Abdullah's guards. But Farokhsír had now got a new favourite, a Cashmirian His levity  
and irreso-  
lution. of low birth and profligate manners, on whom he conferred the title of Rokn ud Doula. By this man's persuasion, which fell in with his natural timidity, he postponed the execution of the concerted plot ; and he afterwards promised to his favourite the succession to the office of prime minister, and conferred on him, as a private jágír, the very district of which Chín Kilich Khán was governor.

Disappointed and disgusted with this preference, Aurangzeb Augustus is convinced that Farokhsir's irresolution must be fatal to any plan in which he was an actor, his confederates, with the exception of Jai Sing, lost no time in making their peace with the vazir. That minister, whose fanatical spirit had been awakened by the previous appointment, and who already called for the assistance of his brother from the Deekan; and Hosein Ali, who kept his army at his devotion, by carefully excluding all persons appointed by the emperor from command, was now in full march on the capital. Jai Sing endeavoured to excite the emperor to take some decisive step during the short interval that was left, but Marattas was unable to animate that feeble prince even with the courage of despair; and Hosein Ali's first demand on his arrival, was for the dismissal of the rāja to his own territories. Farokhsir, thus at the mercy of his enemies, had recourse to the most abject submission. Hosein Ali remained encamped without the city; but the vazir's guards were admitted into the palace, and it only remained to the brothers to decide on the fate of the tenant. In this state of affairs, some nobles who remained faithful to the emperor set out with their retainers to his assistance; and a rising of the townspeople, for the purpose of massacring the Marattas, took place at the same time. In consequence of the confusion which followed, Hosein Ali marched into the city, of which he took possession after some opposition. It seemed no longer safe to spare Farokhsir, and that unfortunate shadow of a king was dragged from his hidingsplace in the seraglio, and privately put to death.

Some of the fruits of Aurangzeb's religious policy appeared during this reign. Emyat Ullah, who had been secretary to that monarch, being appointed to the head of the finances, endeavoured to enforce the capitation-tax on Hindus with the rigour of his former master; but he was soon forced to desist on the public clamour, and the tax was formally abolished in the next reign.

There was a violent affray between the Shias and Sunnis in the capital, and a still more serious one, in Ahmedabad, between the Hindus and Mussulmans, in which many lives were lost.

1. He is said to have marched from Agra to the Deekan in 1705, and to have taken the year 1120 of the Hijra, and many other dates, but none of them agree with the year of the battle of the Marattas.

this occasion the Mussulman governor (Dáúd Khán Panní) took part with the Hindús.

On the deposition of Farokhsír, the Seiads set up a young prince of the blood, to whom they gave the title of Rafi ud *Daraját*. He died in little more than three months, of a consumption; when another youth of the same description was set up under the name of Rafi ud *Doula*, and came to the same end in a still shorter period.

Nominal  
emperors  
set up by  
the Seiads.

Rafi ud  
Daraját,  
A.D. 1719,  
February;  
A.H. 1131.  
Rafi ud  
Sani.

These princes had been brought up in the recesses of the seraglio, without any prospect of the succession, and had the ideas of women superinduced on those of children. Their deaths must have been inconvenient to the Seiads, and they pitched on a healthier young man as their successor. This was Roshen Akhter: he had no advantages in previous situation over the others; but his mother was a woman of ability, and had perhaps helped to form his character, as she subsequently influenced his conduct.

Rafi  
ud Doula,  
A.D. 1720,  
May;  
A.H. 1131,  
Rajab.

He was raised to the throne by the title of Mohammed Sháh.<sup>23</sup>

Mohammed  
Sháh,  
A.D. 1719,  
September;  
A.H. 1131,  
Zi Cádá.

<sup>23</sup> At Mohammed's accession it was determined that the names of his two predecessors should be left out of the list of kings, and that his reign should

commence from the death of Farokhsír. (*Seir ul Mutákhherín*, vol. i. p. 197. Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 450. Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*.)

## CHAPTER II.

## TO THE DEPARTURE OF NÂDIR SHÂH.

*Mohammed Shâh.*

THE murder of Farokhsir (in spite of his personal character, and the familiarity of such a catastrophe in Asia) produced a general feeling of horror, and led to suspicions regarding the premature deaths of his successors. The frequent change of pageants also drew attention to the moving power, which they were intended to veil.

The authority of the Seïds, thus shaken in the public opinion, was further impaired by their own disagreement, as well as by the discontent of some of their principal adherents, and soon began to show signs of weakness in the inefficiency of the internal government.

The governor of Allahâbâd (a Hindû) rebelled : and, although Hosein Ali went against him in person, he only gave up his province on condition that he should receive that of Oudh in exchange : the tributary state of Bunch required a strong force to settle some disturbances that broke out there, while the Afghan chief of Kosûr, in the south of the Panjab, revolted, defeated the royal troops, and was not subdued without an effort. A furious contest between Hindûs and Mussulmans also took place in Cashmir, in which the efforts of the government to maintain tranquillity were unavailing, until some thousand persons had fallen on the two sides, and much loss of property had been sustained.

The most alarming sign of the times was in the proceedings of Ghîrâ Kilich Khân. This chief (whom, anticipating the title, I shall henceforth call Asaf Jâh, and whose descendants are known to Europeans as Nizâms of the Deccan) was of a respectable Türk family, and was the son of Ghîrâ, old and a favourite officer of Aurangzib, under which emperor he also distinguished himself. He showed spirit in maintaining his dignity during the depression of the nobility by the mistress of Delhâdli Shâh, and her relations :<sup>1</sup> and subsequently rose to importance (as has been related) by his services as viceroy of

<sup>1</sup> He was a Hindû, and a person of great wealth, who had been connected with the mistress of Delhâdli Shâh, and the emperor.

ordered his attendants to reject her with force, dispersed the favourite's retinue, and compelled her to quit her elephant and escape on foot to the palace.

the Deckan. He had quitted the party of Farokhsír because he found he was not to be prime minister; and yet, on the success of his new allies, he was not even restored to his viceroyalty, but made governor of the single province of Málwa.

The disturbed state of that country gave him a pretence for raising troops; and he became so formidable to the Seiads that they made a feeble attempt to remove him, offering him the choice of four other governments. This only showed A'saf Jáh that the time for dissembling was passed; and as he saw the difficulty of establishing a permanent control at the capital, he determined to lay the foundations of his power on a firmer basis, and turned his first attention to the conquest of the Deckan. He had there many old connexions both with the Mussulmans and the Marattas.

Immediately on his revolt he marched to the Nerbadda. By intrigue and money he obtained possession of the fort of Asírghar, and procured the junction of several officers of the province. He was pursued from Hindo-  
A.D. 1720,  
April;  
A.H. 1132,  
Jamáda's  
Sání.  
 stan by a force under Diláwer Khán (a Seiad of Bára), and another, under A'lam Alí Khán (the nephew of the usurping brothers), was awaiting him at Aurangábád. Taking advantage of the impetuous character of Dilá-  
He esta-  
blishes his  
power in  
the Deckan.  
Defeats the  
armies of  
the Seiads.  
 wer, he drew him into an engagement before he could be sup-

ported by his colleague, and totally defeated him in a battle fought near Burhánpúr; Diláwer Khán himself  
A.D. 1720,  
June.  
 was among the slain. He then turned against A'lam Alí, whose force, though weakened by the desertion of some chiefs, gained by A'saf Jáh, was still very powerful. A battle took place at Bállápúr in Berár, in which large bodies of Marattas were engaged on both sides, and which terminated in the  
A.D. 1720,  
July.  
 defeat and death of A'lam Alí.

These events threw the Seiads into consternation, and, though secretly agreeable to the emperor and many of the nobility, filled the minds of reflecting men with  
Alarm at  
Delhi.  
 dismal forebodings of the ruin of the empire. This gloom was rendered deeper among a superstitious people by a violent earthquake which occurred about this time, and seemed to threaten the existence of the capital; and in these depressing circumstances the brothers betrayed those signs of irresolution which are often the forerunners of great calamities.

Mohammed Sháh (tutored by his mother) had carefully avoided any opposition to the Seiads, and patiently waited for some change of circumstances favourable to the assertion of his own authority. He now began,  
Prudent  
conduct of  
Mohammed  
Sháh.

with the utmost secrecy, to deliberate what could be done to accelerate his deliverance. His counsellor in this dangerous undertaking was Mohammed Amin Khân, one of the noblemen who had deserted Farokhsir, when he proved a traitor to his own cause, and who had since adhered to the Seids, though full of envy and disgust at their power and arrogance. He was in the habit of conversing in Túrki with Mohammed, and by means of that language, which was unknown to Indian Seids, he was able to ascertain the sentiments of the emperor, although closely surrounded by the connexions and creatures of the brothers. Hints interchanged in this manner paved the way to more private communications, and a party was gradually formed, the second place in which *Sadat Khan* was occupied by *Sádat Khán*, originally a merchant of Khórasán, who had risen to a military command, and was the progenitor of the present kings of Ouléin. These combinations, however secret, did not fail to excite obscure apprehensions in the minds of the Seids, and occasioned much perplexity about the manner of disposing of the emperor during the approaching contest with *Asaf Jáh*. It was at length decided that *Hossein Ali* should march to the Deccan, and should carry the emperor and some of the suspected nobles along with him, while *Abdullah* should remain at *Isia*, and watch over the interests of his family at home.

After much hesitation the brothers quitted *Agra*, and *Asaf* marched off towards his destined station. The separation was judged by the conspirators to afford an opportunity for executing their designs. It was determined to assassinate *Hossein Ali*, and *Mir Hender*, a savage Calmuc who (though a man of some rank in his own country) was ready for the most desperate enterprise, was pitched on to strike the blow. He waited for his victim as he passed in his palankin, and attracted his attention by holding up a petition. *Hossein Ali* made a sign to his attendants to allow him to approach, and was about to read the petition, when *Mir Hender* plunged his dagger into his body. The blow was fatal: *Hossein Ali* rolled out a corpse from the opposite side of the palankin, and *Mir Hender* was cut to pieces in an instant by the force of the attendants. The death of this powerful minister threw the whole camp into commotion. A fierce conflict took place between his adherents, many of whom were Seids like himself, and the partisans of the conspirators, who were joined by soldiers whose only object was to protect the emperor.

Mohammed was with some difficulty prevailed on to show himself at the head of his own friends, and his appearance materially contributed to decide the fate of the day. The party of the Seiads was driven from the field, and many of its members, with all the neutral part of the army, made their submission to the emperor.

The emperor assumes the government.

The intelligence of this event reached Abdullah Khán before he entered Delhi. Painful as it was in itself, it was as alarming in its consequences. Abdullah had now to oppose his sovereign without either right or any popular pretext in his favour, and he was made aware of his situation by the immediate breaking out of disturbances in the country around him. But his energy rose with his danger. He proclaimed one of the princes confined at Delhi king, conferred offices and dignities in his name, and applied himself with vigour to strengthening his cause by securing the services of troops and officers.

Difficult situation of Abdullah Khán.

He sets up a new emperor.

Few men of rank adhered to him ; but by means of high pay he drew together a large, though ill-disciplined, army. He marched in little more than a fortnight after his brother's death, and was joined as he advanced by Choráman, the rája of the Játs, and by many of his brother's soldiers, who deserted after having submitted to the emperor. On the other hand, Mohammed was reinforced by the arrival of 4,000 horse, hastily sent forward by Rája Jei Sing, and of some chiefs of the Rohilla Afgháns. The armies met between Agra and Delhi. Abdullah was defeated and taken prisoner ; his life was spared, probably from respect for his sacred lineage. Mohammed Sháh immediately proceeded to Delhi, which he entered in great pomp, and celebrated his emancipation by an extensive distribution of offices and rewards. Mohammed Amín was made vazír ; but he had scarcely entered on his office when he was taken ill, and died in a few hours.

A.D. 1720,  
November ;  
A.H. 1133,  
Moharram.

Is defeated  
and taken  
prisoner.

A.D. 1720,  
Nov. or Dec. ;  
A.H. 1133,  
Safar.

Sudden  
death of  
Mohammed  
Amín, the  
new vazír.  
A.D. 1721,  
January ;  
A.H. 1133,  
Rabí ul  
awwal.

In most cases, the sudden death of a prime minister would have been attributed to poison ; but in this instance there was a manner of accounting for it still more acceptable to the popular love of wonder. An impostor had made his appearance at Delhi some years before, who produced a new scripture, written in a language of his own invention, framed from those spoken in ancient Persia, and had founded a sect in which the teachers were called Békúks and the disciples Ferábúds. He had become so considerable at the



accession of Mohammed that the new vazir sent a party of soldiers to apprehend him. Before he was taken into custody, the vazir was seized with a violent illness, and his family, at alarm, endeavoured by presents and entreaties to avert the anger of the holy man. The Békúk boldly avowed the murder, but said his shaft, once shot, could not be recalled. He was nevertheless left undisturbed, and lived for some years after.

The office of vazir was only filled by a temporary substitute, being ultimately designed for A'saf Jäh.

Meanwhile, every day brought some fresh proof of the decline of the monarchy. The government of Guzerät had <sup>been</sup> conferred on Rāja Ajit Sing, as a reward for his adherence to the Seids; the addition of that of Ajmir had been secretly promised by Mohammed, as the price of his friendship or neutrality in the contest between himself and those brothers, and a grant for life of both governments had been delivered to him under the royal seal. In spite of these engagements, Ajit was now removed from Guzerät; and although his deputy, a Rājput, endeavoured to keep possession by force, he was driven out by the Mussulmans of the province, and compelled to take refuge with his master at Jodhpür. Ajit Sing, on this, occupied Ajmir with a large army of Rājputs, took and plundered Nāgaur, and advanced his parties to Rewāri, within fifty miles of Delhi. All attempts to check his progress had been rendered ineffectual by the dissensions of the generals ordered against him, and their reluctance to undertake the duty; and when, at last, the commanders-in-chief moved out to protect the capital, he was glad to agree to the terms originally proposed by Ajit, viz. that he should submit to the loss of Guzerät on condition of being confirmed in Ajmir.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after this A'saf Jäh arrived at Delhi, and took possession of the office of vazir. Though he had for some time been apprised of his appointment, he thought it more important to secure his independence in the Deekan than to seize on the authority held out to him at the capital. He had been engaged in many transactions with the Marattas, who were rapidly assuming the form of a regular government, and it was not till he had settled affairs in that quarter to his satisfaction that he repaired to Delhi. He found the court in a state of the utmost weakness and disorder. The emperor was given up to pleasure; an

favourite advisers were young men of the same pursuits, and his mistress had such an ascendancy over him that she was allowed to keep his private signet, and to use it at her discretion. This state of things gave great disgust to A'saf Jáh, brought up at the austere court of Aurangzib, and, in spite of his predilection for intrigue, both able and willing to conduct a vigorous administration; but he had neither the boldness nor the power to seize the government by force: and he made no progress in gaining the confidence of the emperor, who felt himself constrained by his grave manners, and importuned by his attempts to draw attention to public business, and who had no greater pleasure than to see his antiquated dress and formal courtesy burlesqued by his own dissolute companions.

After some months of mutual dissatisfaction, the emperor and his favourites thought they had devised a plan to free themselves from their troublesome counsellor. Heider Culi, the governor of Guzerát, though one of the principal actors in the revolution which restored the royal authority, was offensive to the cabal for his proud and inflexible disposition; and they hoped, by embroiling him with A'saf Jáh, that both might be rendered more dependent on the court. They accordingly directed Heider Culi to give up his government to A'saf Jáh; on which the former chief, as they expected, repaired to his station, and made ready to defend his possession of it by force of arms. But this deep-laid scheme ended in sudden disappointment; for their subtle adversary so well employed his talents for intrigue and corruption that his rival's army deserted almost in a body, and he speedily returned to Delhi, strengthened by the addition of a rich province to his former exorbitant command.

No event of importance succeeded to A'saf Jáh's return, except the murder of the deputy-governor of Agra by the Játs; on which Rája Jei Sing,<sup>3</sup> the old enemy of that people, was appointed governor of Agra for the purpose of revenging the outrage. Choráman, the aged rája of the Játs, happened to die during the expedition; and Jei Sing, by dexterously supporting his nephew against his son and successor, brought about a division among the Játs, and at last

<sup>3</sup> Kháfi Khán. Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii. p. 187. Briggs and Grant Duff make it Ajit Sing, as does the old translation of

the *Seir ul Mutakherin*; but probably all on one authority.

His favourite.

His dislike to A'saf Jáh.

A'saf Jáh sent against the refractory governor of Guzerát.

Quells the insurrection, and retains the government of the province.

Expedition against the Játs of Bhartpúr.

placed the nephew in possession, on condition of his paying tribute to Delhi.

The mutual aversion of the emperor and his viceroy was not diminished after the return of the minister; and it was, probably, at the moment, a relief to Mubáriz when Asaf Jáh, after securing his safety by removing on some pretence, from the capital, sent in his resignation and marched off for the Deekán. But this resignation, in reality, to a declaration of independence, and was viewed in that light by the emperor himself, who, although he graciously accepted Asaf Jáh's resignation, and conferred on him the highest titles that could be held by a subject,\* did not on that account smother his active hostility. He sent orders to Mubáriz Kán, the local governor of Heiderábád, to endeavour to dispossess the viceroy, and assume the government of the whole Deekán in his stead. Mubáriz entered zealously on the task imposed on him; and by the sanction of the emperor's name, joined to his own influence and the enmity of individuals to his rival, he succeeded in collecting a powerful army. Asaf Jáh, always more inclined to art than force, protracted his negotiations for several months, during which he endeavoured to sow sedition among Mubáriz's adherents. As he made little progress in this mode of hostility, he at last came to open war, and soon gained a decided victory over Mubáriz, who lost his life in the battle. As the emperor had not avowed the attack which he had instigated, Asaf Jáh, not to be outdone in dissimulation, sent the head of Mubáriz to court with his own congratulations on the extinction of the rebellion. He then fixed his residence at Heiderábád; and though he continued to send honorary presents on fixed occasions, to the emperor, he thenceforth conducted himself, in other respects, as an independent prince.

But, although he was beyond the reach of attack from the emperor, he was by no means equally secure from his neighbours the Marattas. Their power, being now concentrated and in able hands, was too great for any assistance that he could oppose to it, and all the refinements of his artful policy were for a time employed to divert it from its intention of turning it against his enemies at Delhi.

The Maratta government had been

\* Asaf Jáh was created *Sháh Sháh* by the emperor. - [Ed.]

gradually brought about during a considerable period, and requires to be taken up from the commencement. Though Sáhó had been set up as rája by the Moguls, it suited the policy of A'saf Jáh, during his first government of the Deekan (A.D. 1713 to A.D. 1716), to assist his rival, Samba, at that time the weaker of the competitors. Other circumstances tended, soon after, to depress the party of Sáhó, who would never have recovered his superiority but for the abilities of his minister, Bálají Wiswanáth.

Consolidation of the Maratta government.

This person (the founder of the Bramin dynasty of Peshwás) was the hereditary accountant of a village in the Concan. He afterwards entered into the service of a chief of the Jádu family, whence he was transferred to that of the rája. He distinguished himself by many services; the most important of which was his bringing over A'ngria (a powerful chief as well as famous pirate), in the Concan, from the side of Samba to that of Sáhó.

Bálají Wiswanáth peshwá.

His merits were at length rewarded with the office of peshwá, at that time the second in the state; the pírti nidhí,<sup>5</sup> or *delegate of the rája*, being the first.

It was through his means that the cession of territory and tribute was obtained from Hosein Alí Khán (A.D. 1717), and he was joint commander of the Maratta force that accompanied that minister to Delhi. At that time Sáhó (without in other respects laying aside the titles or the independence assumed by his predecessors) was content, in his intercourse with the Mogul court, to acknowledge himself a vassal of the empire. It was professedly in this quality that his troops accompanied Hosein Alí, and the fall of that chief did not necessarily make any change in their relation to the government. Under this view Bálají remained at Delhi after the death of Farokhsír, and ultimately obtained a ratification of the treaty by Mohammed Sháh (A.D. 1720). This recognition of his authority, together with other advantages, had established the ascendancy of Sáhó over his rival; and Bálají, before his death (which happened in October 1720), had the satisfaction of seeing him placed above the assaults of enemies, either foreign or domestic.

Establishes the government of Sáhó.

Dies.

The cessions by the treaty having given legality to what before was mere robbery enabled Bálají to introduce some degree of order into the Maratta mode of

His complicated revenue system.

<sup>5</sup> [Or, more properly, *pratinidhi*.—ED.]

collection. It appears extraordinary, at first sight, that he did not prefer a solid territorial possession to assigning to other proprietors, such as the *choot* and *sardarmah*; but he did not, at least, consolidate these dues, by throwing the same territory into one head, and uniting it with the other revenue where that also belonged to the Marattas. But his unsuccess by no means his object to simplify the claims of the government. He knew, from the relative power of the parties, that the rija would be a gainer in all disputed points with the Moguls, and was more anxious to obtain a pretext for interference and encroachment over an extensive territory than clearly-defined rights within a small one. In furtherance of this policy, he claimed, as *choot*, one-fourth of the permanent revenue fixed by Tódar Mal and Malik Amber, of which but a small portion was now realised from the exhausted country; and although he did not enforce this principle to its full extent, it still served to keep his claim undefined. It was not in dealing with the Moguls alone that he profited by keeping up this system of confusion: by granting the *choot* and *sardarmah* to different persons, and even inventing new subdivisions, so as to admit of further partition, he parcelled out the revenues of each district among several Maratta chiefs: so that, while each had an interest in increasing the contributions to the general stock, none had a compact property such as might render him independent of the government. The intricacy produced in the affairs of the Maratta chiefs, by these innumerable fractions of revenue, led to another effect that Bálaji had quite as much at heart: it threw them entirely into the hands of their Bramin agents, and strengthened the peshwa's power by increasing that of his cast. But, though this system of subdivision was general, it was not universal: some chiefs had already landed possessions in the old territory; and similar grants, more or less extensive, continued to be made from special favour. Every chief secured a village or two for his head-quarters, and all were anxious to possess the government claims on those of which they were entitled to hereditary offices.

Bálaji Wéswaráth was succeeded by his son, Rájá Ráo, the eldest of all the Bramin dynasties, and of all the Maratta chiefs, except Sivají. Rájá Ráo did not at once assume the supreme authority that had been possessed by his father. He had a powerful rival in the purnámdá, and the interests of those politicians were not more opposed than their opinions. The purnámdá was sincerely apprehensive of

the effects of a further diffusion of the Maratta power ; and he strenuously contended for the necessity of consolidating the rája's present possessions, suppressing civil discord, and acquiring a firm hold on the countries in the south of the peninsula, before attempting to make any conquests in Hindóstan. Báji Ráo took a wiser as well as bolder view. He saw that the hordes of predatory horse, who were so useful in an enemy's country, would be utterly ungovernable at home ; and that it was only by forming an army, and establishing a military command, that an efficient internal government could be brought into existence. He therefore counselled an immediate invasion of the northern provinces, and pointed out the inward weakness of the Mogul empire, which was nowhere so rotten as at the core : " Let us strike," said he, " the withered trunk, and the branches will fall of themselves." The eloquence and earnestness with which he pressed his advice overcame all the doubts of the rája ; and when urged by Báji Ráo to allow him to carry his standard beyond the Nerbadda, he exclaimed, with enthusiasm, " You shall plant it on Himálaya."<sup>6</sup>

The results of these debates gave Báji Ráo a preponderance in the counsels of the rája, and his ascendancy daily increased from the necessity for his assistance. Though Sáho was not destitute of abilities, his education in a Mussulman seraglio was alike unfavourable to hardness of body and activity of mind ; while Báji Ráo, born in a camp, and trained up a statesman and diplomatist, combined the habits of a Maratta horseman with an enlarged judgment and extensive knowledge. Unlike his cold-blooded brethren of the priestly class, his temper was ardent and his manner frank ; he never flinched from fatigue or danger, and could make a meal of dry grain rubbed out of the husks between his hands as he rode along on a march.

His designs on the northern provinces were aided by the Moguls themselves. Shortly before the battle with Mobáriz, A'saf Jáh was removed from his governments of Málwa and Guzerát. Rája Girdhar was appointed to the former province, and found no difficulty in occupying it, while the troops were drawn off to the contest in the Deekan, but was unable to defend it from the incursions of Báji Ráo ; and in Guzerát, Hamíd Khán, A'saf's uncle, not only offered a strenuous resistance himself, but directly called in the aid of the Marattas. In return, he gave up to them the *chout*

Character  
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Báji Ráo  
ravages  
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Balaji Wiswamitri was succeeded by his son Raju Rao, the eldest of all the Brahma dynasty, and of all the Maratta chiefs, except Sivaji. Raju Rao did not at once give up the policy of his father, but he had been possessed by it from his birth. He had a powerful rival in the puthana, and the interests of those partisans were not more opposed than his opinions. The puthana was sincerely apprehensive of

the effects of a further diffusion of the Maratta power ; and he strenuously contended for the necessity of consolidating the rája's present possessions, suppressing civil discord, and acquiring a firm hold on the countries in the south of the peninsula, before attempting to make any conquests in Hindóstan. Báji Ráo took a wiser as well as bolder view. He saw that the hordes of predatory horse, who were so useful in an enemy's country, would be utterly ungovernable at home ; and that it was only by forming an army, and establishing a military command, that an efficient internal government could be brought into existence. He therefore counselled an immediate invasion of the northern provinces, and pointed out the inward weakness of the Mogul empire, which was nowhere so rotten as at the core : " Let us strike," said he, " the withered trunk, and the branches will fall of themselves." The eloquence and earnestness with which he pressed his advice overcame all the doubts of the rája ; and when urged by Báji Ráo to allow him to carry his standard beyond the Nerbadda, he exclaimed, with enthusiasm, " You shall plant it on Himálaya."\*

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to the Maratta government. After this adjustment, Báji Ráo crossed the Nerbadda to ravage Málwa, and to extort Sirbuland Khán's confirmation of his predecessor's grant of the chout of Guzerát.

A.D. 1729,  
A.H. 1141-2.

During his absence the pírti nidhí surprised and defeated Samba, and at last compelled him to sign a treaty acknowledging Sáho's right to the whole Maratta country, except a tract round Cólápúr, bounded on the west by the sea. This portion he was himself to retain, with the title of rája, and the same dignity as that assumed by Sáho. Though this success raised the reputation of the pírti nidhí, it did not enable him to enter the lists with the péshwá, and A'saf was obliged to look out for some other instrument to disturb the Maratta government.

Accommodation, between Sáho and his rival Samba.

A.D. 1730,  
A.H. 1142.

He found one in the head of the family of Dábári, the hereditary sénápati or commander-in-chief. This leader had power in Guzerát, and saw with indignation the fruit of his labours carried off by another. His jealousy derived additional bitterness by the ascendancy acquired by the péshwá, who now conducted the government without the least control on the part of the rája. Incited by these feelings, and the promise of powerful co-operation from A'saf Jáh, Dábári assembled an army of 35,000 men, and set out for the Deckan, with the professed object of delivering the rája from the thralldom of his minister.

Renewed intrigues of A'saf Jáh.

Dábári, a great Maratta chief in Guzerát.

Marches to depose the péshwá.

Báji Ráo had not an equal force at his disposal; but what he had was composed of old troops, and he saw the advantage of promptitude in acting against a combination. Without allowing time for A'saf Jáh to declare himself, he crossed the Nerbadda, entered Guzerát, and encountered Dábári not far from Baróda. The superiority of his veterans over Dábári's less experienced troops decided the victory in his favour, and he used it with prudence and moderation. Dábári having fallen in the action, he conferred his office, in the rája's name, on his son, and left him in possession of the Maratta rights of Guzerát, on condition of his paying half the produce, *through the péshwá*, to the government. As the son was an infant, his mother was appointed his guardian, and Guzerát was to be administered in his behalf by Pilají Geikwár, an adherent of his father, and ancestor of the Geikwár family that still rules in Guzerát.

Is anticipated by Báji Ráo, defeated and killed.

A.D. 1731,  
April;  
A.H. 1143,  
Shawwal.

Moderation of Báji Ráo in settling Guzerát.



The first of these objects was attained in one campaign; the second was not so easy of accomplishment. Pilají Geik-  
A. D. 1730.  
wár, though driven out of Baróda, still continued so formidable that the unprincipled Abhi Sing saw no means of over-  
A. D. 1732.  
coming him except by procuring his assassination. Procures the assassination of Pilají Geikwár.  
This crime only roused the indignation of the Marattas, without weakening their power. The son and brother of Pilají appeared in greater force than ever, and not only ravaged Guzerát themselves, but raised all the surrounding hill-tribes of Bhíls and Cólís, and threw the whole province into revolt and confusion. While the Rájput prince was completely occupied by these disturbances, the Geikwárs made a sudden irruption into his hereditary territory, and penetrated to the neighbourhood of Jódpur itself. This Abhi Sing retires to Mārwar. attack, and the threatening aspect of the Maratta force in Málwa, compelled Abhi Sing to withdraw to his own principality, and the deputy whom he left in Guzerát could make but a feeble stand against the Marattas.

The affairs of that nation were not less prosperous in Málwa. Gírdhar Sing, the governor of that province, had fallen in a battle with Bájí Ráo's officers (in 1729); and his nephew, Deia Rám, who succeeded him, and had opposed a gallant resistance till this time, was defeated by Chimnají, the peshwá's A. D. 1732. brother, and lost his life in the battle.

When Bájí Ráo entered Málwa in person (1732), the government was in the hands of Mohammed Khán Bangash, Successor of Bájí Ráo in Málwa. an Afghán chief, who was also governor of Allahábád. He was at that period employed against a rája in Bundélcand, which lay between his two provinces; and the rája, reduced to extremities, had recourse to the aid of the Marattas. Bájí Ráo immediately obeyed the summons, came suddenly on Mohammed Khán, and before long compelled him to take refuge in a fort. The government of Delhi was too weak to afford him any relief, and he must have surrendered at discretion, but for the exertions of his own family. His wife sent her veil (the strongest appeal to Afghán honour) to her countrymen in Rohilcand. His son put himself at the head of the volunteers thus assembled, and by these means he was delivered from his difficulties and escorted to Allahábád. But this rescue of his person did nothing for his province. The rája of Obtains possessions in Bundélcand. Bundélcand ceded the territory of Jánsi, on the Jumna, in return for the services of Bájí Ráo; and afterwards, at his death, left him rights in Bundélcand, which in time

led to the occupation of the whole of that country : —  
Marattas.

Mohammed Khán's ill success procured his removal from Malwa, and the province was conferred on Raja Jai Sing of Amber.

This prince, whose love of science makes him one of the most remarkable persons of his nation, was by no means distinguished for his firmness or decision. His necessary connexion with the Marattas, although not sufficient to induce him to betray his trust, facilitated an accommodation, after he found resistance desperate; and the result was, that in the succeeding year, he surrendered his province to the pishwā, with the tacit concurrence of the emperor, on whose behalf the territory was still to be held.

But if the Moguls thought to obtain permanent fortresses from Bijai Rao by concession, they knew little of him or of his nation; for though he for a time turned his attention to the internal affairs of the Deccan, he continued to press the formal cession of the chout and sirdesmukhi of Málwa and Guzerat, and directed the chiefs whom he had left behind him to carry their incursions up to Agra. The Moguls on their part made great demonstrations, and sent out unwieldy and feebly-conducted armies, whose operations served only to expose them to the contempt of the enemy.

After some lapse of time Bajī Rāo again took up the negotiation in person; and in proportion as the progress of the war disclosed the weakness of his adversaries, he continued to rise in his demands, until at length he insisted on a grant of a *raj*, comprising the province of Malwa and all the country south of the Chambal, together with the *chakras* of Mathra, Allahabad, and Benares. The emperor, though all his attempts at open resistance proved futile, was not induced to go so low as to submit to such terms. He endeavoured to pacify the Marhattas by minor sacrifices, and these too were without succeeding from their great object. Among the *chakras* which were in sight to be tribute on the Raptah, and which he thought as already due from the territory of Aundh, he now would, did these, give with a view to conciliate the Marhattas with the hastened powers, and they did not, until the emperor's terms were proposed for Aundh, began to perceive that the emperor was pressing his present policy too far, and that he was to be deterred to fear from the weakness of the emperor.

as he formerly had from his enmity. At the same time he was assiduously courted by the cabinet of Delhi, who no longer looked on him as a rebellious subject, but as a natural ally, capable of rescuing them from the danger that hung over them.

The result of this state of circumstances was to determine A'saf Jáh to support the emperor; but while he was engaged in these deliberations, Báji Ráo was advancing towards the capital. By the time he had himself arrived within forty miles of Agra, his light troops were ravaging the country beyond the Jumna, under the command of Malhár Ráo Hólcar; and while so employed they were attacked and driven back on the main body by Sádat Khán, governor of Oudh, who, with a spirit very unlike his contemporaries, issued from his own province to defend that adjoining. This check, which was magnified into a great victory, and accompanied by reports of the retreat to the Deckan of the whole Maratta army, only stimulated Báji Ráo to wipe off the disgrace, and (as he said himself) to show the emperor that he was still in Hindostan. An army had been sent out to oppose him, under the vazír, Kamar ud dín Khán. While it lay inactive near Mattra, Báji Ráo suddenly quitted the Jumna, passed off about fourteen miles to the right of the Mogul army, and, advancing by prodigious marches, all at once presented himself before the gates of Delhi.

The consternation produced by his appearance may easily be imagined; but, as his object was to intimidate and not provoke the emperor, he forbore from further aggression, and endeavoured to prevent the destruction of the suburbs. He was unable entirely to restrain the devastations of his followers, and he made that a pretext for drawing off to some distance from the city. This retrograde movement induced the Moguls to attempt a sally, and they were driven back into the town with heavy loss. By this time, however, the vazír had been joined by Sádat Khán, and was on his march to relieve the capital; and Báji Ráo deemed it prudent to commence his retreat—a step involving no dishonour, according to the Maratta rules of war. His intention, at the time, was to have crossed the Jumna lower down, and to have plundered the country between that river and the Ganges; but the approach of the rainy season, and the advance of A'saf Jáh, determined him to return at once to the Deckan, where his presence was also required for other objects. After the péshwá's retreat, A'saf Jáh

He is reconciled to the emperor.

Báji Ráo appears before  
A.D. 1737,  
A.H. 1149.

He retreats.

A.D. 1737,  
A.H. 1150.  
Arrival of  
A'saf Jáh  
at Delhi.



best endeavours to procure from the emperor a confirmation of the cession, and a payment of fifty lacs of rupees.<sup>10</sup>

cessions  
on the em-  
peror's part.  
A.D. 1738,  
February;  
A.H. 1150,  
Ramazán.

A'saf Jáh was then permitted to pursue his retreat to Delhi, and Báji Ráo took possession of his conquests: but before he could receive the promised confirmation from the emperor, the progress of the transaction was arrested by one of those tremendous visitations which, for a time, render men insensible to all other considerations.

The empire was again reduced to the same state of decay which had on former occasions invited the invasions of Tamerlane and Báber; and a train of events in Persia led to a similar attack from that country.

Invasion of  
Nádír Sháh.

The family of Safaví, after having reigned for 200 years (about the usual duration of an Asiatic dynasty), fell into a state of corruption and decay, and was at last dethroned by the Afgháns of Candahár.

Previous  
transactions  
in Persia.

An account has already been given of the north-eastern portion of the Afghán nation;<sup>11</sup> but the western tribes, who were the actors in the revolution in Persia, differ from those described, in more points than one.

Western  
Afgháns.

Their country is on the high table-land<sup>12</sup> which is supported on the east by the mountains of Sóleimán, and separated by them from the plain on the Indus. On the north, a similar bulwark is formed by the range anciently called Caucasus, which overlooks the low level of the Oxus and of the Caspian Sea.<sup>13</sup> The part of this table-land westward of Herát belongs to the Persians, and that eastward of the same city to the Afgháns.

There are fertile plains in this tract, and on the most extensive of them are the cities of Cábul, Ghazní, Candahár, and Herát;<sup>14</sup> but the greater part consists of high downs, ill-suited to agriculture, and inhabited by pastoral tribes, who live in tents. They have the same government and the same character as the north-eastern Afgháns, except that they are much less turbulent and contentious. In the pastoral tracts, the Afgháns are almost unmixed: but a great part of the population of the plains, including the cities, consists of Tájiks, who speak Persian, and are

<sup>10</sup> 500,000*l*.

<sup>11</sup> Page 515.

<sup>12</sup> The city of Cábul is 6,000 feet above the sea. (Burnes' *Travels*, vol. i. p. 151.)

<sup>13</sup> See an essay by Mr. J. Baillie Fraser, in *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society*.

<sup>14</sup> Herát is just beyond the ridge which divides the waters that run to the south from those that flow northward to the Oxus; but it is on the same level with the rest of the table-land, and may be regarded as forming a part of it.



the same people that occupy similar situations in Persia and Transoxiana.

The plains alone formed the conquests of the Persian and Indian kings. The Afghan tribes remained independent, though those near the possessions of the two great monarchs must no doubt have been influenced by their power. The greatest of the western tribes were the Ghiljeis, who inhabited the country round Candahâr, and the Abdalis,<sup>16</sup> whose original seat was in the mountains of Ghôr, but who chiefly resided at the time now spoken of in the country round Herât. These tribes were always rivals, and often at war with each other.

During the reign of Shâh Hosein (the last of the Safavies) the Ghiljeis had given such offence to Persians as to draw a formidable expedition against them. George Khan, the prince of Georgia (a convert from Christianity to the Mahometan religion), was sent to Candahâr with an army of upwards of 20,000 men;<sup>17</sup> a force his opponents were unable to withstand. But so galling was the yoke of the Persians, that the Ghiljeis, ere long, resolved to run all risks to throw it off. They were headed by Mir Weis, their hereditary chief, a man of talents and enterprise, and well aware of the feeble condition of the Persian empire. Conducting his operations with sagacity, caution and boldness, Mir Weis surprised Candahâr, expelled the Persians from the surrounding country, and formed an acquisitions, with the original possessions of his tribe, into an independent state. This achievement took place in 1708, and was followed by repeated attempts of the Persians to recover Candahâr, in which they were at one time assisted by the Abdalis. In A.D. 1716 that tribe joined the Ghiljeis against them, and took Herât, and overran the greater part of Persian Khorasân. The two tribes, however, continued their mutual animosities; the Persians profited by their dissension, and recovered in operations against both until 1720; when the chief of the Ghiljeis formed the bold resolution of carrying the war to Persia, and striking at once at the existence of the government which had oppressed him and his people.

Mir Weis died in A.D. 1716, and was at first succeeded only by his brother; but his son, whose name was Mahmud, succeeded before long, and served on the government, and it was in

<sup>16</sup> Abdalis, a name given to the warlike tribes of the north, who were afterwards called Afghans, and who were the enemies of the Persians. See the account of the Afghans in the *History of Persia*, by Mr. Jones, vol. i. p. 181.

<sup>17</sup> See the account of the Afghans in the *History of Persia*, by Mr. Jones, vol. i. p. 181.

<sup>18</sup> See the account of the Afghans in the *History of Persia*, by Mr. Jones, vol. i. p. 181.

<sup>19</sup> See the account of the Afghans in the *History of Persia*, by Mr. Jones, vol. i. p. 181.

him that the invasion of Persia was planned. The Persians had before this been defeated in a great battle with the Abdálís, who now threatened Meshhed, and whose progress was assisted by the incursions of the Uzbeks from the Oxus.

The north-western part of Persia, also, had been invaded by the Lézgís, from Mount Caucasus, and the misconduct of the government itself made it weaker than those foreign attacks.

Mahmúd left Candahár with 25,000 men. He first marched to Kirmán, and thence to Yezd, from which place he moved directly on Isfahán.<sup>18</sup>

He was opposed at Gulnábád, in the neighbourhood of that capital, by an army of very superior numbers, admirably equipped, and furnished with twenty-four pieces of cannon.<sup>19</sup> But the spirit of the Persians was declined and their councils divided: the Afgháns obtained a complete victory, and soon after began operations against the town. Isfahán had at this time attained to its highest pitch of magnificence and population.<sup>20</sup> The last advantage became a calamity on the present occasion; for the Afgháns, finding themselves unable to make an impression on the walls, had recourse to intercepting the supplies. It seemed a wild project to blockade so extensive a city with 20,000 men, to which amount the Afgháns were now reduced; yet so well did Mahmúd supply the want of numbers by vigilance and activity, that the inhabitants before long began to suffer all the horrors of famine. The extent of this calamity, and the miseries endured by the besieged, are described by most writers as surpassing the greatest extremities ever known on such occasions.<sup>21</sup> This disproportioned contest continued for no less than six months, a proof of the prostration of the courage of the Persians as well as of their powers of endurance. At length, after all their sallies had been repulsed, and all the attempts of

<sup>18</sup> He had before been, for a time, in possession of Kirmán, while in a temporary alliance with Persia against the Abdálís. (Jones' *Histoire de Nádír Sháh*, introduction, sect. 6.)

<sup>19</sup> "The Persian soldiers looked fresh and showy, and all their equipments, from the tents in which they reposed, and the dresses they wore, to the gold and enamelled furniture of the sleek horses on which they rode, were rich and splendid. The Afgháns had hardly a tent to cover them, their horses were lean from fatigue, the men were clothed in tatters, and tanned by the rays of the sun; and, throughout their whole camp, it was emphatically observed, nothing glittered

'but their swords and lances.'" (Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 623.)

<sup>20</sup> Hanway, following Chardin, states the inhabitants at 600,000 souls (vol. ii. p. 164); and although the comparisons drawn by travellers between this city and those of India render so great a population incredible, yet it cannot be unreasonable to admit one-third of it, or 200,000 souls.

<sup>21</sup> The poet Mohammed Ali Hasán, however (who was in Isfahán during the siege), contradicts these statements, and doubts if any man actually died of hunger. (Belfour's *Memoirs of Hasán*, p. 122.)



northern, as far as the Araxes, to Russia. Ashref turned his attention in the first instance to the Turks: he defeated them in repeated actions, and compelled them to acknowledge his title; but he was not able to expel them from the conquests they had made. The Russians, though led by the Czar Peter in person, were less dangerous, from the strong country through which they had to advance: they had, however, made their way to Resht, on the south of the Caspian Sea, when their career was interrupted, and afterwards abandoned, in consequence of the death of the Czar.

But Ashref's most formidable enemy was now rising nearer home. Tahmásp, the son of Hosein, had fled from Isfahán, and had remained under the protection of <sup>Rise of</sup> Nádír Sháh. the tribe of Kájár, on the shore of the Caspian, with nothing of the royal dignity but the name. The first sign of a change of fortune was his being joined by Nádír Culfí, the greatest warrior Persia has ever produced.

This chief, who had first collected troops as a freebooter, now appeared as the deliverer of his country. He raised the courage of the Persians by his example and his success, called forth their religious zeal, and revived their national pride; until, by degrees, he elevated them from the abject condition into which they had sunk, to as high a pitch of military glory as they had ever before enjoyed.

His first exploits were the capture of Meshhed and the recovery of Khorásán from the Abdálís and Mohammed Khán of Sístán, who had seized on part of that province: he afterwards engaged the Ghiljeis under Ashref, who advanced to the northern frontier to attack him, drove them, in a succession of battles, to the southern limit of the kingdom, and so effectually wore down their army that they at last dispersed, and gave up the possession of their conquest, which they had retained for seven years. Most of their number were killed in the war, or perished in the desert on their return home. Ashref was murdered by a Belóch chief between Kirmán and Candahár (January 1729).

He drives out the Ghiljeis, and recovers Khorásán from the Abdálís.

Nádír next marched against the Turks, whose treaty with Ashref left them in possession of part of the Persian territories. He had already recovered Tabríz, when he received intelligence of a rising of the Abdálís, and was obliged to return to Khorásán.

On his former successful expedition against that tribe, he had followed up his victory by measures of conciliation. By those means, and from their common enmity to the Ghiljeis, he gained



By this change of religion Nádir hoped to eradicate all attachment to the Safavís, whose claims were founded on their being the champions of the Shíá sect; but, as the Persians remained at heart as much devoted as ever to the national faith, the real effect of the measure was to produce an alienation between the new king and his subjects, and led to consequences equally calamitous to both.

Though little aware of this result at the time, Nádir felt that a throne established by a succession of victories must be maintained by similar achievements: he therefore determined to gratify the pride of his countrymen by retaliating on their former conquerors, the Ghiljeis, and restoring Candahár to the Persian monarchy.

He made great preparations for this expedition, and set out on it at the head of an army estimated, by some authorities, at 80,000 men.<sup>24</sup> He had, on this occasion, the hearty co-operation of the Abdálís, while the Ghiljeis were dispirited and disunited. But they had not so far lost their martial character as to yield without a struggle; and it was not till after a close blockade of nearly a twelvemonth that Nádir ventured on an assault of Candahár: even then he was more than once repulsed before the city fell into his hands (March 1738). While the siege was pending, he settled the greater part of the surrounding country; and, at the same time, his son, Rezá 'Ulí Mírzá, who had marched from Meshhed against the Uzbeks, not only conquered the province of Balkh, but gained a victory on the Oxus, over the king of Bokhárá in person.

Nádir's conduct towards the Ghiljeis was moderate and politic: he took no vindictive measures in retaliation for the invasion of Persia; he treated the Ghiljeis like his other subjects, and enrolled many of them in his army; but he removed a portion of the tribe from their lands round Candahár, which he made over to the Abdálís, and particularly to that part of them who had been settled about Níshápúr, in the west of Khorásán.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 68. Hanway (vol. ii. p. 355) says that this army of 80,000 men was closely followed by another of 30,000; but these great numbers do not seem probable to the west of the Indus, where the vast armies common in India are very seldom seen.

<sup>25</sup> Jones' *Nadirnámeh*, Works, vol. v.

p. 275. The account of the Ghiljei conquest is almost entirely drawn from Hanway and the *Nadirnámeh*; that of Nádir Sháh's proceedings chiefly from the latter work. Hanway is himself a man of judgment and veracity, but his facts seem sometimes to rest on the authority of the *Dernière Révolution de la Perse*, a sort of version, we are told, of

The acquisition of the Ghiljī territory brought Nādir to the northern frontier of the Mogul empire. The extreme weakness of that monarchy could not escape his observation, and the prospect of repairing the exhausted resources of Persia from so rich a mine was scarcely a greater temptation than the means of employing the warlike tribes now subject to his authority, and combining their rival energies in a undertaking so acceptable to them all.

While engaged in the siege of Candahār, he had applied to the court of Delhi for the seizure or expulsion of some Afghans who had fled into the country near Ghaznī. The Indian government was probably unable to comply with this demand, and they seem also to have had some hesitation in acknowledging Nādir Shāh's title: for these reasons they allowed a long period to elapse without returning an answer. Nādir Shāh remonstrated in strong terms against this neglect of his application, and without further delay advanced on Ghaznī, Kabul, and Cabul. Another messenger, whom he now despatched to Delhi, having been cut off by the Afghans in the mountains, Nādir thought himself fully justified in an invasion of India. Cabul had fallen into his hands with little difficulty; but he remained in that neighbourhood for some months, for the purpose of settling the country, and did not commence his march to the eastward till near the approach of winter. The court of Delhi had been too much absorbed in the dread of the Marattas and its own internal dissensions to pay much attention to the proceedings of Nādir. As long as he was engaged in a contest with the old territory of Persia, they looked on with tranquillity; and even when he had invaded their own territory and taken Cabul, they still expected that the mountain tribes between that city and Peshāwar would check his further advance. But the money which, in regular times, was paid for the purpose of keeping up an influence with those tribes, had for some years been withheld; and they had no means of resisting him, nor possessed the power of interfering in favour of

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Kāshghar, Pashu, or Pashu, was given to the Afghans by the Moguls, and was derived from the word *Pashu*, which signifies a wild animal. The Afghans, however, called themselves *Barakzai*, and the Moguls, in consequence of this, called them *Barakzai*. The name of *Barakzai* was given to the Afghans by the Moguls, and was derived from the word *Barak*, which signifies a wild animal. The Afghans, however, called themselves *Barakzai*, and the Moguls, in consequence of this, called them *Barakzai*.

<sup>2</sup> A note on the Persian history of Mirza Miran, who is stated by Sir W. Jones to have been a confidential agent of Nādir Shāh. Though a native of Persia, he is said to have been a native of the province of Afsar, and to have been a native of the province of Afsar, and to have been a native of the province of Afsar.

the Moguls. It was therefore with dismay proportioned to their former supineness that the Moguls learned that Nádir had passed the mountains, had defeated a small force under one of their governors, had thrown a bridge of boats over the Indus, and was advancing into the Panjáb.

Nádir invades India.  
A.D. 1739,  
November;  
A.H. 1151,  
Ramazán.

Notwithstanding a faint show of opposition, attempted by the governor of Láhór, Nádir met with no real obstruction till he approached the Jumna, within one hundred miles of Delhi, when he found himself in the neighbourhood of the Indian army.

Mohammed Sháh had at length exerted himself to collect his force: he had been joined by A'saf Jáh, and had moved to Carnál, where he occupied a fortified camp. Sádát Khán, the viceroy of Oudh, arrived in the neighbourhood of this camp about the same time with Nádir Sháh; and an attempt to intercept him by the Persians brought on a partial action, which ended in a general engagement. The Indians would in no circumstances have been a match for the hardy and experienced soldiers opposed to them; and they were now brought up in confusion and without concert, A'saf Jáh having, from some real or pretended misconception, taken no part in the action.<sup>26</sup>

Defeats  
Mohammed  
Sháh.

The result was the rout of the Indian army; Kháni Dourán, the commander-in-chief, was killed, and Sádát Khán taken prisoner; and Mohammed had no resource but to send A'saf Jáh to offer his submission, and repair himself, with a few attendants, to the Persian camp. Nádir Sháh received him with great courtesy, and allowed him to return on the same day to his own encampment. He did not on that account desist from pressing his advantages; for he soon after obliged Mohammed to join his army, and in this manner the two kings marched on towards Delhi. Different accounts are given of the negotiations carried on during the interval, which were embarrassed by the rivalry of A'saf Jáh and Sádát Khán; but such intrigues could have no result of consequence, for Nádir had the power completely in his own hands, and required no prompter to tell him how to exercise it.

A.D. 1739,  
Feb. 13;  
A.H. 1151,  
Zi Cáada 15.

The army reached Delhi in the beginning of March, when both kings took up their residence in the royal

Advances  
to Delhi.  
A.D. 1739,  
March;

<sup>26</sup> The journal translated by Fraser (*Life of Nádir*, p. 154) makes Nádir's whole army, with the followers, who were all armed, amount to 160,000; but an

enumeration, by a news-writer in his camp, states his whole force, when at Pesháwar, at 64,500 fighting men and 4,000 followers. (*Ibid.* pp. 140, 141.)



palace. Nádir distributed a portion of his troops through out the town: he ordered strict discipline to be observed, and placed safeguards in different places for the protection of the inhabitants.

These precautions did not succeed in conciliating the Indians, who looked on the ferocity of these strangers with constant terror, and on their intrusion with disgust.<sup>5</sup> On the second day after the occupation of the city a report was spread that Nádir Sháh was dead, on which the hatred of the Indians broke forth without restraint. They fell on all the Persians within their reach: and, from the manner in which those troops were scattered throughout the city, a considerable number fell sacrifices to the popular fury. The Indian nobles made no effort to protect the Persians: some even gave those up to be murdered who had been furnished for the protection of their palaces.<sup>6</sup>

Nádir Sháh at first applied his whole attention to suppressing the tumult, and though provoked to find that it continued during the whole night, and seemed rather to increase than diminish, he mounted his horse at daybreak, in the hope that his presence would restore quiet. The first objects that met his eyes in the streets were the dead bodies of his countrymen, and he was soon assailed with stones, arrows, and flaming arrows from the houses. At last one of his chiefs was killed at his side, by a shot aimed at himself: which gave way to his passion, and ordered a general massacre of the Indians. The slaughter raged from sunrise till the sun was far advanced, and was attended with all the horrors that could be inspired by rapine, lust, and thirst of vengeance. The city was set on fire in several places, and was soon involved in one scene of destruction, blood, and terror.

At length Nádir, satiated with carnage, allowed himself to be prevailed on by the intercession of the emperor or his prime minister, and gave an order to stop the massacre: and, to the honour of his discipline, it was immediately obeyed.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The Indians, who were not only ignorant of the Persian language, but also of the Persian religion, looked on the Persians as a race of infidels, and were therefore naturally inclined to hate them. The Persians, on the other hand, looked on the Indians as a race of idolaters, and were therefore naturally inclined to hate them. The Persians, on the other hand, looked on the Indians as a race of idolaters, and were therefore naturally inclined to hate them.

<sup>6</sup> The Persians, on the other hand, looked on the Indians as a race of idolaters, and were therefore naturally inclined to hate them. The Persians, on the other hand, looked on the Indians as a race of idolaters, and were therefore naturally inclined to hate them. The Persians, on the other hand, looked on the Indians as a race of idolaters, and were therefore naturally inclined to hate them.

But the sufferings of the people of Delhi did not cease with this tragedy. Nádir's sole object in invading India was to enrich himself by its plunder, and he began to discuss the contributions from the moment of his victory. His first adviser was Sádat Khán : that nobleman died soon after reaching Delhi, when the work of exaction was committed to Sirbuland Khán and a Persian named Tahmásp Khán ; and their proceedings, which were sufficiently rigorous of themselves, were urged on by the violence and impatience of Nádir.

They first took possession of the imperial treasures and jewels, including the celebrated peacock throne. They afterwards seized on the whole effects of some great nobles, and compelled the rest to sacrifice the largest part of their property as a ransom for the remainder. They then fell on the inferior officers and on the common inhabitants : guards were stationed to prevent people leaving the city, and every man was constrained to disclose the amount of his fortune, and to pay accordingly. Every species of cruelty was employed to extort these contributions. Even men of consequence were beaten, to draw forth confessions. Great numbers of the inhabitants died of the usage they received, and many destroyed themselves to avoid the disgrace and torture. "Sleep and rest forsook the city. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. It was before a general massacre, but now the murder of individuals."<sup>31</sup>

Contributions were also levied on the governors of provinces ; until Nádir was at length convinced that he had exhausted all the sources from which wealth was to be obtained, and prepared himself to return to his own dominions. He made a treaty with Mohammed Sháh, by which all the country west of the Indus was ceded to him. He married his son to a princess of the house of Tímúr, and at last he seated Mohammed on the throne, invested

Nádir's  
extortions.

His rapacity  
and violence.

He prepares  
to return.

The country  
west of the  
Indus ceded  
to him.  
Mohammed  
Sháh re-  
stored.

the author of the *Seir ul Mutákhherín* : and the journal of a native Indian who was secretary to Sirbuland, given by Fraser in his *History of Nádir Sháh*. The succeeding transactions (in some of which the writer must have been an actor) are minutely recorded in the same journal. Hazin informs us the massacre lasted for half the day, and that the numbers slain were beyond calculation. Fraser makes the amount from 120,000 to 150,000 ; but the author of the *Nádirnámeh* seems nearest the truth, and probably below it, in stating that the

slaughter continued for almost the whole day, and that about 30,000 persons were put to the sword during the course of it. Scott. (vol. ii. p. 207) restricts the number to 8,000, but he does not give his authority ; and it is incredible that so small a result should be produced by many hours of unresisted butchery by a detachment of 20,000 men, which was the body employed on it.

<sup>31</sup> The words between inverted commas are drawn from Scott (vol. ii. p. 210) ; but the substance is the same in all the narratives.



south, and the only provinces which not had been laid waste by their ravages had now been destroyed by Nádir's army.

To these unavoidable evils the court added internal dissension. The prevailing faction was formed of a few great families, who, from their Türk descent, were called the <sup>Internal dissensions.</sup> Túrání nobles : the heads were the vazír Kamar ud dín Khán and A'saf Jáh, and they were connected by intermarriages as well as by party. To them were opposed all those desirous of supplanting them, or jealous of their ascendancy, among which number the emperor himself was thought to be included.

This divided government would have fallen an easy prey to the Marattas, had not circumstances procured it a respite from the encroachments of those invaders. If the power of Nádir Sháh had been underrated by the Moguls, it <sup>Proceedings of the Marattas.</sup> was probably quite unknown to Báji Ráo : and he seems to have been struck with amazement at the appearance of this terrible antagonist, in a field which he expected to have traversed unopposed. His first thought was to suspend all his plans of aggrandizement, and form a general league for the defence of India. "Our domestic quarrels (he writes) are now insignificant ; there is but one enemy in Hindostan." . . . "Hindús and Mussulmans, the whole power of the Deckan, must assemble."<sup>2</sup> When he was relieved from the fear of Nádir Sháh, he returned to his old designs. He had a ground of quarrel with the Moguls, as the agreement made by A'saf Jáh had not been formally ratified by the emperor, and the obvious course for him was to have enforced his claim at Delhi : but he was led to choose the Deckan for the theatre of the war, that he might be at hand to watch the proceedings of the Bosla of Berár and the Geikwár of Guzerát, who were plotting to overthrow his power under pretence of emancipating the rája. He disposed of the Bosla by engaging him in a remote expedition into the Carnatic, and then attacked Násir Jang, the second son of A'saf <sup>Attacks A'saf Jáh's possessions.</sup> Jáh, who had been left in charge of his father's government, and was encamped with 10,000 men at Burhánpúr. Báji Ráo at first surrounded him, and probably expected the same success as he had lately met with against A'saf <sup>A.D. 1740, A.H. 1153.</sup> Jáh himself : but the young viceroy showed a vigour unusual to the Moguls of that day ; and, being joined by a reinforcement, he attacked the Marattas, broke through their army, and had advanced to Ahmednagar, on his way to Púna, when <sup>Is repulsed by A'saf's son Násir Jang.</sup> Báji Ráo thought it prudent to come to an accommo-

<sup>2</sup> Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 547.

dation with him. The peshwā seems now to have been troubled and perplexed by the variety of embarrassments which he had brought on himself; and was at length obliged to quit Hindostan (for what purpose is not known), and to leave his plans were arrested by his death, which took place in 1749, at the Nerbudda.

He left three sons: Bāhājī Rāo, who succeeded him, and was connected with the English, and was the father of the celebrated and Shamsīr Bahādūr, to whom (though an illegitimate son) a Mahometan woman, and brought up in his mother's religion, he left all his possessions and pretensions in Bundelānd.

During the last years of Bāhājī Rāo's administration, he was engaged in wars in the Concan. The wars were conducted by his brother, Chimbhājī, and from the position of his enemies in forts and ships, he pressed on one side by the sea, and on the other by hills and mountains, required extraordinary exertions, and were attended with great success.

These enemies were Angria of Colaba, the Abyssinians of the western district, and the Portuguese. Angria, after the knowledge of Sāhō Rāja, remained in nominal dependence on the Maratta state, but employed his own resources with little or no control. His practices (which he called "hanging out of the sea") rendered him formidable to all his neighbours. The English made repeated attacks on him, with considerable forces, and on one occasion with the co-operation of the Portuguese, viz. 1719, yet failed in all their attempts. The Dutch also sent a strong force against him at a later period, viz. 1746, without success. The peshwā interposed in a dispute between two brothers of the family, and received from one of the contending parties two forts which they possessed in the district of Colaba. The contest, however, continued, and the war was not finally assisted by an English fleet, was not brought to a conclusion till the time of Bāhājī Rāo's death.

The power of the Abyssinians was less successful than that of the Marattas were as powerful as Angria. They were, however, in the practice of hanging out of the sea, and were formidable to all their neighbours. The English made repeated attacks on them, with considerable forces, and on one occasion with the co-operation of the Portuguese, viz. 1719, yet failed in all their attempts. The Dutch also sent a strong force against him at a later period, viz. 1746, without success. The peshwā interposed in a dispute between two brothers of the family, and received from one of the contending parties two forts which they possessed in the district of Colaba. The contest, however, continued, and the war was not finally assisted by an English fleet, was not brought to a conclusion till the time of Bāhājī Rāo's death.

territories on the mainland, and had even seized on some of their forts. The utmost result of the peshwá's efforts was to procure forbearance from those aggressions (A.D. 1736).<sup>5</sup>

The war with the Portuguese originated in the contest between the A'ngrias (A.D. 1737). It ended in the loss of the Portuguese possessions in Salsette, Bassein, and the <sup>With the Portuguese.</sup> neighbouring parts of the Concan (A.D. 1739). The difficulties encountered by the Marattas in this conquest may be estimated from their loss at the siege of Bassein, which they themselves admit to have amounted to 5,000 killed and wounded.<sup>6</sup>

The storms which were gathering round Báji Ráo at his death might have been expected to overwhelm his successor; <sup>Báji Ráo.</sup> but Bálaí, however inferior to his father in other respects, was at least his equal in address; and the skill with which he availed himself of some favourable circumstances effected his deliverance from the difficulties with which he was surrounded.

The dangers felt by Báji Ráo, besides his ill-success against Násir Jang, were caused by his financial embarrassments <sup>Domestic enemies of Báji Ráo.</sup> and his domestic enemies. The chief of his enemies were the <sup>The pirti nidhi.</sup> pirti nidhí, Raghuí Bosla, and Damaji Geikwár. The first was the old rival of his family,<sup>7</sup> and, though much depressed, was still formidable. Parsoji, the founder of the Boslas, afterwards rajas of Berár, was a private horseman from the neighbourhood of Sattára: though he bore the same name with the house of Sivaji, there is no proof that he was of the same descent. He, however, rose to distinction; and, being one of the first to join Rája Sáo when he returned from Delhi, was farther advanced by that prince, and invested with a right to collect all the Maratta dues in Berár and the forest country farther to the east. Raghuí, his cousin, who was a favourite of Sáo, <sup>Raghuí Bosla.</sup> and married to his sister-in-law, was raised to his station on his death, in preference to his son, who ought to have succeeded him. Raghuí had given offence to the peshwá by levying contributions to the north of the Nerbadda, in the tract which had been appropriated to the latter chief: he was likewise an object of jealousy, from the apprehension that he might prevail on Sáo to keep up the name of Bosla by adopting him. <sup>Damaji Geikwár.</sup> The Geikwár had been the guardian, and was now the representative, of Dábári, the chief of Guzerát, another of the peshwá's rivals, whose own ignorance and debauchery incapacitated him for business.

<sup>5</sup> Grant Duff.<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>7</sup> See p. 700.

The last of Bâji Râo's difficulties arose from the enormous debts incurred in his military expeditions, which, from the exhausted state of the country and some changes in the mode of war, no longer paid their own expenses.

His principal creditor, Bîrâmatiker, was himself a man of great consequence, and of immense wealth; his unsatisfied demands led to quarrels with Bâji Râo, and Raghujî secured his cooperation by promising to support his claims, and even to procure for him an indemnity, in the succession to the high office lately held by his debtor.

Raghujî, as has been mentioned, was on an expedition to the Carnatic, and was besieging Trichinopoly, when he heard of the peshwâ's death; and, although he instantly hastened to Sattâra to oppose Bâlaji's succession, he was obliged to leave the greater part of his army behind him; his views, also, were as inconsistent with those of the peshwâ's as with the peshwâ's, and he had therefore no concert with that minister. Damaji Gaikwâr was not ready to take the field, and Nâsir Jung, who soon after rebelled against his father, was too much occupied to profit by the Maratta dissensions. On the other hand, Bâlaji was already near the capital: he had been joined by a portion of his father's troops, under his uncle, Châmanji, and the rest were disposable and at hand; the râja was surrounded by his creatures, and, above all, he was the head of the Bramin party; and as all the business, even of his enemies, was in the hands of that class, he had a prodigious advantage in every contest. He was accordingly appointed peshwâ in spite of all opposition, and Raghujî returned to his army at Trichinopoly, whither Bîrâmatiker, in this change of circumstances, was glad to accompany him. Bâlaji, however, even did not fail to apply himself to the liquidation of his debts, a task for which he was much better fitted than his father.

After more than a year spent on internal arrangements, Bâlaji turned his attention to his claims on Hindostan, which he had been encroached on by Raghujî Bada. For this purpose he procured from the râja a distinct assignment of all the Maratta rights and all tribute that might be collected to the south of the Nerbudda, excepting in the province of Gurra. To give weight to this grant, Bâlaji marched towards the point from which he could most easily check the interference of Raghujî; he crossed the Nerbudda, took Gurra and Marich, and was about to move on Allahâbad, when he was recalled by an

invasion of Málwa by Damaji Geikwár from Guzerát. Damaji, who perhaps had no object but to make a diversion in favour of Raghuji, retired on his approach; and Bálaji took advantage of his position in Málwa to press the court of Delhi for a confirmation of the grant of that province, extorted by Báji Ráo from A'saf Jáh, which had remained in suspense during the Persian invasion. His views on this subject were facilitated by those very encroachments of Raghuji which it had been so much his desire to check.

Revives his father's demands on the court of Delhi.

This chief had, on his return from the Carnatic, sent a force into Bengal, under his Bramin minister, Bhásker Pandit, which had ravaged the province, threatening the viceroy himself when his troops were dispersed, and retiring into the southern and western hills when he was in force. Ali Verdí Khán,<sup>8</sup> then viceroy, maintained a good resistance to Bhásker Pandit; but he was alarmed at the advance of Raghuji in person, and besought the emperor to afford him immediate assistance, if he did not wish to lose the province. The emperor, conscious of his own weakness, ordered Safder Jang (who had succeeded his father, Sádát Khán, as viceroy of Oudh) to undertake the task; at the same time he took the more effectual measure of calling in the aid

Invasion of Bengal by Raghuji Boala.

The emperor purchases the aid of Bálaji by the formal cession of Málwa.

of Bálaji Ráo, and purchased it by a confirmation of the grant of Málwa.<sup>9</sup> Nothing could be more agreeable to Bálaji Ráo than this invitation. He immediately marched by Allahábád and Behár, and reached Murshidábád, the capital of the province, in time to protect it from Raghuji, who was approaching from the south-west. He here received from Ali Verdí the payment of an assignment granted to him by the court of Delhi on the arrears of the revenue of Bengal; and being now zealous in the cause which he was so well paid for espousing, he marched against the invader. Raghuji retired before him, but was overtaken, and suffered a rout, and the loss of his baggage, before he was completely driven out of the province. After this success Bálaji returned to Málwa, whence, after some time, he set out for Sattára.

Bálaji defeats and drives out Raghuji.  
A.D. 1743,  
A.H. 1156.

<sup>8</sup> Called also Mohábat Jang.

<sup>9</sup> Captain Grant Duff states that the grant was not confirmed until after the expulsion of Raghuji, in A.D. 1743, and it may not have been formally delivered over till then; but his own abstract of the grant (vol. ii. p. 15) bears the date of

Jamáda'l Awwal, in the twenty-fourth year of Mohammed Sháh's reign, which would be about May 1742. Bálaji, on his part, was to furnish 4,000 horse at his own cost, and 8,000 more to be paid by the emperor.



his return from Bengal, determined to profit by Bālah's absence, and was on full march for the capital. Deba Ghosh, Gorkhwar was also approaching from Guzerāt, and an agent of the pirti nidhi (who was himself disabled by sickness) was in active preparation to assist him. Bālah must have formed a high estimate of the power of this combination, since he thought the dissolution of it worth the sacrifice of the names of exclusive rights beyond the Nerbudda for which he had so successfully contended. He conceded to Raghuji the right of levying tribute in all Bengal and Benar, not also in Allahabad and Oudh. By this adjustment the other confederates were left without support: but it suited the peshwā's projects to temporise with them, and the storm which threatened so much disturbance was thus quietly dispelled. The concession to Raghuji seems to have been dictated by sound policy: his views were henceforth turned towards the east, and his designs on the succession to the rājā appear to have been laid aside. Bengal, indeed, soon afforded him sufficient employment.

Bhāskor Pandit was again sent into that province: his operations in the field were successful; but he suffered himself to be inveigled into an interview with Ali Verdi, by whom he was treacherously murdered, and at the same moment his army was attacked and dispersed. Bengal was thus, for a time, delivered from the Marattas. But Ali Verdi's chief support in the wars had been a body of Afghāns, under a celebrated leader named Mustafā Khān; and with them he now quarrelled. A serious revolt ensued, of which Raghuji took advantage: and although the revolt was at last subdued, and many other vicissitudes befell the contending parties, yet Raghuji was so far successful, in the end, that in A.D. 1761, not long before the death of Ali Verdi, he obtained a cession of Cuttack to a division of Orissa, and an engagement for Cuttack to the payment of twelve lacs of rupees (1200000) as the tribute to the peshwā of Bengal.

During all this time the Marattas had been entirely free from disturbances on the side of the Moghls. In A.D. 1757, Asafdar had been recalled from Delhi. In 1761, a revolt of his second son, Nāzir Jang, was suppressed, he was involved in disturbances in the subordinate government of Ayo

which occupied him till he died, at the age of seventy-seven.

His death.  
A.D. 1748,  
June,  
A.H. 1161,  
Jamáda's  
Sání.

His death led to contentions among his sons, which, being unconnected with events in the other parts of India, and chiefly influenced by the French and English, will be best understood when we come to relate the proceedings of those nations.<sup>10</sup>

The death of A'saf Jáh was followed, before the end of the succeeding year, by that of Sáho Rája ; and the latter event produced the crisis for which the peshwá had all along been preparing, and which was to decide the future fortune of himself and his descendants.

Death of  
Sáho Rája.  
A.D. 1749,  
(about Dec.

As Sáho was without issue it was necessary by the Hindú custom that he should *adopt* a successor ; and the same custom restricted the choice to his kindred. The nearest kinsman, in this case, was the rája of Cólápúr ; and his claim, in itself so difficult to set aside, was supported by a close alliance with Sávatrí Báí, the wife of Sáho, and the rival and enemy of the peshwá.

Intrigues  
and contests  
for the suc-  
cession.

Though the government was entirely in the hands of Bálají, the personal conduct of the rája was almost as much under the control of his wife, the imbecility into which he had of late years fallen rendering him incompetent to judge for himself. There was, therefore, a continual danger of her prevailing on Sáho to adopt the rája of Cólápúr ; and it was impossible for Bálají to anticipate her, as he was unprovided with a claimant, and could not yet venture to seize on the government in his own name. In this perplexity he had recourse to a stratagem well worthy of the subtlety of his class. Tará Báí, the widow of Rája Rám, who had so long maintained the claims of her son, Sivají II., in opposition to Sáho, was still alive at an advanced age ; and although her enmity to the peshwá was not abated, she was tempted, by the prospect of recovering her influence, to enter into the designs of that minister. In furtherance of their project, a secret intimation was conveyed to Sáho, that a posthumous son of Savají II. had been concealed by Tará Báí, and was still alive. Saho made known his supposed discovery to the peshwá, and it was determined to question Tará Báí. It may be imagined that she readily admitted the fact ; but the old story was treated with ridicule by the other party, and Sávatrí Báí redoubled her vigilance to prevent the

Boldness  
and address  
of Bálají.

<sup>10</sup> [See Mill's *History*, vol. iii.—ED.]

rāja from acting on the delusion produced by it. She was able to prevent an adoption which could not take place without a certain degree of publicity; but she was circumvented by a still greater audacity for which she could not have been prepared. Tara Bai signed no less than an assertion that the rāja had signed a deed of adoption, transferring all the powers of his government to the pēshwā, on condition of his maintaining the royal title and dignity in the house of Sivaji through the grandson of Tārā Bāi. It is said that this important deed was executed at a secret interview between Bāljī and the rāja, so that whether the signature (if genuine) was obtained by persuasion or fraud, *when* the deed was produced, and how far its authenticity was admitted at the time, are left in an obscurity which is rendered more mysterious by the conduct of Bāljī and Tara Bai in circumstances which will appear in the sequel.

At the moment of the death of Sahu, the pēshwā called on the great chiefs to take fresh force to Sattārā, and seized on the head of the party opposite to him. He then proclaimed the grandson of the late government, Tārā Bāi by the title of Rām Rāja, and took measures to promote the influence of that princess, with the intention of turning it to his own use. After these preparations, he summoned the great chiefs to court, that the new arrangements might be confirmed by their recognition. Panaji, Geikwār did not attend, but Raghuji Boshla appeared as an ally and, after some affected inquiries, acknowledged the success of Rām Rāja. The former concessions to him were confirmed and he received, in addition, a portion of the lands of the pēt niddi, which were now confiscated. Various other chiefs received advantages calculated to bind them to the new government; and, among others, Sindia and Holkar received assignments of the whole revenue of Mālwa, except a small portion granted to other chiefs.

The establishment of the pēshwā's authority was not effected without some attempts at insurrection, and was endangered by a temporary quarrel between him and his cousin, Nāgashahaji, Bāljī's son; but it was at length so fully completed as to leave Bāljī at liberty to engage in the affairs of foreign states. He then undertook the cause of Ghazāl at the

[1] The pēshwā's policy relating to this subject was to give the rāja a nominal authority, which he could not exercise, and to keep him in a state of dependence on himself. He was to be a figurehead, and his only power was to give a sanction to the pēshwā's measures.

[2] The transfer of the sovereignty to the pēshwā was a deed which was done in 1713, which was a great step towards the establishment of the pēshwā's authority. The pēshwā's authority was established in 1713, and the pēshwā's authority was established in 1713.

Khán, the eldest son of A'saf Jáh, against Salábat Jang, his third son, who was in possession of the family inheritance, after the death of two other competitors, cut off during a civil war. He had before transferred his residence to Púna, and he now left Rám Rája at Sattára in perfect freedom, but under the control of Tára Bái. He then marched into Nizám's territory, and was already in the neighbourhood of Salábat's army, when he received intelligence which obliged him to relinquish his undertaking, and to return by forced marches to his own country. He had no sooner set out on his campaign than Tára Bái, whose ambition and violence were not tamed by age, secretly invited Damaji Geikwár to march with his army to Sattára: at the same time she proposed to Rám Rája to assert his sovereignty; and, finding the rája averse to her design, she took advantage of the approach of Damaji to seize his person, and confine him to a dungeon. She had it still in her power to have made use of her prisoner's name: instead of that she proclaimed him an impostor, and carried on the government without any ostensible authority but her own.

He is recalled by the insurrection of Tára Bái and Damaji Geikwár.

Notwithstanding the rapidity of the peshwá's return, his officers had already more than once encountered the Geikwár; and the advantage, after some alternations of success, was on their side, when Bálaji arrived. But that wily Bramin trusted to other arms than the sword; he procured a meeting with Damaji, at which he treacherously made him prisoner: attacked his army, thus deprived of their leader, and, in the end, completely broke up and dispersed his force. Tára Bái, though stripped of military force, and founding no title on the rája's pretensions, had still some inexplicable influence which prevented the peshwá from crushing her. She derived aid at the present moment from the advance of Salábat Jang, who invaded the Maratta dominions in his turn, and was more formidable than any of his predecessors since Aurangzib; being accompanied by a French subsidiary force of 500 Europeans and 5,000 sepoys, under M. Bussy, the most distinguished of the officers of his nation that ever appeared in India. Though Bálaji opposed the invasion with all the resources of Maratta war, he soon learned their inefficiency against his new adversary, who repulsed his assaults, beat up his camps, and, before long, established a general impression of his own superiority. By these means the army advanced to within twenty miles of Púna. Bálaji probably felt little uneasiness about his infant capital,

Bálaji seizes Damaji by treachery.

Salábat Jang advances on Púna.

Superiority of the invaders—M. Bussy.

A.D. 1751, Nov.

but was alarmed by the discovery that the invaders were in communication with Tārā Bāi and the rajā of Golapūr, and made overtures for peace: which were in the course of negotiation, when he was unexpectedly relieved from the presence of his enemies. However superior to all parties in the field, Bussy was dependent on the civil arrangements of the prince with whom he served; and the mismanagement of Salābat and his ministers had embarrassed his finances, thrown his troops into arrears, and brought on such disasters that the army became nearly ungovernable: at the same time Raghuji Boshā (who had just obtained the cession of Catta and the tribute of Bengal formerly mentioned) broke into the Nizām's part of Berār, took the forts of Gāwēlghar and Narmāda, and threatened further hostilities. Salābat was therefore well satisfied to make up an armistice, and move back to his own dominions: where new troubles, in 1731, were introduced by the Marattas, were again actors, awaited him at a distant period.

The division of India into several states, and the necessity of pursuing their separate histories, make it difficult, at this stage, to preserve the order of time, and have carried us on in the Maratta transactions for several years beyond the date to which those of Delhi have been brought down. These last, however, were for a long time of little importance. On the departure of Asāf dāh for the Deccan (A.D. 1741) his place at court was taken by his son, Ghāzi ud din, whose political connexion with the vizir, Kamār ud din, Khān, was strengthened by his being married to the daughter of that minister. Their union enabled them to resist many intrigues and combinations, which were stained with treachery and assassinations, on both sides, beyond the worst epoch of former history.

The only event of importance within that period was the appearance of the Rōhillas, an Afghan colony, which acquired possession of the country east of the Ganges from Chaudhūrī, the British, and made a considerable figure in later times. Their chief was Abū Mohammād, a Hindu convert, adopted by an Afghan officer, and they were themselves mostly composed of Afghans and other tribes of the north-east. Though, not long previous, not otherwise known, their appearance as a state, they had immediately attracted to considerable importance; and a British expedition, headed by the emperor to bring them to temporary submission.

But a far more formidable combination of the same

people was forming within their native limits ; and fresh invasions were prepared for India, by the death of her most dreaded enemy.

Fresh invasions from the side of Persia. Revolutions in that country. Tyranny of Nádir Sháh.

Though Nádir Sháh had not attained to sovereignty without incurring all the varieties of guilt by which that prize must be purchased in the East, and although he had more than once given instances of barbarous severity in his treatment of some offending towns, yet on the whole, up to the taking of Delhi, he was, perhaps, less sanguinary than the generality of Asiatic monarchs, especially those of Persia. But the scenes of spoil and slaughter to which he was habituated, together with the intoxication of uninterrupted success, appear to have commenced an alteration in his character, which gradually changed him from a rigorous but not unjust master, into a cruel and capricious tyrant. These qualities did not at once disclose themselves to their full extent. The first years after his return from India were occupied in the conquest of the kingdoms of Bokhárá and Khárizm (which he subdued and evacuated as he had done India), in an attempt to reduce the hill-tribe of Lézgí, and in three campaigns against the Turks : but when this war was terminated by a treaty, and the mind of Nádir remained without a vent for its natural energy, it turned its powers against itself, and became the abode of dark suspicions and ungoverned passions. His chief uneasiness arose from the religious prejudices of his countrymen.

His fears of the Shías.

Though he had endeavoured to render the Sunní religion more acceptable, and to give it something of a national character, by placing its establishment under the special protection of the Imám Jáfír, who was a descendant of Alí, and a favourite saint in Persia, yet he was aware that the people were still zealous Shías, and that the feelings of the sect were turned against him by the priests, whose lands and stipends he had confiscated immediately after his accession. He therefore looked on every Persian as his enemy, but was especially jealous of his eldest son, Rezá Culí, who, he thought, was the fittest instrument for the purposes of the disaffected. He had been wounded in a forest, on one of his campaigns, by a shot from a secret hand ; and although there was no reason to think that the assassin was not one of the enemy, yet he could not divest himself of the belief that he was an emissary of the prince. The working of these feelings at last led him to put out the eyes of Rezá Culí ; and his remorse, instead of softening his heart, exasperated his fury. He now taunted all who entreated

He puts out the eyes of his son.

him for mercy with their failure to intercede when his own life was in danger. His conduct became that of an open enemy to the *Uzbeks* of his species. His cruelties were equalled by his *tricks*, extortions, and both were accompanied by threats and expressions of hatred against his subjects. These oppressions led to revolts, which drew on fresh enormities: whole tribes were depopulated, and towers of heads raised to commemorate their ruin: eyes were torn out, tortures inflicted, and no man could count for a moment on his exemption from death or torment. During the last two years of his life his rage was increased by bodily sickness, until it partook of frenzy, and until his subjects were compelled to lay plots for ridding themselves of a tyrant whose existence was incompatible with their *justice* and own. In his distrust of his countrymen, he had often *trained* a body of Uzbek mercenaries, and he had thrown himself, without reserve, on the Afghans, taking pleasure in mortifying his old soldiers by a marked preference of their former enemies and his own. He now began to mature a design for employing these new allies in hostility to his own nation, of whom he lived in constant dread. On the day of his death, while labouring under some presentiment of coming heaped on his horse in the midst of his camp, and was on the point of flying from his own army to take refuge in a fortress. When his mind was somewhat calmed, after this act of madness, he sent for the Afghan chiefs, appealed to their pity for the preservation of his life, and concluded by instructing them to disperse his Persian guards, and to seize on his principal nobles. These orders were not given so secretly but they came to the ears of those so nearly concerned; and as the hour was to pass before their destruction was accomplished, they had time to anticipate it by the assassination of their enemy.

A number of the conspirators, among whom were the captain of his guard and the chief of his own tribe of Afghans, entered his tent after midnight; and, although they involuntarily drew back when challenged by that deep voice, as when they had so often trembled, yet they soon recovered their courage. One of them made a blow at the king with a sabre, and brought him to the ground; he endeavoured to raise himself up, and attempted to beg his life; but the conspirators continued to deal him blows until he expired. "The tomb," said they, "shall be the monument of his crimes, and the execution of his country."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Journal de l'Asie Mineure*, &c. &c. Sh. d. is his physician in the last years of his life. See also *Journal de l'Asie Mineure*, &c. &c. for the best account of the

On the next morning an attack was made on the Persians by the Afgháns, under the command of Ahmed Khán Abdálí, who was joined by the Uzbeks. It was made <sup>Retreat of the Afgháns.</sup> in the hope of being still in time to rescue the Sháh; but, considering the inferiority of the numbers of the Afgháns, they may be reckoned fortunate in making good their retreat to their own country, near the frontier of which the death of Nádir took place.<sup>14</sup>

Ahmed Khán was the son of Zemán Khán, the hereditary chief of the Abdálís, who headed them on their first conquest of Khorásán. He was descended of the family <sup>Ahmed Khán Abdálí.</sup> of Sadduzei, which was looked on with a sort of religious veneration by their tribe; and, although only twenty-three years of age, he had been distinguished by the particular notice of Nádir Sháh.<sup>15</sup>

He had, therefore, already the command of his own tribe, which he hastened to confirm; and, extending his influence over the neighbouring tribes and countries, before the end of the year he was formally declared king at Candahár. From some superstitious motive, he changed the name of his tribe from Abdálí to Durrání, by which it has been since known.<sup>16</sup> He modelled his court on that of Nádir Sháh, and assumed all the pretensions of that monarch, but exercised them with the moderation that was required by his circumstances. He was absolute in the

Ahmed crowned king at Candahár. Oct. 1747.

Changes the name of Abdálís to Durránís.

period. The other authorities for his history are Sir John Malcolm's *Persia*, the *Nadirnámeh* (translated by Sir W. Jones), and Hanway. Hanway gives a different view of the transactions relating to Rezá Culi, but Bazin's is confirmed by the *Nadirnámeh*, which, likewise gives a lively picture of the tyranny and atrocities of Nadir Shah. Livre vi. chap. xix. p. 398. Jones's *Works*, vol. v.)

<sup>14</sup> An animated description of this unequal contest, and of the valour and good order with which the 4,000 Afgháns conducted their retreat, is given by Bazin, who was a spectator of the action. "au milieu des balles et des sabres."

<sup>15</sup> The person of a Sadduzei was inviolable, and no officer, of whatever rank, could put an Abdálí to death without the authority of a Sadduzei. I have been led to think that the common story of Ahmed having been a mace-bearer of Nádir Shah originated in the circumstance that the word "chobádar," which on the west of the Indus belongs to a few of the greatest officers of state (who carry wands

or gold sticks), is in India applied to a common mace-bearer; yet it is not probable that one of those high offices would be conferred on the chief of a foreign tribe. Ahmed's early history is well known. He was a prisoner with the Ghiljeis when Candahár was taken by Nádir Sháh. That conqueror received him with favour, assigned him an honourable maintenance, and sent him to reside in Má-zandérán (*Nadirnámeh*, vol. v. of Jones, p. 274). His object probably was to keep him at a distance from his tribe as long as the country was unsettled; for it appears from a contemporary writer, who accompanied the Persian camp, that "Nádir Sháh always kept a watchful eye over him: but the officers of all ranks treated him, in private, with great respect." (*Memoirs of Abdoolkereem*, p. 176.)

<sup>16</sup> By an unaccountable confusion, the Indians sometimes call the Durránís, Ghiljeis: in the north they are also called Khorásánís, but Durrání is the usual as well as the correct appellation.





army continued to repel the Durránís till the tenth day, when, after a general and desperate attack on the intrenchments, during which a party of them made its way into the midst of the camp, the assailants were totally repulsed and defeated, and compelled to march off homewards during the ensuing night.

A.D. 1748,  
March;  
A.H. 1161,  
Rabi ul  
Awwal 20.

The Mogul prince forthwith sent a viceroy to the Panjáb; but, as he was immediately afterwards recalled to Delhi by the illness of his father, Ahmed Sháh turned back before he had reached the Indus, and did not quit the Panjáb until the new viceroy had engaged to pay a permanent tribute.

Death of  
Mohammed  
Sháh.  
A.D. 1748,  
April;  
A.H. 1161,  
Rabi us Sani  
20.

Mohammed Sháh expired within a month after the battle of Sirhind, and was succeeded by his son, who bore the same name as his Durrání neighbour.

## CHAPTER IV.

### TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

#### *Ahmed Sháh.*

THE return of the Afghán monarch to the Panjáb, combined with his well-known power and activity, kept the new sovereign in a state of continued anxiety, and obliged him to sacrifice a portion of his independence for the sake of such allies as might secure him from foreign conquest. He therefore offered the appointment of vazír to A'saf Jáh; and on his declining it (which was soon followed by his death), he invited Násir Jang (who succeeded A'saf in the Deckan) to move to his assistance with all the troops he could assemble. But it was not long before he learned that the Durrání king was occupied in the western part of his dominions; in consequence of which intelligence he was enabled to dispense with the aid he had solicited, and was left to make his internal arrangements in the way best suited to his own views. He appointed Saffder Jang, the son of Sádát Khán, to be vazír: and as that nobleman retained his viceroyalty of Oudh, the first efforts of the imperial government were directed to the suppression of the Rohillas, who had again become formidable in the northern part of that province.

A.D. 1748,  
A.H. 1161.  
Internal  
arrange-  
ments of  
the new  
king.

Saffder Jang's prospect was favourable, for Alí Mohammed

was dead; and he engaged Cāim Khān Bangash, the Afghan jingildār of Farukhābād, to conduct the war against his countrymen; but Cāim Khān, though at first successful, lost his life in battle; and Sadler Jang, disappointed in his main object, turned his misfortune to account, by dispossessing the widow of his ally of the greater part of her territory. His ungenerous conduct brought him no advantage; the people of Cāim Khān's country rose upon his agent, and called in the Rohillas, against whom the vazīr was obliged to march in person. He was accompanied by a very numerous army, but so ill-disciplined, that they sacked their own town of Bāra (so famous as being peopled by descendants of the prophet), and massacred many of the inhabitants who resisted the outrage. It is not surprising that such an army was routed by a very inferior force. The vazīr himself was wounded; the Rohillas proceeded to carry their arms into his country; and, though beaten off from Lucknow and Bēlgrām, they penetrated to Allahābād, and set the power of the vazīr and the empire altogether at naught.

Sadler Jang saw his embarrassments increasing, while his own power of resisting them was exhausted, and he resolved to have recourse to the humiliating expedient of calling in the Marattas. He applied to Malhar Rāo Holkar and Dattajī Scindia, whom the peshwā had recently sent back into Mālwa, and induced them, by the promise of a large subsidy, to war him with the greater part of their forces. By the same means he obtained a renewal of the services of Sūraj Mal, rājā of the Jats, who had been his confederate on the former expedition. With these auxiliaries, he defeated the Rohillas in a pitched battle, overran their country, and drove them into the lower branches of the Himālaya, which form their boundary on the east. To satisfy the claims of the Marattas, he authorised them to levy their subsidy from the conquered territory, and to exchange it for a state from which it did not receive tribute.

But the activity of these plunderers, the Rohillas were obliged to suffer difficulties for subsistence, that they submitted to Sadler Jang, and were content with the assignment of a few villages for the maintenance of their chiefs.

The little advantage which the Mogul government gained by this war, *the first of the kind since the death of the emperor*, was

this success was more than compensated by the defeat of the governor of Ajmír, who had interfered in a civil war between two claimants to the principality of Jódhpúr.

Defeat of the imperial troops in Márwár.

While the weakness of the Mogul government was thus daily more displayed, intelligence arrived that Ahmed Sháh Durrání had again invaded the Panjáb; and it was soon followed up by accounts of his having obtained complete possession, and by an ambassador demanding a formal cession of the province.

Second invasion of Ahmed Shah Durrání.

The visit of Nádir Shah was still sufficiently remembered to produce a ready compliance with the demand; and when the vazír arrived at Delhi

Cession of the Panjáb.

with his Maratta allies, he found the arrangement concluded. There is no reason to doubt that he would himself have agreed to it if he had been on the spot, or that he would have disregarded it, after it was made, if he had thought that he could gain by infringing it; but he had other grounds of dissatisfaction with the court, and he made this cession, which he represented as degrading, the pretext of his complaints. During his absence in Róhilcand, his influence at court had been supplanted

Discontent of Safder Jang, the vazír.

by a eunuch named Jawíd, who was favoured both by the emperor and his mother. Safder Jang, finding that his presence did not restore his authority, took a course which had become familiar at Delhi: he invited Jawíd to an entertainment, and had him murdered during the banquet.

He assassinates the emperor's favourite.

The emperor was naturally exasperated at this outrage, and he soon got a suitable instrument to avenge him on the vazír. Ghází ud dín, the eldest son of A'saf Jáh, had remained at Delhi during the first part of the

Ghází ud dín the younger.

contest between his younger brothers; but seeing an opening afterwards, he entered into a connexion with the peshwá, and set off for the Deckan, accompanied by Holcar and Sindia. He died soon after his arrival at Aurangábád; and his son, a mere youth, whom he had left at Delhi, was promoted by the vazír's favour to the title of Ghází ud dín, and the high office of commander-in-chief. It was this young man that now guided the operations designed against his benefactor. He was a specimen of such of the Mogul courtiers as were not quite sunk in sloth. Restless and ambitious, as skilful in dissembling his passions as incapable of controlling them, he looked on perfidy and murder as the natural means of attaining his ends, and was as reckless of consequences as regardless of principle.

The result of his measures was a civil war; not determined, as usual, by a battle in the field, but carried

Resists the vazír.

on for six months in daily combats in the streets of Delhi. The factious hostility of the parties was embittered by religious fury: the vazir was a Shīa, and the test-word of his sect, and that of the Sunnis, became the war-cries of the combatants on each side. At length, the vazir, finding his position becoming weaker, and alarmed at the approach of the Marattas under Mauhār Rao, whom Ghāzi ud dīn had called in as an auxiliary, consented to make peace, retaining possession of the provinces of Oudh and Allahābad. Ghāzi ud dīn, thus relieved, and anxious to employ his Maratta friends, while he revenged himself on a partisan of the vazir, marched against Sūraj Mal, the rājā of the Jāts, in the siege of whose strong forts, especially Dīg and Bharatpūr, he found ample occupation for his army. But the emperor was by this time more disgusted with his arrogant and overbearing temper than he had ever been with Saifur Jang: and moved out with what troops he could assemble, on pretence of hunting, but really to profit by the difficulties in which Ghāzi ud dīn was entangled. So little judgment was shown in his ill-concerted operations that no step had been taken to secure the cooperation of Saifur Jang: and it did not require the acuteness and activity of Ghāzi ud dīn to turn the whole scheme against his supposed enemy. Without discontinuing the siege on which he was employed, he sent his Maratta confederate against Ahmed: but when he heard that the emperor was taken prisoner in the battle which followed, he repaired in person to the camp, deposed the captive king, and put out his eyes, as well as those of the queen, his mother. He then fixed on one of the princes of the blood for successor to the throne, and proclaimed him by the title of Alamgir II.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Alamgir II.*

Saifur Jang died soon after this revolution, and Ghāzi ud dīn took the office of vazir to himself, leaving Shāh Shuja ud doulā, the son of Saifur Jang, in possession of his father's provinces, of which he was unable to dispossess him. A longer period of tranquillity now elapsed than might have been expected from the restless ambition of the new vazir: but his internal government was still as arbitrary as ever. At length, he provoked a numerous body of Maratta troops to mutiny, and made himself personally a prisoner. He was seized by the insurgents and

<sup>1</sup> He was a son of the Emperor Aurangzeb, and the name of the Maratta who was called in by him was Shāh Shuja ud doulā. He was a son of the Emperor Aurangzeb, and the name of the Maratta who was called in by him was Shāh Shuja ud doulā.

dragged through the streets without his slippers or his turban. Though threatened with instant death, he continued to revile his captors, and to say that they should pay for their insolence with their heads. At length he was rescued by the interposition of the officers; when he instantly ordered a massacre of the whole body, giving up their tents, horses, and property to plunder, so as not to leave a vestige remaining of the corps.

Álamgír, on pretence of saving the life of Ghází ud dín, had offered, while the disturbance was at its height, to pay the mutineers a considerable sum of arrears, if they would deliver their prisoner into his hands; but the proposal served only to awaken the suspicions of the vazír, who took additional measures to guard against the possible intrigues of his nominal sovereign.

When interrupted by this adventure, Ghází ud dín was on his march towards Láhór, and he now continued his progress. Mir Manu, the Mogul governor of the Panjáb, whom Ahmed Sháh had continued in his office after the cession, had died. His son had been appointed his successor by the Durrání monarch, but was an infant under the tutelage of his mother. This state of things presented an irresistible temptation to the young vazír: he immediately entered into a most amicable correspondence with the widow, claiming the hand of her daughter, to whom he had really been affianced, and advancing towards Láhór as if to celebrate the marriage; when he had completely lulled all suspicion, he surprised the town and made the governess prisoner in her bed. While they were conveying her to the camp she broke into invectives against the treachery of her son-in-law, and prophesied the ruin of India, and the slaughter of its inhabitants, as the certain consequence of the vengeance of Ahmed Sháh. Her prediction was but too early accomplished; for Ahmed no sooner heard of the outrage offered to him than he flew to revenge it; and speedily effecting his march from Candahár, passed through the Panjáb without opposition, and soon presented himself within twenty miles of Delhi. Ghází ud din, having contrived to pacify the widow of Mir Manu and to procure her intercession, repaired at once to the Durrání camp, and received pardon as far as his own person. Ahmed Sháh, however, insisted on pecuniary compensation and marched on to Delhi to enforce his demand. Nearly all the horrors of Nádir Sháh's invasion were repeated on his arrival; for though not himself cruel like that monarch, he had much less command

His suspicions of the emperor.

A.D. 1756,  
A.H. 1170-71.  
His treacherous seizure of Ahmed Sháh  
Durrání's governor of the Panjáb.

Third invasion of Ahmed Sháh.

He takes Delhi.

over his troops; and the city again became a scene of rapine, violence, and murder.

Nor were these sufferings confined to the capital; Ahmed Shah <sup>Massacres and exactions.</sup> sent a detachment of his army, with Ghāzi ud din, to levy a contribution from Shujā ud doula, and marched himself, with a similar intention against the Jāts. He took a fort called Balaughar after an obstinate resistance, and put the garrison to the sword; but the action which leaves the deepest stain on his character, or rather on that of his nation, was the massacre at Mattra. This city (one of the most holy among the Hindūs) was surprised by a light detachment during the height of a religious festival, and the unoffending votaries were slaughtered with all the indifference that might be expected from a barbarous people, accustomed to serve under Nādir, and equally filled with contempt for Indians and hatred for idolatry. Meanwhile Ahmed himself was advancing towards Agra, to which city as well as to one of the Jāt forts, he laid siege. But by this time the summer was far advanced, and a mortality broke out among the Durranis, who are incapable of bearing heat: he was therefore obliged to

be content with the money he had levied, and to direct his course towards his own dominions. Before he went he married a princess of the house of Delhi, and contracted another to his son, afterwards Timur Shah; and having been entreated by the emperor to leave him at the mercy of the vazir, he appointed Nujib ud doula, a Rohilla chief of abilities and of excellent character,\* to be commander-in-chief at Delhi: in the hope that his own influence, even when at a distance, would render that nobleman a counterpoise to Ghāzi ud din.

But no sooner had he quitted India, than Ghāzi ud din once more set him at defiance. He was at Farokhnagar when the Afghan king departed, and he immediately gave the appointment of commander-in-chief to Ahmed Khan Bangash, the chief of that place, in supersession of Nujib ud doula. But as he was not sufficiently strong to effect an entire revolution by himself, he called in the aid of the Marattas, who were now in greater power than ever.

Although Bāhāj made peace with Salābat Jang (as has been

\* See Memoirs, 1741, note (E). The above account is chiefly from the story of Mir Asaf-ud-Daula, the most respectable with the Afghan writers. But

the latter state that Ahmed Shah did not leave Delhi, and that the whole expedition to Agra, as well as that to Mattra, was commanded by Sardar Johan Khan.

stated) in the beginning of A.D. 1752, it was no obstacle to his entering into fresh intrigues with Ghází ud dín *the elder*, the brother and competitor of Salábat. On the arrival of that prince from Delhi, Bálaí joined him at Aurangábád with all his forces; and so numerous was the combined army, that even the aid of Bussy might have been insufficient to have saved Salábat Jang, if the danger had not been averted by the sudden death of Ghází ud dín. After this Bálaí became involved in affairs to the southward, and transactions with the French and English, which will be best related with the history of those nations. But as his government got settled at home, he ventured to release Damají Geikwár, and to avail himself of his assistance in settling the province of Guzerát. He made severe terms, involving payments and reservations which led to many disputes in the end: but at first all went prosperously. Damají set out in company with the peshwá's brother, Ragoba, (A.D. 1755), and they soon reduced the whole province to complete subjection and obedience. Ragoba next levied contributions on the Rájput states, and returned through Málwa to the Deckan. In the end of A.D. 1756 he was again sent into Málwa; and it was to him that the present application was made by young Ghází ud dín. Supported by this ally, the vazír advanced on Delhi, occupied the city, and laid siege to the fortified palace, which held out more than a month.

Previous transactions of that nation.

Ragoba, the peshwá's brother, marches to support Ghází ud dín the younger.

It was, nevertheless, evident that Najíb ud doula could no longer withstand his enemies; and the emperor had already taken the precaution of sending his son, afterwards Sháh A'lam, to a place of safety; the escape of Najíb himself was the principal difficulty remaining, and it was accomplished by means of a bribe to Malhár Ráo Holcar. The emperor then opened his gates and received Ghází ud dín as his vazír. Najíb ud doula retired to his own country, which was about Seháranpúr to the north of Delhi, and divided from Róhilcand by the Ganges.

Takes Delhi. Escape of the heir-apparent, and of Najíb ud doula.

After the taking of Delhi, Ragoba remained encamped near that city, until he was called away to an important and easy conquest. When Ahmed Sháh withdrew from India in the preceding year (A.D. 1757), he left his son Tímúr in charge of the Panjáb, under the guidance of Sirdár Jehán Khán. Their most dangerous opponent was Adín a Bég, a man of a turbulent and artful character, who had been deputy to Mír Manu, and whose intrigues had mainly

A.D. 1758, A.M. 1171. Ragoba takes possession of the Panjáb.



contributed to the various disturbances and revolutions in the Panjáb. He had fled from the province when it was occupied by Ahmed Sháh, and now returned for the purpose of continuing his factious designs. He first employed his influence with the Sikhs, who had recovered their strength during the past disorders; but not finding their power sufficient for his purpose, he applied to Ragoba, and pointed out the ease with which he might gain a rich prize for his countrymen. Ragoba marched accordingly, took possession of Láhór in May 1756, and occupied the whole of the Panjáb, the Durranis retiring across the Indus without attempting a battle.

The government was conferred on Adina Bég; and on his death, which happened soon after, a native Maratta was appointed as successor. Before this change, Ragoba had set off for the Deccan, leaving the Panjáb in temporary security, and the Maratta affairs prosperous in other parts of Hindostan. A force had marched from Delhi under Dattaji Sindia, for the purpose of pursuing Najib ud doula into his retreat; and Najib, unable to resist, left his country to be plundered, and took post at Sakertál, a defensible ford of the Ganges. He maintained himself with difficulty in this position through the whole of the rainy season; and during this period there was time to mature a combination, to which all the neighbouring princes were called by a common and urgent danger.

The Marattas were already masters of the Panjáb: they had concerted with Gházi ud din a plan for taking possession of Oudh; and they talked without the least reserve of their intended conquest of the whole of Hindostan. The apprehensions excited by this state of things induced Shujá ud doula to forget his old enmities, and to enter into a league with Najib ud doula and his former opponents the Rohillas, the most considerable of whom was Háfi Rehmet Klán. As soon as Dattaji Sindia was apprised of this confederacy, he detached Govind Rao Boodhlál to invade Rohilkand. So effectually was the order performed that 1300 villages were destroyed in little more than a month, while the Rohillas were obliged to retreat for safety into the mountains. They were relieved from this distress by Shujá ud doula. He marched from Lucknow immediately on the invasion, surprised the Marattas, and drove them with heavy loss across the Ganges.

\* A Maratta chief, who had been employed by the British and the Company to assist in the conquest of the Deccan, had been employed by the British and the Company to assist in the conquest of the Deccan.

Datajî Sindia's force was weakened by the losses of his detachment; but he had a stronger motive for desiring peace, in the reported approach of Ahmed Sháh from Cábul: terms were therefore proposed to Shujá ud doula and the confederates, and a peace was concluded, which was of no long continuance.<sup>5</sup>

The Afghán king was occupied in the north-western part of his dominions, when his son was expelled from the Panjáb (A.D. 1758); and, when about to march to recover that country, he was arrested by the revolt of Nasír Khán, the ruler of the Belóches, who made an attempt to establish his entire independence. The operations necessary to place the affairs of that country on a satisfactory footing delayed Ahmed Sháh for a considerable time; after which he moved by the southern road of Shikárpúr to the Indus; and, marching up that river to Pesháwar, he crossed it in the month of September, and advanced into the Panjáb. The Marattas offered no opposition, and he avoided the swollen rivers and exhausted country by keeping near the northern hills, until he crossed the Jumna opposite Seháranpúr. During the Sháh's advance, Gházi ud dín, mindful of A'lamgír's connexion with that monarch and with Najíb ud doula, took alarm at the thoughts of his intrigues and his vengeance. He therefore at once gave orders for his assassination, and raised another member of the royal family to the throne.<sup>6</sup> This prince's title was never acknowledged: Sháh A'lam, the heir-apparent, was absent on a scheme for getting a footing in Bengal; and the confederate princes carried on their operations without any ostensible head.<sup>7</sup>

Fourth invasion of Ahmed Sháh.

A.D. 1759, September; A.H. 1173, Moharram.

Murder of A'lamgír II. by Gházi ud dín.

A.D. 1760, November; A.H. 1173, Rabí us Sání 8.

The Maratta troops in Hindostan dispersed by Ahmed Sháh.

At this time the Marattas, though not supported by their allies the Játs, had 30,000 horse of their own in the field; but they were in two bodies at some distance from each other; and the hatred of the country people, who were exasperated by their depredations, kept them in ignorance of the movements of the enemy. Ahmed Sháh came suddenly on the body under Datajî Sindia, and so effectually surprised it that the chief and two-thirds of the force were cut to pieces on the spot. The other division under Malhár Ráo Holcar was still at a distance, and commenced its flight towards the country south of the Chambal: it was drawn from the direct

<sup>5</sup> *Scir ul Mutákhherin*, and Grant Duff.

<sup>6</sup> [Muhyl's sunnat, the son or grandson of Cambakhsh.—ED.]

<sup>7</sup> *Scir ul Mutákhherin*. Ahmed Sháh's proceedings are from Afghán accounts.

line by the temptation of plundering a convoy, and was overtaken and almost destroyed by a Durrañi detachment which had made a prodigious march for the purpose.\* Long before these reverses, Ragoba had arrived in the Deekan. The glory of his conquests did not reconcile the Maratta court to the financial results which they produced: instead of an ample harvest of plunder, as used to be customary, he had brought home near a million sterling of debt. This unproductive campaign appeared to more disadvantage when contrasted with that in which the peshwâ's cousin, Sedâshew Râo Bhâo\* (best known in India as "the Bhâo"), was engaged: he had remained as home minister and commander-in-chief in the Deekan, had just obtained possession of Ahmednagar, and was on the eve of a settlement, afterwards concluded at Udgir, by which territorial and pecuniary cessions of great extent were obtained from Salâhet Jang, and such a burden imposed on the Mogul government in the Deekan as it was never able to recover. This contrast led to jealousy on the part of Ragoba, who, to Sedâshew's remonstrances on the profusion of his expenditure, replied that the Bhâo had better undertake the next expedition himself, when he would find the difference between that and serving in the Deekan. Sedâshew took him at his word, and an exchange of duties was forthwith agreed on.

The Maratta power was at this time at its zenith. Their power the frontier extended on the north to the Indus and Himalayas, and on the south, nearly to the extremity of the peninsula; all the territory within those limits that was not their own paid tribute. The whole of this great power was wielded by one hand; a settlement had been made with Tanjore, by which the person of the raja was consigned to a nominal minister, and all pretensions of every description were concentrated in the peshwá.

The establishments of the Maratta government had increased with its power. Its force was no longer composed of petty levies alone; it included an army of well-paid and well-armed cavalry in the direct service of the state, and large disciplined infantry, who, though a very imperfect copy of that commanded by Europeans, were far superior to anything previously known in India.

[illegible]

The Marattas had now also a train of artillery surpassing that of the Moguls, which they had so long regarded with awe and envy. They even endeavoured to assume the pomp which was characteristic of their rivals. Rich dresses, spacious tents, and splendid caparisons became common among them, and their courts and retinues were formed on the Mogul model.

This show of greatness did not seem misplaced in the peshwá and his ministers, who were Concan Bramins, a comely race, prepared by the mildness and gravity of their manners to take up dignity without any appearance of incongruity ; but it sat very ill on the little active Marattas, whose sturdy figures and vulgar manners gave a ludicrous effect to their attempts at a stately demeanour.

Whatever the nation possessed either of power or magnificence was brought forth to give weight to Sedásheo Bháo. The news of the misfortunes of Sindia and Holcar, were only a fresh stimulus to exertion ; and it seemed to be resolved, by one great and decisive effort, to put the finishing stroke to the conquest of Hindostan.<sup>10</sup>

Great preparations for the contest in Hindostan.

The prince thus elevated was naturally haughty and overbearing, proud of the new greatness of his family, and puffed up by recent success into an overweening confidence in his own abilities both as a statesman and

Arrogance of the commander Sedásheo Bháo.

a soldier. He was accompanied by Wiswás Ráo, the peshwá's youthful son and heir-apparent, and by all the great Bramin and Maratta chiefs without exception. Many Rájput detachments were sent to join him as he advanced, and Súraj Mal is said to have reinforced him with a body of 30,000 Játs.

This experienced old chief, who had long been accustomed to act with the Marattas, took occasion to advise the Bháo to leave his infantry and guns, and all his heavy baggage, in the Ját territory, where it would be protected by strong forts, to advance with his horse alone, to harass his enemies in the Maratta manner, and protract the war until the Durránis, who had already been many months in India, should be constrained by the climate to withdraw to their native mountains. This prudent counsel, though seconded by the Maratta chiefs, was at once rejected by their commander, who looked down on a victory obtained by such means, and who also attached an undue importance to his regular infantry and guns. This was not the only occasion on which he slighted Súraj Mal, whom he treated as a petty zemíndár, incapable of judging of politics on a large scale.

<sup>10</sup> *Seir ul Mutákkerin.* Grant Duff.



He nevertheless kept up a constant communication with the Marattas, which might serve to secure an accommodation, if expedient, and was in the meantime a useful channel for overtures between that people and the Sháh.<sup>12</sup>

After this arrangement was concluded, Ahmed was still prevented moving by the violence of the periodical rains: but before that season was well over, he broke up his cantonment, and marched towards Delhi. His movement was accelerated by hearing that the Bháo had set out with a picked force to attack Cúnjpúra, on the Jumna, sixty miles above Delhi, where there was a Durrání garrison, under an officer of distinction. On reaching that river near the capital, he found it still swollen and rapid: he proceeded up the banks in search of a ford, until he got near Cúnjpúra, where he had the mortification to hear that the place had been taken, and the whole garrison put to the sword. Enraged at this disgrace inflicted almost before his eyes, the Sháh passed the river, between fording and swimming; and though he lost many men in this bold undertaking, it made so great an impression on the enemy, that they hastened to remove out of his reach, and soon retired to Pánipat, where they threw up works round their camp, encompassed by a broad and deep ditch, and protected by their numerous artillery. The Bháo's force consisted of 55,000 cavalry in regular pay, with at least 15,000 predatory Maratta horse, and 15,000 infantry, of whom 9,000 were disciplined Sepoys, under Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, a Mussulman deserter from the French service. He had 200 guns, with numerous wall pieces, and a great supply of rockets, which is a favourite weapon with the Marattas. These troops, with their numerous followers, made the numbers within his lines amount to 300,000 men.<sup>13</sup>

Ahmed Sháh had about 40,000 Afgháns and Persians, 13,000 Indian horse, and a force of Indian infantry estimated at 38,000, of which the part consisting of Rohilla Afgháns would be very efficient, but the great majority the usual rabble of Indian foot soldiers.<sup>14</sup> He had, also, about thirty pieces

Ahmed Sháh  
marches  
against  
Sedásheo  
Bháo.

His bold  
passage of  
the Jumna.  
A.D. 1790,  
Oct. 25.

Marattas  
retire to  
Pánipat,  
and intrench  
their camp.

Their num-  
bers.

Force under  
Ahmed Sháh.

<sup>12</sup> Cási Rái, the author of the Narrative, was one of the agents in this intercourse.

<sup>13</sup> Grant Duff agrees with Cási Rái in making the paid horse and infantry, 70,000, as above, and estimates the predatory horse and followers at 200,000. Cási Rái states the whole number at 500,000. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 123.)

<sup>14</sup> The accounts of the Durránis them-

selves make the number of the army that crossed the Indus 63,000; but, from a comparison with Nádir Sháh's force, and that of Sháh Zemán, in later times, as well as from the incorrectness of Asiatic muster-rolls, I conceive the amount to be much exaggerated. There must also have been a great reduction from garrisons in the Panjáb and other places, casualties in

of cannon of different calibres, chiefly belonging to the Peshwa allies, and a number of wall pieces.

The inferiority of the Sháh's force making an attack on the enemy's camp impossible, he was obliged to encamp <sup>in the open</sup> <sup>country</sup> also, and to throw up lines round his army. The expectation of a general action being thus suspended, the Bháo's prospects were by no means unfavourable. He had ordered Góvind Ráo Bondéla to collect what troops he could on the lower course of the Jumna, and that chief now appeared with 10,000 or 12,000 horse in the rear of the Durrání camp. He kept at a safe distance from the army, but spread over the country in the Maratta manner, so as to intercept all supplies. It is probable that the Bháo employed his own light cavalry in the same manner: for, before much time had elapsed, the Mussulman camp began to suffer severely from the scarcity of provisions.

But although the Durránís were not accustomed to the desultory warfare used by the Marattas, they made up for <sup>the Maratta</sup> <sup>superiority</sup> their deficiency by the bold and rapid movements of their detachments: and on this occasion, a body of their horse under Atái Khán, the grand vazir's nephew, made a march of upwards of sixty miles, surprised Góvind Ráo's camp about daybreak, and completely destroyed his party, Góvind Ráo himself falling in the action. When the Durránís had got the command of the open country, the Bháo soon felt the difficulty of his situation, and retired into a fortified camp with such a multitude as he commanded.

The Marattas are excellent foragers. Every morning at daybreak, long lines of men on small horses and ponies are seen issuing from their camps in all directions, who return before night loaded with fodder for the cattle, with firewood torn down from houses, and grain dug up from the pits where it had been concealed by the villagers: detachments go to a distance for some days, and collect proportionately larger supplies of the same kind, and convoys, each of many thousands of oxen, are also brought in from remote countries by *bangáras*, a sort of camp grain-dealers who partake of the character of the soldiery more than of the mercantile body. All these resources were now cut off: and after the Marattas had entirely eaten up and consumed the town of Poona, which was within their lines, they began to feel the severe pressure of want.

<sup>1</sup> The Marattas were not only foraging for provisions, but also for cattle, and for the purpose of procuring the latter they were often seen to enter the territories of the British, and to carry off their cattle. See page 749, and note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The same number of troops was also stated by the British, and the Marattas were not only foraging for provisions, but also for cattle, and for the purpose of procuring the latter they were often seen to enter the territories of the British, and to carry off their cattle. See page 749, and note 2.

While things were tending to this conclusion, neither party was inactive in its efforts to hasten the crisis. Continual skirmishes went on between the armies : the Marattas made three vigorous attacks on the Durrání lines ; convoys were always attempting to make their way into the camp ; and though one charged with treasure from Delhi fell into the hands of the Afgháns, others were secretly forwarded by Súraj Mal and the Rájput chiefs ; and as the Bháo bore his difficulties with dignity and resolution, their extent and daily increase were unknown to his enemies. In these circumstances, the Indian allies lost all patience, and wearied Ahmed Sháh with their importunities that he would put an end to their fatigues by a decisive action : but his constant answer was, "This is a matter of war with which you are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you please, but leave this to me." He had a small red tent pitched in front of his intrenchment, to which he repaired every morning in time for prayers at daybreak, and where he generally returned to dine in the evening. He was on horseback for the whole day, visiting his posts, and reconnoitring the enemy ; and never rode less than fifty or sixty miles a day. At night he placed a picket of 5,000 horse as near as he could to the enemy, while other parties went the rounds of the whole encampment. "He used to say to the Hindostáni chiefs, 'Do you sleep ; I will take care that no harm befalls you ;' and to say the truth, his orders were obeyed like destiny, no man daring to hesitate or delay one moment in executing them."<sup>15</sup>

During this time the Bháo's embarrassments became daily more urgent ; and he made frequent applications to Shujá ud doula through Cási Rái (the author of our Narrative) to mediate a peace between him and the Mussulmans. When his proposals were made known to the Sháh, he replied that he was only an auxiliary, and had no views of his own ; that he claimed the entire control of the war, but left the Hindostáni chiefs to carry on their negotiations as they pleased. The majority of those chiefs were well disposed to an accommodation, which would have been particularly acceptable to Shujá ud doula ; but Najfb always steadily opposed the overtures, and succeeded in impressing on the rest the ruin to which they would be exposed if the Sháh left India while the Maratta power was still entire.

It is not difficult to conceive what must now have been the

<sup>15</sup> Cási Rái.



state of the Maratta host, reposed up amidst the stench of a blockaded camp, among dead and dying animals, surrounded by famished followers, and threatened with the terrible consummation of the evils which they already suffered. Among their last efforts they sent out a foraging party, with innumerable camp followers, to endeavour to bring in some relief; but the wretched crowd was discovered by the enemy, and slaughtered in prodigious numbers. On this the chiefs and soldiers surrounded the Bhão's tent in a body: they said that they had entirely exhausted the last remains of their provisions, and that it was better to run any risk in the field than to perish in misery. The Bhão agreed to their wish: they all partook of bitter leaf, and swore to fight to the last: and orders were given to make the attack on the next morning before daybreak.

In this extremity the Bhão wrote to Cási Rái a short note with his own hand: "The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it, or else answer me plainly at once: hereafter there will be no time for writing or speaking."

Cási Rái was communicating this note to Shujá ud Daulá about three in the morning, when his spies came to report that the Marattas were getting under arms. Shujá immediately repaired to the Sháh's tent, and desired he might be awakened without delay. The Sháh soon made his appearance, ready dressed; and, mounting a horse which always stood saddled by his door, he rode towards the enemy, ordering his own troops out as he advanced.

One of his first steps was to send for Cási Rái, and interrogate him about the source of the intelligence he had communicated. This he did as he was moving forward, until, about a mile from the camp, he met some Durráni horsemen, loaded with plunder, who reported that the Marattas had deserted their camp and fled. On hearing this, Ahmed turned to Cási Rái and asked him what he said to that; but while he was yet speaking, the Marattas announced their presence by a general discharge of their artillery along the whole of their line. "On this the Sháh, who was sitting upon his horse, smoking a Persian kalván, gave it to his servant, and with great calmness said to the nabob (Shujá), 'Your servant's news is very true, I see.'" He then sent orders to the advance of his own army. When objects became perceptible, the columns of the Marattas were seen advancing slowly and regularly with their artillery in front. The Shah

drew up his army opposite, and, himself, took post at his little red tent, which was now in the rear of the line.

The Mussulmans did not make much use of their guns; and as those of the Marattas approached, the shot went over the heads of their adversaries. The actual engagement was begun by Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, who rode up to the Bháo, respectfully saluted him, and said, "You have often been offended with me for insisting on regular pay to my men; you shall now see that they have not earned it in vain." He then seized a colour with his own hand, and ordered his battalions to cease firing and charge bayonets. Their attack fell on the Rohillas, whose undisciplined valour only increased their loss, and who were broken after a prodigious slaughter. Their defeat laid open the right of the grand vazír,<sup>16</sup> who commanded the centre of the Durrání line, and who was now charged by the Bháo and Wiswás Ráo with the flower of the Maratta army. In this charge, Attái Khán, the vazír's nephew, was killed by his side, and his Durránís were forced to give ground; but he himself dismounted, and, with the few that were near him, determined to die at his post. Shujá ud doula was next to the grand vazír's division, but could not see what was passing for the dust: finding the sound of men and horses in that quarter suddenly diminish, he sent Cási Rái to inquire the cause. He found the grand vazír on foot in full armour, in an agony of rage and despair, reproaching his men for quitting him, and endeavouring to bring them back to their ranks. "Ride to Shujá ud doula," said he, "and tell him that if he does not support me immediately, I must perish." But Shujá, though he kept his ground, did not venture to take part in the action.

Meanwhile these transactions had not escaped Ahmed Sháh; and the reserve which he had ordered up arrived at the critical moment to prevent the destruction of the grand vazír. The battle now became stationary, but the advantage still inclined to the Marattas; until Ahmed, after rallying the fugitives and ordering all who refused to return to be cut down, gave orders for an advance of his own line, and at the same time directed a division on his left to wheel up and take the enemy in flank. This manœuvre was decisive; for though the closest combat was raging in the centre, where the Bháo and Wiswás were engaged on horseback, and where they fought on both sides with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers, yet, "all at once, as if

<sup>16</sup> [The Durrání Sháh Walí Khán.—Ed.]



he had himself erected near that city.<sup>20</sup> The wreck of the army retired beyond the Nerbadda, evacuating almost all their acquisitions in Hindostan.<sup>21</sup> Dissensions soon broke out after the death of Bálaji, and the government of the peshwá never regained its vigour. Most of the Maratta conquests were recovered at a subsequent period; but it was by independent chiefs, with the aid of European officers and disciplined sepoys. The confederacy of the Mahometan princes dissolved on the cessation of their common danger. Ahmed Sháh returned home without attempting to profit by his victory, and never afterwards took any share in the affairs of India.<sup>22</sup>

Dissolution  
of the Maho-  
metan con-  
federacy.

The actors in the last transactions having now all left the stage, the history of the Mogul empire here closes of itself. Its territory is broken into separate states; the capital is deserted; the claimant to the name of emperor is an exile and a dependent; while a new race of conquerors has already commenced its career, which may again unite the empire under better auspices than before.<sup>23</sup>

Extinction  
of the Mogul  
empire.

<sup>20</sup> Grant Duff.

<sup>21</sup> Sir J. Malcolm's *Málwa*, vol. i. pp. 120, 121.

<sup>22</sup> [He recognised Ali Gohar, the eldest son of Álamgír II., as emperor, under the title of Sháh Álam II. Najib ud Doula, however, remained the imperial deputy at Delhi until his death in 1770. Sháh Álam returned to his capital, by the aid of the Mahrattas, in Dec. 1771.—Ed.]

<sup>23</sup> [It may be interesting to notice a few of the contemporary events which were now passing in different parts of India. In Oct. 1760, Mir Ja'far was deposed in Bengal, and Mir Kásim set up in his place; Lally surrendered Pondicherry to the English, Jan. 14, 1761; and in the following May, Haidar Ali finally established himself in Mysore.—Ed.]



# APPENDIX.

(See page 475.)

## ON THE STATES FORMED ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF DELHI.

### *Bahmaní Kings of the Deckan.*<sup>1</sup>

BAHMANÍ KINGS OF THE DECKAN.			A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
					Mahmád I. . .	1378	780
					Ghiyás ud dín . .	1387	789
					Shams ud dín . .	1387	789
					Firás . . .	1387	800
					Ahmed I. . .	1422	825
					Alá ud dín . . .	1428	833
					Humáyún . . .	1457	862
					Nizám . . .	1461	865
					Mohammed II. . .	1468	867
					Mahmád II. . .	1468	867
					NOMINAL KINGS.		
					Ahmed II. . .	1518	924
					Alá ud dín II. . .	1520	927
					Wali . . .	1528	
					Kalim . . .	1538	

HASAN GÁNGÚ,<sup>2</sup> the first king of the Deckan was an Afghán of the lowest rank, and a native of Delhi. He farmed a small spot of land belonging to Founded by a Bramin astrologer, named Gángú, who was in favour with the king; an Afghán of and, having accidentally found a treasure in his field, he had the Delhi honesty to give notice of it to his landlord. The astrologer was so much struck with his integrity that he exerted all his influence at court to advance his fortunes. Hasan thus rose to a great station in the Deckan, where his merit marked him out among his equals to be their leader in their revolt. He had before assumed the name of Gángú, in gratitude to his benefactor; and now, from a similar motive, added that of Bahmaní (Bramin), by which his dynasty was afterwards distinguished. He fixed his capital at Culbarga.

The revolt of the rája of Warangal, and the foundation of the new government of Bijayanagar, were favourable to the insurgents at first, as they increased the embarrassments of Mohammed Tughlak; the rája of Warangal also sent a body of horse to assist Hasan Gángú in his final struggle; but their establishment cut off a large portion of the Mussuknan dominions towards the south, and soon led to boundary disputes, which involved them in an unceasing war with the new monarchy.

After the death of Hasan Gángú, these wars, especially that with Bijayanagar, continued, almost without intermission, until the end of his dynasty. Wars with the They did not for a long time make much alteration in the Hindú and Hindús. Mahometan limits; the rájas of Orissa and Télingána, at one time, A.D. 1461, made their way to the gates of Bidar, which was then the capital: A.H. 865. but the Mahometans were gainers on the whole; they occupied most of the country between the Kishna and Tumbadra; and in A.D. 1421, the Bahmani king, Ahmed Sháh, took permanent possession of Warangal, and compelled the rája of Télingána to relinquish his ancient capital.

<sup>1</sup> The accounts of the inferior Mahometan dynasties, where not otherwise specified, are taken from Ferishta, who has written a separate history of each (vols. ii., iii., and iv. of Col. Briggs' translations).

<sup>2</sup> The royal title assumed by Hasan was *Alá ud dín*; but, to distinguish him from other kings of the same name, I have retained his original appellation.

At length in the reign of Mùhammed II., the last of the Bahluk kings who reigned, he exercised the functions of sovereignty. Amber Rājā, a vassal of the emperor, a son of Orissa, applied to the Mussulman prince to assist him in asserting his right to that government, promising, in the event of success, to become his tributary, and to cede to him the districts of Rajasūthan and Chūdarā, and the mouths of the Krishna and Godavari. Mùhammed accepted the offer, and sent an army to support the pretensions of Amber Rājā, who got a possession of Orissa, and the two districts were made over to him. Mùhammed, however, was not satisfied by their tribute. Amber Rājā, however, got the emperor to re-take possession of the districts he had asked, when Mùhammed, in revenge, moved against him in person, invaded his country, and, after a Rājā's death, he burnt down his house, and after settling Rajasūthan and Chūdarā, he moved to the southward, using the coast against Mùhammed, and his dominions, and expelled him from most of the elevated tracts of land, and the general name Mùhammedan is placed there.

But the same king met with equal success in the opposite part of India, spreading his dominion having a direct possession of the throne, the throne of the Western Ghats and the sea from Bombay to Goa. The Bahluk kings had been successful in this respect more than any other kings, and had suffered severe losses in that region, and were very angry, and at last were never able to get it back.

The Bahluk kings were several times engaged in wars with those of Khurāsān and Malwa, generally on the frontiers of Persia, and in 1461, the king of Malwa advanced to Bher, then the capital, and might have taken it, but for the timely aid of the king of Ghazni.

### *Dynasty of Adil Shāh at Bijapur.*

FOUNDED BY YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, A TURKISH SLAVE.

YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1512-1552. Ibrāhīm ADIL SHĀH, 1552-1577. Ibrāhīm ADIL SHĀH, 1577-1596. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1596-1600. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1600-1606. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1606-1612. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1612-1618. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1618-1624. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1624-1630. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1630-1636. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1636-1642. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1642-1648. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1648-1654. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1654-1660. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1660-1666. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1666-1672. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1672-1678. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1678-1684. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1684-1690. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1690-1696. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1696-1702. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1702-1708. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1708-1714. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1714-1720. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1720-1726. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1726-1732. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1732-1738. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1738-1744. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1744-1750. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1750-1756. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1756-1762. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1762-1768. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1768-1774. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1774-1780. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1780-1786. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1786-1792. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1792-1798. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1798-1804. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1804-1810. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1810-1816. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1816-1822. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1822-1828. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1828-1834. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1834-1840. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1840-1846. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1846-1852. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1852-1858. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1858-1864. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1864-1870. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1870-1876. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1876-1882. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1882-1888. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1888-1894. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1894-1900. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1900-1906. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1906-1912. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1912-1918. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1918-1924. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1924-1930. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1930-1936. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1936-1942. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1942-1948. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1948-1954. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1954-1960. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1960-1966. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1966-1972. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1972-1978. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1978-1984. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1984-1990. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1990-1996. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 1996-2002. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2002-2008. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2008-2014. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2014-2020. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2020-2026. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2026-2032. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2032-2038. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2038-2044. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2044-2050. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2050-2056. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2056-2062. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2062-2068. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2068-2074. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2074-2080. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2080-2086. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2086-2092. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2092-2098. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2098-2104. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2104-2110. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2110-2116. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2116-2122. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2122-2128. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2128-2134. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2134-2140. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2140-2146. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2146-2152. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2152-2158. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2158-2164. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2164-2170. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2170-2176. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2176-2182. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2182-2188. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2188-2194. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2194-2200. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2200-2206. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2206-2212. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2212-2218. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2218-2224. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2224-2230. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2230-2236. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2236-2242. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2242-2248. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2248-2254. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2254-2260. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2260-2266. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2266-2272. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2272-2278. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2278-2284. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2284-2290. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2290-2296. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2296-2302. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2302-2308. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2308-2314. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2314-2320. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2320-2326. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2326-2332. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2332-2338. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2338-2344. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2344-2350. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2350-2356. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2356-2362. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2362-2368. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2368-2374. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2374-2380. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2380-2386. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2386-2392. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2392-2398. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2398-2404. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2404-2410. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2410-2416. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2416-2422. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2422-2428. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2428-2434. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2434-2440. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2440-2446. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2446-2452. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2452-2458. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2458-2464. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2464-2470. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2470-2476. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2476-2482. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2482-2488. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2488-2494. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2494-2500. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2500-2506. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2506-2512. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2512-2518. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2518-2524. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2524-2530. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2530-2536. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2536-2542. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2542-2548. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2548-2554. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2554-2560. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2560-2566. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2566-2572. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2572-2578. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2578-2584. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2584-2590. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2590-2596. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2596-2602. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2602-2608. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2608-2614. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2614-2620. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2620-2626. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2626-2632. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2632-2638. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2638-2644. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2644-2650. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2650-2656. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2656-2662. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2662-2668. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2668-2674. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2674-2680. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2680-2686. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2686-2692. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2692-2698. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2698-2704. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2704-2710. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2710-2716. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2716-2722. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2722-2728. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2728-2734. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2734-2740. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2740-2746. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2746-2752. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2752-2758. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2758-2764. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2764-2770. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2770-2776. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2776-2782. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2782-2788. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2788-2794. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2794-2800. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2800-2806. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2806-2812. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2812-2818. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2818-2824. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2824-2830. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2830-2836. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2836-2842. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2842-2848. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2848-2854. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2854-2860. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2860-2866. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2866-2872. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2872-2878. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2878-2884. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2884-2890. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2890-2896. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2896-2902. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2902-2908. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2908-2914. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2914-2920. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2920-2926. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2926-2932. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2932-2938. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2938-2944. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2944-2950. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2950-2956. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2956-2962. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2962-2968. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2968-2974. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2974-2980. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2980-2986. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2986-2992. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2992-2998. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 2998-3004. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3004-3010. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3010-3016. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3016-3022. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3022-3028. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3028-3034. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3034-3040. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3040-3046. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3046-3052. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3052-3058. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3058-3064. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3064-3070. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3070-3076. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3076-3082. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3082-3088. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3088-3094. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3094-3100. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3100-3106. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3106-3112. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3112-3118. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3118-3124. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3124-3130. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3130-3136. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3136-3142. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3142-3148. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3148-3154. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3154-3160. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3160-3166. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3166-3172. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3172-3178. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3178-3184. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3184-3190. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3190-3196. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3196-3202. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3202-3208. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3208-3214. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3214-3220. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3220-3226. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3226-3232. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3232-3238. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3238-3244. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3244-3250. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3250-3256. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3256-3262. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3262-3268. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3268-3274. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3274-3280. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3280-3286. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3286-3292. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3292-3298. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3298-3304. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3304-3310. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3310-3316. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3316-3322. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3322-3328. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3328-3334. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3334-3340. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3340-3346. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3346-3352. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3352-3358. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3358-3364. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3364-3370. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3370-3376. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3376-3382. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3382-3388. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3388-3394. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3394-3400. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3400-3406. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3406-3412. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3412-3418. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3418-3424. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3424-3430. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3430-3436. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3436-3442. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3442-3448. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3448-3454. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3454-3460. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3460-3466. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3466-3472. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3472-3478. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3478-3484. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3484-3490. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3490-3496. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3496-3502. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3502-3508. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3508-3514. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3514-3520. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3520-3526. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3526-3532. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3532-3538. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3538-3544. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3544-3550. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3550-3556. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3556-3562. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3562-3568. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3568-3574. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3574-3580. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3580-3586. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3586-3592. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3592-3598. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3598-3604. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3604-3610. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3610-3616. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3616-3622. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3622-3628. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3628-3634. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3634-3640. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3640-3646. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3646-3652. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3652-3658. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3658-3664. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3664-3670. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3670-3676. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3676-3682. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3682-3688. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3688-3694. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3694-3700. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3700-3706. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3706-3712. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3712-3718. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3718-3724. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3724-3730. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3730-3736. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3736-3742. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3742-3748. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3748-3754. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3754-3760. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3760-3766. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3766-3772. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3772-3778. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3778-3784. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3784-3790. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3790-3796. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3796-3802. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3802-3808. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3808-3814. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3814-3820. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3820-3826. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3826-3832. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3832-3838. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3838-3844. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3844-3850. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3850-3856. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3856-3862. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3862-3868. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3868-3874. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3874-3880. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3880-3886. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3886-3892. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3892-3898. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3898-3904. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3904-3910. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3910-3916. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3916-3922. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3922-3928. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3928-3934. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3934-3940. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3940-3946. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3946-3952. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3952-3958. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3958-3964. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3964-3970. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3970-3976. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3976-3982. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3982-3988. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3988-3994. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 3994-4000. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4000-4006. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4006-4012. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4012-4018. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4018-4024. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4024-4030. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4030-4036. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4036-4042. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4042-4048. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4048-4054. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4054-4060. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4060-4066. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4066-4072. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4072-4078. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4078-4084. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4084-4090. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4090-4096. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4096-4102. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4102-4108. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4108-4114. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4114-4120. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4120-4126. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4126-4132. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4132-4138. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4138-4144. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4144-4150. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4150-4156. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4156-4162. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4162-4168. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4168-4174. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4174-4180. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4180-4186. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4186-4192. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4192-4198. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4198-4204. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4204-4210. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4210-4216. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4216-4222. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4222-4228. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4228-4234. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4234-4240. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4240-4246. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4246-4252. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4252-4258. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4258-4264. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4264-4270. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4270-4276. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4276-4282. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4282-4288. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4288-4294. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4294-4300. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4300-4306. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4306-4312. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4312-4318. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4318-4324. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4324-4330. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4330-4336. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4336-4342. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4342-4348. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4348-4354. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4354-4360. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4360-4366. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4366-4372. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4372-4378. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4378-4384. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4384-4390. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4390-4396. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4396-4402. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4402-4408. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4408-4414. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4414-4420. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4420-4426. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4426-4432. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4432-4438. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4438-4444. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4444-4450. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4450-4456. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4456-4462. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4462-4468. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4468-4474. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4474-4480. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4480-4486. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4486-4492. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4492-4498. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4498-4504. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4504-4510. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4510-4516. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4516-4522. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4522-4528. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4528-4534. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4534-4540. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4540-4546. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4546-4552. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4552-4558. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4558-4564. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4564-4570. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4570-4576. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4576-4582. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4582-4588. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 4588-4594. YŪSUF ADIL SHĀH, 459

A notion of the extent of his kingdom may be gained by assuming the Bīma and Kishna rivers for his boundary on the east, the river Tumbadra on the south, the sea from near Goa to near Bombay on the west, and perhaps the Nira river on the north.

Extent of the kingdom.

He afterwards involved himself in fresh troubles by his zeal for the Shia religion, which he had imbibed in Persia from some of the immediate followers of Shēkh Sāfi. He declared that faith to be the established religion of the state; and by a proceeding so unexampled in India, he caused much disaffection among his own subjects, and produced a combination of all the other Mahometan kings against him. He showed great resolution in supporting himself against this confederacy, and great skill in disuniting its members; but it was only by renouncing his innovations in religion that he was able, at last, to reconcile himself to all his opponents.

Attempt to introduce the Shia religion.

His son Ismāil was a minor at his death. The minister who acted as regent planned the usurpation of the government; and with this view put himself at the head of the Sunni or native faction, and depressed and discharged the foreigners. His plan having failed, the young king became as violent a Shia, formed his army entirely of foreigners, and would enlist no Indian, unless he were the son of a foreigner, a Pitān,<sup>1</sup> or a Rājput. He affected foreign manners, and always used the Persian and Tūrki languages in preference to that of the Deccan.<sup>2</sup>

Religious factions.

Ibrāhīm, the fourth king (the third having only reigned six months), was a zealous Sunni, and discharged all the foreign troops. They were recalled by his son Alī, an enthusiastic Shia. During the minority of Alī's son, Ibrāhīm II., there was a struggle between the factions, in which, at length, the Sunnis prevailed.

A change of more importance than these revolutions of sects was the rise of the Marattas. These Hindūs having fallen completely under the kings of Ahmednagar and Bijāpūr, in consequence of the extinction of their own rāja of Deōgiri, were treated as subjects, and employed without distrust. Yūsuf, the first A'dil Shāh, is said to have given a command of 12,000 infantry to a Maratta chief;<sup>3</sup> and in the subsequent reigns they shared the fortunes of the natives, being entertained in great numbers whenever that party prevailed. They were known under the name of Bērgīs, were often horse, and by their light and predatory operations contributed to introduce the system of defence to which the Bijāpūr government always had recourse when attacked.

Rise of the Marattas.

A remarkable innovation was introduced by Ibrāhīm (the fourth king). He directed the public accounts to be kept in the Maratta language, instead of the Persian. Considering that this was the language of all the village accountants, and that the body of the officers of revenue and finance were also generally Hindūs, it is surprising that the improvement was not introduced sooner, and more extensively copied.

There were constant wars and shifting confederacies among the Mussulman kings: in both of which the rājas of Bijayanagar often took a part, as did the kings of Khāndēsh and Guzerāt, the latter with much weight. In all these wars the constant enemy of the A'dil Shāh was the Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar, their hostility being caused by rival claims to the possession of Solāpūr and some other districts on the left bank of the Bīma.

Wars with the other Mahometan kings.

At length, the four great Mahometan governments, A'dil Shāh, Nizām Shāh,

<sup>1</sup> Pitān (or rather Pathān) is a name often applied by the Indians to the Afghans, but more generally to the Indian descendants of that tribe.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 72. The remark shows

that Deccani (a dialect of Hindostani) was the usual language of the Mussulmans in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 84.



League against Barid, and Kili Shih, formed a league against him. But the Riga shahs' ruling at Bijnagar, the result of which has been stated in the text (page 177).

Among the other wars of the Adil Shahi kings those with the Portuguese are well mentioned by the native historians with affected negligence. The Portuguese state that Goa was lost under Yusuf, retaken by that king in 1570, and lost again under his son Ismail; but as the kings of Bijapur and Ahmednagar afterwards made a simultaneous attack on the Portuguese at Goa and Choul (c. 1570), and were both repulsed, it is evident that they could not have been insensible to the formidable character of their antagonists.

This confederacy, as well as the battle of Talekta, was subsequent to the accession of Akbar. When that emperor first interfered effectually in the affairs of the Deccan, the last-mentioned king, Ibrahim II., had emerged from a long

A.D. 1565. minority, and was taking an active part in the internal disputes of Ahmednagar.

### *Dynasty of Nizām Shih at Ahmednagar.*

FOUNDED BY AHMED, A HINDU CONVERT.

Ahmed	A.D. 1492	Mir. Hasan	A.D. 1518	Prithvi	A.D. 1544
Barid	A.D. 1518	Ism.	A.D. 1544	Ahmed II.	A.D. 1565
Husain	A.D. 1544	Ibrahim II.	A.D. 1565	Ibrahim II.	A.D. 1590
Mubarak	A.D. 1590				

The father of Ahmed, the founder of the Nizām Shih dynasty, was a Prince of Bijapur. Having been taken prisoner, and sold into slavery to the *Padshah* king, he was converted, and rose to the first dignity in the state, and he declared himself king, as has been related in the description of the *Padshah* government. So far were his descendants from being ashamed of their origin, that they had no quarrels with the kings of Bijapur for the possession of *Patna*, a village in the latter country, to which their Bijapur ancestors had been bound by contracts. In the same spirit Barid, who was the second king appointed by Barid, named Kayas, seems to be his posthumous grand-nephew, and derived great advantage from the confidence he reposed in him. The dynasty is said to have at Bijapur employed Marattas, but not to the same extent. These, in their wars, were chiefly infantry, and much employed in guerrilla warfare.

There is only one other name which does not seem to be Nizām Shih, the *Barid* king, who was a descendant of the *Barid* king. The *Barid* king was a Hindu, and was a descendant of the *Barid* king. The *Barid* king was a Hindu, and was a descendant of the *Barid* king. The *Barid* king was a Hindu, and was a descendant of the *Barid* king.

A third king, who was a descendant of the *Barid* king, was a Hindu, and was a descendant of the *Barid* king. The *Barid* king was a Hindu, and was a descendant of the *Barid* king.

A fourth king, who was a descendant of the *Barid* king, was a Hindu, and was a descendant of the *Barid* king. The *Barid* king was a Hindu, and was a descendant of the *Barid* king.

The *Barid* king was a Hindu, and was a descendant of the *Barid* king. The *Barid* king was a Hindu, and was a descendant of the *Barid* king.

sect called Mehdevi, or Gheir Mehdi, which is very odious to the other Mussulmans. It may have been owing to this division that we find the native Deckanis and the Abyssinians on different sides in the dissensions which ultimately destroyed the monarchy; but those dissensions had not much of a religious character.

The share of the Ahmednagar governments in the wars and confederacies of the other kings has been noticed. It had also wars of its own with Khándésh and Berúr, the last of which kingdoms it subverted, in A.D. 1572, and annexed the territory to its own. Previous to this success, the Nizám Sháhí king was subjected to a great humiliation, having been besieged in his capital by Bahádúr Sháh, king of Guzerát, and compelled to acknowledge his superiority, and to do homage to him in very submissive forms.<sup>8</sup>

A still greater degradation awaited his successor, who was besieged in Ahmednagar by Rám Rája of Bijayanagar, then combined with Bijápúr, and reduced to accept an interview with him on terms of marked inferiority.

It was the pride displayed by Rám Rája on this and some other occasions, that led to the general combination against him, the result of which has been already mentioned.

It gives a great idea of the power of Ahmednagar, although on an unfortunate occasion, that in one campaign against the A'díl Sháh, the king lost upwards of 600 guns. Many of these may have been mere swivels; but one was the famous cannon now at Bijápúr, which is one of the largest pieces of brass ordnance in the world.<sup>9</sup>

Ferishta mentions the great prevalence of duels (an uncommon practice in Asia) under this dynasty. They were occasioned by the most trifling disputes; it was reckoned dishonourable to decline them, and no blame was attached to the death of the parties, provided the combat was a fair one. Ferishta himself witnessed a meeting of this sort, in which there were three on each side, and five of the combatants greybearded men, and in considerable estimation at court. Three were killed on the spot, and the survivors died of their wounds.<sup>10</sup> These duels were always fought with sabres.

At its greatest extent the kingdom of Ahmednagar comprehended all that is now called the Súbah of Aurangábád, and all the west of that of Berúr. It also possessed a portion of the seacoast in the Cóncan, between the tracts belonging to Guzerát and Bijápúr.

### *Dynasty of Kutb Sháh at Golcónda.*

FOUNDED BY KULÍ KUTB, A TÚRKMAN SOLDIER.

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Sultán Kulí . . .	1512	918	Subhán Kulí . . .	1550	957	Mohammed Kulí	1580	988
Jamshíd . . .	1543	949	Ibráhím . . .	1580	987			

SULTÁN KULÍ KUTB SHÁH, the founder of the dynasty, was a Túrkmán of Hamadán in Persia. He claimed descent from the head of his clan, and he

<sup>8</sup> On this occasion Bahádúr Sháh showed his superiority by speaking Guzeráti, his own language; and the Nizám Sháh replied in Persian, which might be considered as common to both.

<sup>9</sup> Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. iii. p. 243. This gun is four feet eight inches in diameter at the muzzle;

the calibre is two feet four inches (Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 112); it is only fifteen feet long (Colonel Sykes, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 62), and weighs forty tons (Colonel Briggs above quoted).

<sup>10</sup> Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. iii. p. 208.



*Dynasty of Imád Sháh in Berár.*

FOUNDED BY FATH ULLAH, DESCENDED FROM A CONVERTED  
HINDÚ.

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Fath Ullah . . .	1484	890	Deryá (about) . . .	1520	936	Tufál		
Alá ud din . . .	1504	910	Burhán (perhaps) . . .	1560	968			

THE little that is known of this small kingdom has found a place in the history of the neighbouring states. It extended from the Injádri hills to the Godáveri: on the west it bordered on Ahmednagar and Khándésh, about the middle of the seventy-sixth degree of east longitude. On the east its limits are uncertain, but probably did not take in Nágpur.

Though Fath Ullah exercised sovereign authority, yet Alá ud din seems first to have taken the title of king.<sup>11</sup>

During the minority of Burhán Imád Sháh, who probably succeeded about 1560, his prime minister, Tufál, usurped the government, and the state merged in that of Ahmednagar in A.D. 1572, A.H. 980.

*Dynasty of Barid Sháh at Bidar.*

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Kásim . . . . .	1408	904	Ibráhim . . . . .	1562	960	Mirzá Ali . . . . .	1572	1000
Amir . . . . .	1504	910	Kásim II. . . . .	1569	997	Amir II.		
Ali . . . . .	1549	945						

THE Barids derived some importance at first from appearing as the ministers and representatives of the Bahmaní kings; but the illusion was not kept up beyond the life of Kásim: neither he nor Amir took the title of king.

Their territories were small and ill-defined, and the period of their extinction is uncertain.

Amir II. was reigning in A.D. 1609, A.H. 1018, when Ferishta closed that part of his history.

*Guzerát.*

## KINGS OF GUZERÁT.

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Mozaffer Sháh . . . . .	1396	799	Mahmúd Sháh Bégará . . . . .	1459	863	Mírán Mohammed . . . . .	1536	943
Ahmed Sháh . . . . .	1412	815	Mozaffer Sháh II. . . . .	1511	917	Sháh Farúkí . . . . .	1553	961
Mohammed Sháh . . . . .	1443	847	Secander Sháh . . . . .	1526	932	Mahmúd Sháh III. . . . .	1561	969
Kutb Sháh . . . . .	1451	855	Mahmúd Sháh II. . . . .	1528	932	Ahmed Sháh II. . . . .	1561	969
Daúd Sháh reigned one week.			Bahádur Sháh . . . . .	1528	932	Mozaffer Sháh III. . . . .	1561	969

GUZERÁT is bounded on the north-east and east by a hilly tract which connects the Aravalli mountains with the Vindhya chain; on the south it has the sea, which nearly surrounds a part of it, and forms a peninsula equal in extent to all the rest of the province; on the west it has the desert, including that portion called the Rin. The only open part of the frontier is on

<sup>11</sup> This is variously related in different places of *Ferishta*; but see vol. iii. pp. 350, 351.



Rájpút convert, who had risen from a low station about the court to the highest offices. He had himself been brought up a Mussulman and a nobleman, and appears to have been rather desirous of making his origin be forgotten by hostility to the Hindús.

It is uncertain when he took the title of king. His reign commenced in reality from the time when he became governor. He was successful in his wars. He occupied Idar, and brought the rája to submission. He fought a great battle in the peninsula, after which he took and retained Diú, on the seacoast : he went to war with the king of Khándesh, about the district of Sultánpúr ; and although hostilities were often renewed in after reigns, yet, for his time, the question was favourably settled.

A.D. 1301,  
A.H. 703.  
His wars.

He once besieged Mandalghar, in Méwár, and extorted a contribution : he proceeded from that place to Ajmir, on a pilgrimage ; and on his way back plundered Jhálór, and destroyed the temples.

His greatest war was with Málwa. Húshang Sháh, the second king, was suspected of poisoning his father ; and as Mozaffer had been on very friendly terms with the deceased, he made the revenge of his murder a pretext for invading Málwa. He was successful beyond his hopes : he defeated Húshang, made him prisoner, and got possession of the whole of his kingdom. He soon found, however, that he could not retain his conquest ; and, perceiving that the inhabitants were about to set up another king, he thought it prudent to get what he could from his prisoner, and to restore him to the throne. During Mozaffer's government, Mahmúd Tughlak came to Guzerát, on his flight from Delhi : he was ill-received, and obliged to repair to Málwa.

His occupation  
and subsequent  
evacuation of  
Málwa.

A.D. 1407,  
A.H. 810.

A.D. 1409,  
A.H. 811.

Húshang Sháh did not feel his restoration as a favour, for on the death of Mozaffer he took part with a faction opposed to the accession of that king's grandson, Ahmed Sháh, and began a series of wars between the two countries, that lasted for many years. Ahmed Sháh thrice invaded Málwa, and once penetrated to Saranpúr, in the east of the kingdom, where he gained a victory. On the other hand, the king of Málwa assisted Ahmed's enemies, Hindú as well as Mahometan, combined with the refractory rájas within the territory of Guzerát, and twice made his way to the capital, but without any important result.

Ahmed Sháh.  
A.D. 1411,  
A.H. 814.  
His wars with  
Málwa and his  
Hindú neigh-  
bours.

A.D. 1422,  
A.H. 826.

Ahmed Sháh made, also, the usual expeditions against Idar, Jhálór, and the peninsula, and had two wars with Khándesh. On one occasion, he marched as far as Nágór, in the north of Mírwar, where his uncle was in revolt against Seiad Khizr, of Delhi. He was obliged to retreat on the advance of that prince, and was pursued as far as Jhálór.<sup>11</sup>

A.D. 1416,  
A.H. 819.

He was also engaged with a new enemy, in consequence of the capture of the islands of Bombay and Salsette by the Bahmani king of the Deekan, during an attempt to subdue the Cóncan.<sup>12</sup>

A.D. 1429,  
A.H. 833.

It does not appear how those places came into the hands of the king of Guzerát. It may be inferred that they were detached possessions, as the expedition to recover them was made by sea. The Bahmani king was driven out, but remained hostile, and more than once joined the king of Khándesh in his wars with Ahmed Sháh. Notwithstanding all these disturbances, Ahmed Sháh brought the interior of Guzerát into good order. He established forts in different places, to bridle the disaffected ; and built the town of Ahmednagar (the solid and extensive walls of which still remain), as a check on the rája of Idar. He also founded Ahmedábád,

<sup>11</sup> *Eraser's F. H. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 509, vol. iv, p. 18 ; and Bird's *Geogr.*, p. 189.

<sup>12</sup> *Buggis's F. H. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 413. A somewhat

different order is given to the same events in vol. iv, p. 27.



But what chiefly distinguishes him from former Mussulman princes is the number of his maritime expeditions. He took the islands of Jigat and Bét, then, as in recent times, nests of pirates; and sent out vessels mounting guns from Cambay, which defeated the pirates of Balsár in an action at sea.

His maritime power.

A.D. 1442,  
A.H. 897.

He also sent a sea and land force against Bombay, then occupied by a revolted officer of the Bahmani king. On this occasion, this fleet was destroyed in a storm, and he owed his recovery of Bombay to the co-operation of the king of the Deccan.

A.D. 1404,  
A.H. 900.

He had afterwards a more conspicuous opportunity for signaling his naval enterprise. The Mamlúk Sultán of Egypt had equipped twelve ships in the Red Sea, for the purpose of attacking the Portuguese in India, and Mahmúd entered zealously into his views. He sailed, himself, to Damán, and afterwards to Bombay; and at length sent a large fleet from Diú, under the command of Aíáz Sultání, an officer who had distinguished himself at Chámpánir. The Guzerát vessels, though much inferior in size to those of the Mamlúks, were numerous; and the combined fleets were strong enough to attack the Portuguese squadron in the harbour of Choul, south of Bombay.

He co-operates with the Mamlúks of Egypt in a naval war with the Portuguese.

The particulars of the operations that followed belong to the history of the Portuguese. It may be sufficient to say, here, that the Mussulmans were successful in this first action, and that Aíáz is mentioned with applause by the Portuguese writers for his humanity and courtesy on the occasion. The combined fleet was afterwards defeated, and the Mamlúk part of it annihilated, in a great battle close to Diú.<sup>19</sup>

A.D. 1508,  
A.H. 913.

The Mamlúks, however, continued to send squadrons to the Indian seas, a practice which was imitated by the Turks after their conquest of Egypt. Their object was to open the navigation of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and for this purpose they assisted the native powers of India in their wars with the Portuguese; but they never entertained any views towards obtaining possessions for themselves in that country.

The reign of Mozaffer II. opened with a splendid embassy from Sháh Ismail, king of Persia. The same compliment was paid to most of the Indian princes, and was probably designed to conciliate their favour to the Shíá religion, which Ismail was so eager to introduce.

Mozaffer II.  
A.D. 1511,  
A.H. 917.

The next six years were spent in inglorious wars with Údar. A more honourable enterprise presented itself at the end of that time. Mahmúd, king of Malwa, having been almost entirely deprived of his authority by Méhni Rái, a Hindú chief to whom he had confided the management of his affairs, fled to Guzerát, and solicited the aid of Mozaffer, who went in person into Malwa, took the capital, compelled Rána Sanga, who was coming to the aid of the Hindú cause, to retreat; and, after restoring Mahmúd to his authority, withdrew to Guzerát without exacting any sacrifice in return. He had not long quitted Malwa before Sanga returned, defeated Mahmúd, and made him prisoner; but generously released him, and made an honourable peace. Sanga was now able to revenge himself on Mozaffer II., by marching to the assistance of the rája of Údar, and plundering Guzerát as far as Ahmedábad.

Generosity to the king of Malwa.

A.D. 1519,  
A.H. 924.  
War with Sanga, rája of Mewár.

Next year, Mozaffer II. retaliated by sending an army, under Aíáz Sultání,

<sup>19</sup> The Mahometan historians suppress this defeat, and say very little of their wars with the Portuguese, even when their own party was successful. Three or four years after this battle, an interview took place between Albuquerque and

Aíáz; and the character of the latter, given by the Portuguese viceroy, is related in *Faço* (vol. i. p. 193): "He said he had not seen a more perfect courtier, or fitter to deceive, and at the same time please, an understanding man."





Diú by a great armament of the Portuguese, but had been repulsed by the valour of the garrison (Feb. 1531).

Having taken whatever measures were necessary against this enemy, Bahádur Sháh again turned his attention to Chitôr. So much was the power of Mówár diminished, that he commenced his operations with the siege of the capital; and at the end of three months constrained the

A.D. 1532,  
A.H. 941.  
War with  
Mówár.

râja to purchase peace by the payment of a heavy contribution.<sup>21</sup> It was about this time that Bahádur Sháh provoked the war with Humáyún, the result of which has already been related.<sup>22</sup> During Bahádur's abode at Diú, he entered into negotiations with the Portuguese. Among other concessions he gave them leave to build a factory;

A.D. 1533,  
A.H. 942.  
War with Hu-  
máýún, and  
expulsion of  
Bahádur.

and they furnished him, in return, with a body of 500 Europeans, to assist him in recovering his kingdom. As soon as Guzerát was settled after the retreat of the Moguls, Bahádur Sháh again turned his attention to Diú, where the Portuguese were surrounding their new factory with a wall, and, as he conceived, converting it into a fortification. He there found Nuno de Cunha, the Portuguese viceroy, who had come with

Bahádur re-  
covers his  
kingdom.

Disputes with  
the Portuguese  
at Diú.

a fleet to secure his new acquisition. Remonstrances and explanations took place, to appearance on a friendly footing; but both the Mussulman and Portuguese historians justify the belief that treachery was meditated by both parties, and that each was watching an opportunity to execute his design. Nuno de Cunha, when invited to visit the king, feigned sickness; and Bahádur, to lull his suspicions, went on board his ship with a few attendants.

Interview with  
the Portuguese  
viceroy.

When on board, Bahádur Sháh was alarmed at some whispering and signs which passed between the viceroy and his attendants, and, taking a hasty leave, got into his boat to go ashore. An affray took place, which the Portuguese represent as accidental, and the Mussulmans as designed; and the

Death of Bahá-  
dur.

result was, that several lives were lost on each side, and that Bahádur Sháh threw himself into the sea, and, after being stunned by a blow of an oar, was despatched with a halbert.

As both parties equally held that faith was not to be kept with infidels, neither has the slightest claim to a favourable construction; but Bahádur could have had no immediate act of perfidy in view when he came on board unattended; and as the object of the Portuguese must have been to seize and not to murder the king, it is unlikely that they would, if prepared for such a step, have allowed him to leave the ship. The affray, therefore, probably arose unintentionally, from the mutual alarm of the parties: if either was guilty of premeditated treachery, the greatest weight of suspicion rests on the Portuguese.<sup>23</sup>

A.D. 1537,  
A.H. 943.

Bahádur Sháh's natural heir was his nephew Mahmúd, the son of Latif Khán, who had formerly been his rival; but that prince was a prisoner in the hands of his cousin by the mother's side, Mirán Sháh, king of Khándesh; and the latter availed himself of the circumstance to claim the crown for himself. He, however, died a natural death within six weeks; and as his brother who succeeded in Khándesh, though in possession of the same advantages, was not so fortunate in profiting by them, Mahmúd was at length set at liberty, and allowed to take possession of his right.

Mírán Moham-  
med Sháh.

He took the title of Mahmúd III., and had a reign of sixteen years, remark-

<sup>21</sup> Among the property given up on this occasion was a girdle of jewels, which had been taken from a former king of Guzerat, and which was afterwards sent with Bahádur Sháh's family to Medina, and found its way at last into the treasury of the Grand Signor.—(Colonel Briggs's note on *Perishta*, vol. iv. p. 141.) For the date

of this first siege, see Bird's *History of Guzerat*, p. 216, note.

<sup>22</sup> Pages 442, 443.

<sup>23</sup> See a full and judicious examination of the accounts of both parties in a note on Colonel Briggs's *Perishta*, vol. iv. p. 132.



The reign of Mahmúd II. was more fertile in events than all that preceded it, and deserves to be particularly noticed.

Mahmúd II.

Immediately on the accession of this prince he was engaged in a civil war with his brother, Sáhib Khán, in which his success was principally owing to the support of a Rájput chief named Médni Rái, who joined him at the commencement with a considerable body of his tribe. The struggle was long and arduous, and was renewed, after an interval, with assistance to the pretender from the king of Delhi; but the courage and talents of Médni Rái again prevailed.

A.D. 1512,

A.H. 916.

Ascendency of Médni Rái, a Hindú chief.

These long-continued services gave the Rájput chief a complete ascendancy over his master, and threw the whole administration of the government into his hands. The superiority thus conferred on a Hindú excited universal discontent among the Mahometans, and led to the rebellion of several governors of provinces, who were crushed in succession by Médni Rái.

By the results of these contests Médni Rái became all-powerful, removed every Mahometan from about the king's person, and filled the court and army with Rájputs. Mahmúd at length became alarmed; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to recover his authority, he felt that he was a prisoner in his own capital, and seized an opportunity of escaping to Guzerát. Mozaffer Sháh, king of that country, came to his assistance. The war lasted for more than a year: Mandú, the capital, was taken after a desperate defence by the Rájputs; and the king of Guzerát, having restored Mahmúd to his authority, returned to his own dominions. Médni Rái had retired to Chandéri, of which place he was perhaps the hereditary chief. Mahmúd marched against him, and found him strengthened by the alliance of Rája Sanga, who had come with the whole of his army to defend Chandéri.

A.D. 1517,

A.H. 923.

Mahmúd flies to Guzerát,

A.D. 1519,

A.H. 924.

Is restored by Bahádur Sháh.

A battle ensued, in which Mahmúd was defeated; and as, although weak in other points, he was distinguished for his courage, he endeavoured to maintain the combat until he was covered with wounds, unhorsed, and made prisoner. The Rájput prince treated him with courtesy, and after a short interval released him.

Is defeated, taken prisoner and released by Sanga, rána of Méwár.

The mean spirit of Mahmúd was incapable of imitating the magnanimity of his enemy. On the death of Sanga he thought to avail himself of the difficulties of a new reign by attacking Rattan Sing, the son of the late rája. Rattan Sing applied to Bahádur Sháh, who had succeeded Mozaffer on the throne of Guzerát, and who had likewise reason to complain of the ingratitude of the king of Málwa. Mahmúd, unable to withstand so powerful a confederacy, saw his capital taken by Bahádur Sháh, and was afterwards himself made prisoner; when the kingdom of Málwa was permanently annexed to Guzerát.

His ingratitude.

A.D. 1525,

A.H. 932.

He is defeated, and his kingdom annexed to Guzerát.

A.D. 1531.

A.H. 937.

*Khindah.*

FOUNDED BY MALIK RÂJA, A PERSON OF ARAB DESCENT.

CHIEF RULERS OF KHINDAH.		A.D.		B.C.	
	1000		1100		1200
	1000	Malik M. Malik	1100	Malik M. Malik	1200
	1000	Ali K. Ali	1100	Malik M. Malik	1200
Malik Râja	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
Nasir K. K.	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
Nasir K. K.	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
Nasir K. K.	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
Malik Ali K. K.	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400

The kingdom of Khindah was merely the lower part of the valley of the Tapti, the upper part being included in Barah. To the south of the Tapti, it stretched to the foot of the Deccan, and on the north, the Tapti valley. It was only separated from Gujarat by forests. It was a fertile and populous country, and its history is almost entirely unknown. The only mention of it is in the names of its rulers, and it is not known whether it was a kingdom or a province.

The first ruler of Khindah was Malik M. Malik, who was a person of Arab descent. He was married to the daughter of the king of the Tapti valley, and he was the first ruler of Khindah. He was a powerful ruler, and he was the first ruler of Khindah.

The first ruler of Khindah was Malik M. Malik, who was a person of Arab descent. He was married to the daughter of the king of the Tapti valley, and he was the first ruler of Khindah. He was a powerful ruler, and he was the first ruler of Khindah. The first ruler of Khindah was Malik M. Malik, who was a person of Arab descent. He was married to the daughter of the king of the Tapti valley, and he was the first ruler of Khindah. He was a powerful ruler, and he was the first ruler of Khindah.

The first ruler of Khindah was Malik M. Malik, who was a person of Arab descent. He was married to the daughter of the king of the Tapti valley, and he was the first ruler of Khindah. He was a powerful ruler, and he was the first ruler of Khindah.

1000

1000

*Bengal.*

CHIEF RULERS OF BHARHAT.		A.D.		B.C.	
	1000		1100		1200
	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400
	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400

The first ruler of Bengal was Malik M. Malik, who was a person of Arab descent. He was married to the daughter of the king of the Tapti valley, and he was the first ruler of Bengal. He was a powerful ruler, and he was the first ruler of Bengal.

The first ruler of Bengal was Malik M. Malik, who was a person of Arab descent. He was married to the daughter of the king of the Tapti valley, and he was the first ruler of Bengal. He was a powerful ruler, and he was the first ruler of Bengal.

worth recording. Among the usurpers was Rája Káns, a Hindú zemindár. His son embraced the Mahometan religion.<sup>23</sup>

This kingdom seems at one time to have comprehended North Behár. It included Sundergong (Dacca); Jájnager (Tipera) was tributary: Assám was occasionally plundered; Cattak and the adjoining parts of Orissa were not acquired till just before the extinction of the state.

It was conquered by Shír Sháh, as has been related, and was in the hands of a revolted officer of one of his successors at the time of Akber's accession.

### *Jounpúr.*

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Khája Jehán	1394	796	Ibráhím	1401	804	Mohammed	1457	863
Mobárík	1399	802	Mahmúd	1440	844	Husein	1457	862

KHÁJA JEHÁN, vazír at the time of Mahmúd Tughlak's accession, seems to have been unable to retain his ascendancy during the minority, and to have retired to his government of Jounpúr, and made himself independent. Four of his family followed him in succession, and carried on wars with the kings of Málwa and Delhi. They twice besieged the latter capital; but, at length, their government was subverted, and their territory restored to Delhi by Behlúl Lódi, in A.D. 1476.

It was soon occupied by Báber after his conquest, and was taken by Shír Sháh; and, after the fall of his dynasty, passed through different hands till conquered by Akber early in his reign.

It stretched along the Ganges from Canouj, on the north-west, to the frontier between Bengal and South Behár on the south-east.

### *Sind.*

AFTER the expulsion of the Arabs<sup>24</sup> (A.D. 750), Sind, from Bakkar to the sea, remained in the hands of the Sumera Rájputs, until the end of the twelfth century; when the reigning family became extinct, and the government, after some changes, fell into the hands of another Rájput tribe, called Sama.

It is uncertain when the Sumeras first paid tribute to the Mahometans; probably about the beginning of the twelfth century, under Shaháb ud dín Ghóri, or his immediate successors.

The early Samas seem to have been refractory, for one was invaded by Fírús Tughlak, as has been related (about A.D. 1361). The Samas were soon after converted to the Mahometan religion; and kept the country till expelled by the Arghúns, who held it at Akber's accession.

### *Multán.*

MULTÁN revolted during the confusion which followed the invasion of Tamerlane. It fell into the hands of an Afghán family of the name of Langa, who held it for about a century.

<sup>23</sup> [In the *Journal R. A. S.*, 1866, there is a very full account, by Mr. Thomas, of the kings of Bengal, as far as their reigns can be illustrated from their coins.—Ed.]

<sup>24</sup> [In p. 312, it has been shown that the Arabs held Sind and Multán until towards the end of the

fourth century of the Híjra, Sir H. Elliot (*Arabs in Sind*) thinks that the Sumras embraced the Karmathian heresy when they established their power. The Samas appear to have expelled the Sumras about A.D. 1350; and they were conquered by the Arghúns in A.D. 1520.—Ed.]

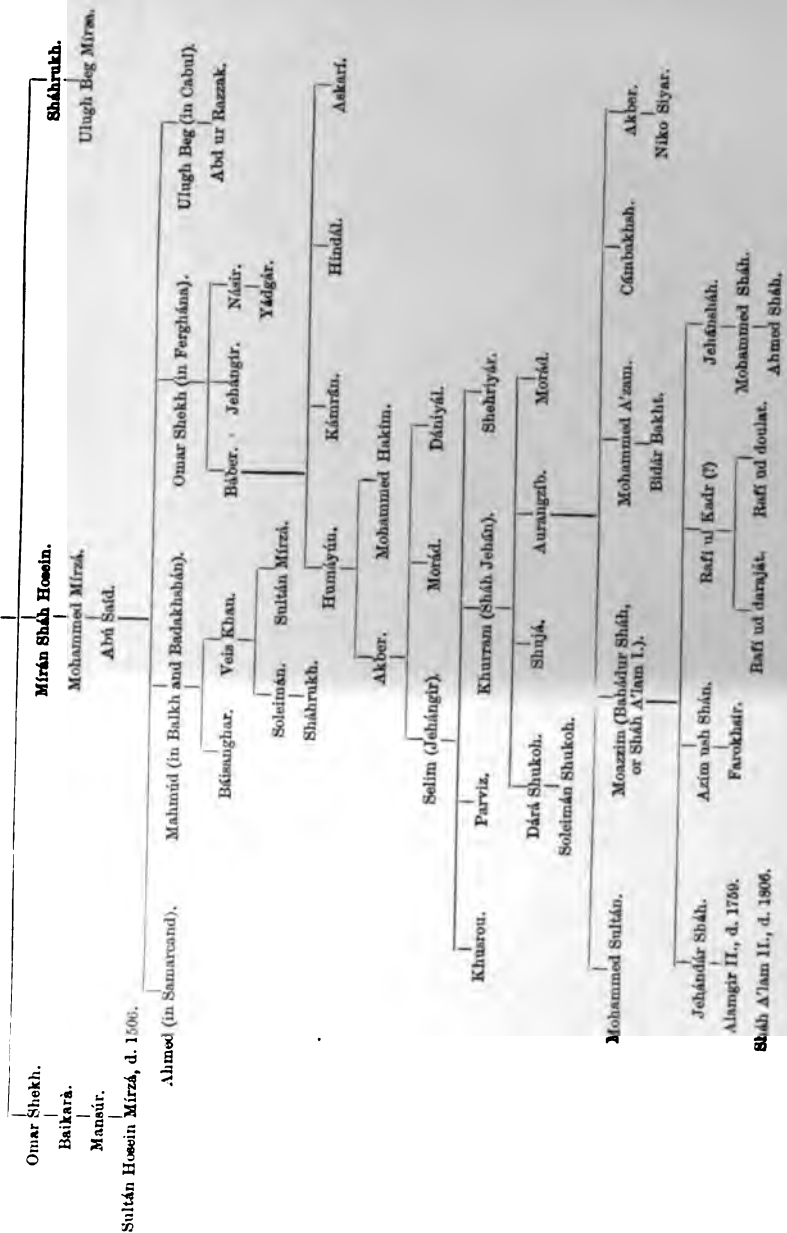
Early in the sixteenth century, they were dispossessed by the Afghans of Sindh who were, in their turn, expelled by Prince Camran, and Multan fell under the house of Timur.

Of the other provinces once belonging to Delhi, it need only be said, that the State of the      all became independent after the invasion of Tamerlane. And among other parts of      Behlil Lodi, Baber, Humayun, and Sher Shah had recovered the India.

Of them, yet at Akber's accession, with the exception of the      the possession of which was contested by Secunder Sar, they were all in the hands of adherents of the Afghan government.

# THE PEDIGREE OF THE HOUSE OF TÍMÚR. [Ed.]

## TÍMUR, d. 1404.





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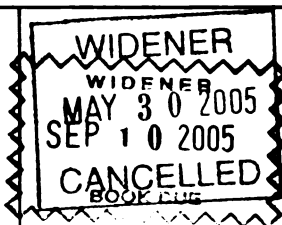




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